from Book One

Source Text

In the Eye of the Storm

A Memoir

Kurt Waldhein





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AFRICAN TURMOIL

major crisis area of the continent. I have no doubt that their policy of racial discrimination will one day collapse. The white man has long realized, despite his fear of annihilation, that he cannot do away with his black compatriots. The black population has long been aware that the white man is not a colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live there. A genuine dialogue is crucial, and both sides must recognize that they need each other. I hope it is not too late for the necessary revolution of the spirit.

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The New Majority

During the whole of the seventies, when I was Secretary General, world attention focused mainly on wars, conflicts and international crises and on how these were dealt with by the United Nations. Unfortunately this led to a misconception about the work of the world organization. Since the attitudes of the member governments very often did not permit the Un to discharge its duties as foreseen in the Charter, the image of the United Nations deteriorated. Although I fully recognize the importance of the political role of the organization, during my term of office I was faced with a new challenge, the handling of a new phenomenon, namely the growing gap between the rich countries in the North and the poor countries in the South of the globe.

In a world which had not really taken note of the historic dimension of this dramatic awakening in the Third World, the United Nations was the one single place where these forces could express themselves and mobilize the community of nations to draw attention to their plight.

The influx of newly independent countries radically altered the entire character of the United Nations. This massive group of Third World nations was not beholden to the West; it was encouraged, but not controlled, by the Soviet bloc. Its leaders proved highly adept at establishing operational groupsings within the organization. In addition to continental and regional groups, they formed two over-arching organizations that included the vast majority of United Nations membership. In the political sphere, the Non-Aligned Movement was designed to function as a third force which could remain aloof from East-West alliances and manoeuvres. Their founding fathers were Tito, Nehru and Nasser, together with the Indonesian President Sukarno. A parallel organization, the 'Group of 77' (actually, now over 125 states), was set up in order to advance the economic and social development of its membership. Each of these groups met periodically to concert strategy and tactics. Their

number of oil-rich developing countries. This has failed to disturb their cohesion has remained remarkable, in spite of the fact that they include a

numbered West. East-West rivalries, while still predominant in global making. The new majority of the Third World overwhelms the outstructure of the United Nations. Bloc politics tends to dominate decisionterms, have become relatively less prominent in United Nations affairs. Mongolian People's Republic. They have transformed the parliamentary America and even a few Soviet allies such as Cuba, Vietnam and the non-Western states in Asia and Africa, the bulk of the countries in South These overlapping coalitions now include virtually all the non-white,

developed countries, cannot be considered complete. capacity in the world is concentrated in a relatively few states. As long as scientific and technological skills, educational talent and productive this continues, the anti-colonial revolution, in the eyes of the less The goals of these new members are egalitarian. The bulk of the wealth,

thought and action. not to be ignored, and over the course of time are bound to influence word 'decisions' is, in most cases, a misnomer. In the General Assembly can, within broad limits, control most of the decisions. To be sure, the persuasively. But in the United Nations, where all states enjoy the same there are only recommendations, without binding effect. Even so they are voting rights, the situation is different. By joining forces, the smaller states On their own, most of these countries could do little to make their case

own separately funded budget. the process of becoming a fully fledged specialized agency of the un with its Development Organization to assist the developing countries. It is now in created in 1964 the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Three years later the UN Assembly established the UN Industrial In order to facilitate the development process, the General Assembly

apparent that what the new Third World majority was seeking was demanded fairness and justice: fairness because they did not accept that coercion than by the power of persuasion in the international forum. They nothing less than a revolution in the world economy, to be won less by evolving in a way not foreseen by its founding fathers. It soon became balance they should now agree to a massive transfer of resources to the countries should enjoy only one-fifth of its gross income; justice because, in three-quarters of the world's population living in the under-developed countries of the south the peoples and resources of their former possessions. To redress the their eyes, the old colonial powers had gained their wealth by exploiting Both the agenda and the membership of the world organization were

enhanced political affinity. combined economic aid with the strengthening of alliances, or at least ance to their former African, Caribbean and Pacific territories under the Progress, and European Community arrangements for economic assist-Lomé Conventions. These programmes had one feature in common: they enlightened self-interest as the Marshall Plan, the American Alliance for There had indeed been examples in post-war history of such acts of

without the participation of the industrialized states they were attacking accommodation of views. The Third World could not achieve its purposes radical leaders seldom based their claims in the context of mutual benefits. frustration. entitled. It was an approach which produced confrontation rather than development, not as an aspiration but as a right to which they were They spoke of the redressing of wrongs, and economic and social Western industrialized states offered no comparable rewards. Their more The result of this policy in the United Nations was chronic acrimony and In contrast, the demands the Third World countries made on the

debate. The Soviet Union and its supporters, and also China, regarded to pursue their own bilateral aid programmes. pated in the multilateral development activities of the un. They preferred been subjected in an earlier era. The Marxist countries hardly particicompensate the developing nations for the exploitation to which they had supported the argument that it was for the Western countries to development as a responsibility of the former colonial powers. They One group, the bloc of Marxist states, stood largely aloof from the whole

countries lacking the personnel, organization and experience to absorb money and credit, machinery, infrastructure and technical assistance to incremental rather than radical. They insisted that economic development willing to make adjustments in existing institutions and practices to meet liability for the alleged evils of colonialism and imperialism. They were was a complex and lengthy process. They refused to - as they put it - give the pressing needs of the South, but the improvements they proposed were Obviously, the industrialized countries were reluctant to accept blanket

ordination among donor agencies and waste and corruption among the consumers and tax-payers of the developed countries. They preferred to recipients. The cost of major aid programmes was high. To grant trade rely as far as possible on market forces to increase the productive capacity financial aid on concessionary terms, involved a real cost to the industries. preferences or guarantee higher prices for raw materials, or to extend failure of ill-considered development projects, or examples of lack of co-It must be said that they did not have to look far to find instances of the

of the poorer nations.

Both personally and in terms of my constitutional position, I felt considerable sympathy for the basic position of the South. In all good conscience, nations which had subscribed to the UN Charter's pursuit of 'better standards of life in larger freedom' could not stand passively by in the face of massive poverty, hunger, ill-health and illiteracy. The disparity between the two worlds was not diminishing but to a considerable extent increasing. Remedial action was necessary, and in my judgement it could only be carried out on a world scale if the UN organization participated in a major way. The facts were incontrovertible. In the North, one-fourth of the world's population possessed more than nine-tenths of its manufacturing industry and received more than four-fifths of its income. In the South, more than 1.2 billion people lived in countries with a gross national product averaging less than \$250 per head per year.

Realistically, however, the process could not be a one-way street. Whatever the help from outside, a critical factor in development would be the self-reliant effort of the countries in the south themselves.

Nothing would be accomplished if the two sides dug in on extreme positions and used the United Nations to launch verbal broadsides at each other. I therefore devoted myself to a search for areas of agreement, the advocacy of moderation and gradualism and the continuation of a dialogue between the parties.

When I assumed office the industrial world was ending a decade of exceptional growth. The UN had established an 'international development strategy' to set economic targets, and while the major industrialized nations had expressed some reservations, they had endorsed the general principle of moving by co-operation towards a more just and rational world economic and social order. The decade of the seventies was one of sharp and painful economic adjustments. The system of fixed exchange rates created by the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 had collapsed and, in 1973/4, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries ended the era of cheap energy by quadrupling the price of oil. These events shook the world economic system, but their weight fell most heavily on the poorest countries, which lacked the reserves and productive resources to cope. Even the richer nations went into recession, resulting in a combination of inflation and unemployment.

The oil shock galvanized the more outspoken leaders of the Group of 77. They saw that their oil-rich brothers had wrested control of their natural resources from the multinational corporations. They had sharply reversed the adverse terms of trade from which the former colonial territories habitually suffered. The invulnerability of the North had been challenged and the other developing countries, particularly those with other market-

able assets, hoped to make comparable gains.

Under the leadership of President Houari Boumédienne of Algeria, at that time the head of the non-aligned group, they called for a special session of the General Assembly in April 1974, with a view to establishing a new system of relations based on equality and the common interests of all states. Boumédienne was peremptory, proclaiming the failure of the international development strategy and attributing this to the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries to take the required urgent action, and the inadequacy of the growth targets in relation to the real needs of the South.

He sustained this combative tone in the conversation we had at the outset of this sixth special session in New York. The real issue, he said, was economic domination of the poor by the rich. The Third World now had real bargaining power by virtue of their natural resources. In order to avoid confrontation, both sides should initiate a responsible dialogue. The industrialized nations would have to change their policies and demonstrate a political will to co-operate. What his group hoped for from the Assembly was nothing less than the forging of a new international economic order.

He insisted that the position of the United States would be particularly significant. I told him that I knew from my contacts in Washington that the American administration was taking a passive attitude towards the special session. For my own part I felt that the us must participate actively in the work of the session if it was to have any meaning. It would become highly undesirable for them to be isolated in the Assembly, and I persuaded them to assume a more active role. At the same time I advised Boumédienne to seek a constructive compromise.

The special session in 1974 was not to be guided by counsels of moderation. It adopted a resolution providing for fundamental changes in the entire structure of international economic relations, including provisions on commodities, trade and industrialization, natural resources, food, finance and multinational corporations. The countries of the North were not prepared to respond in depth to these far-reaching proposals. They did not vote against the resulting 'Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New Economic Order', but they made it clear through numerous reservations that they would not comply.

At the regular Assembly session the following autumn, the same adversarial spirit prevailed. This time the Group of 77 united behind a proposed 'Charter on the Economic Rights and Duties of States' which had been drafted by President Luis Echeverría of Mexico. This declared that every state had 'the sovereign and inalienable right' to choose its own economic, political, social and cultural systems without any outside interference and should exercise 'full permanent sovereignty' over its

compensating expropriated foreign enterprises. were to have the sole right to decide for themselves the terms for wealth, natural resources and economic activities. The developing nations

those less developed. The session ended in disarray. demanded that these should share in any major programmes to assist transfer of financial resources to the OPEC countries and they now provide most of it. As oil importers they were already making a massive available for development, the countries of the North would have to abandon the existing economic system. If additional aid was to be made attacks and far-reaching demands of the majority. They were unwilling to new low. Most of the larger industrialized countries resented the verbal These demands brought North-South relations in the organization to a

old long catalogue of impossible demands they should draw up a list of patchwork politics where radical action was needed. could start. The representatives of the Third World alone rejected it as the things they wanted in some order of priority so that negotiations West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, that instead of the same The developing countries dismissed the proposal put forward by the

September 1975. The contrast with its predecessor was remarkable. The Third World sceptism towards the United States. ton's foreign policies and obviously wanted to make a gesture to reduce Kissinger had begun to recognize the usefulness of the UN for Washingforward a number of promising proposals in a spirit of reconciliation. highlight speech the American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, put decided that a purely negative posture would help neither party. In a developed countries, and particularly the United States, had evidently special session of the General Assembly was held in the first half of at the UN passions cooled and more moderate views emerged. A seventh Nevertheless, as the months passed, as a result of constant interchanges

improvement of economic relations between North and South. reached its conclusions by consensus and its work contributed to an intensive effort began to reach common ground. The special session food production. Others adopted a similarly conciliatory tone and an needs in the fields of commodities, trade, finance, industrialization and additional financial resources in response to the developing countries' He outlined a broad range of new international machinery, with offers of

special session has not been realized in anything like the form then In all candour I would have to admit that the promise of the seventh

It was the merit of Henry Kissinger that the relationship between the United Nations and the Nixon administration, which had previously been

> overshadowed by the controversy over Vietnam, improved progressively, doubtless my intervention was unwelcome, particularly in the period sharp tones. The Vietnam War was becoming extremely unpopular and operations that led to so much suffering. President Nixon had reacted in dykes around Hanoi. I appealed on humanitarian grounds to cease out a public statement concerning the alleged American bombing of the although Nixon himself remained in the background. My relations with distinctly cool and distant. the President had been ambivalent. During my first year of office I had put leading up to his second election. Thereafter our contacts remained

obliged to say that as to his views and actions in the field of foreign policy met several times there was never an in-depth exchange of views on world diplomatic responsibilities. presidents with whom I have dealt, he was the best prepared for his one could not but appreciate his knowledge, vision and skill. Of the four problems. He had little regard for the United Nations. However, I am He gave an official luncheon for me at the White House but although we

such a high political risk. I also appreciated his management of the détente did not have strong backing from American conservatives could have run furthered by Henry Kissinger. I doubt that any American President who their effect was quickly and beneficially evident at the United Nations. materially to an improvement in international relations at the time and policy towards the Soviet Union. Both these initiatives contributed American attitudes towards the People's Republic of China, so ably I particularly admired the way in which he managed the opening-up of

foreign policy during the first half of my tenure at the United Nations doubt, however, of Kissinger's encompassing influence on American his administration, and where Henry Kissinger's began. There was no I do not know where Nixon's input ended in these and other policies of

universal world political order. Yet under the stress of the critical days of someone highly sceptical of its usefulness. He was certainly no believer in a prompt dispatch helped to avoid a direct military confrontation between forces as a buffer between the belligerents. As he was fully aware, their had played during the crisis and the way it quickly took action to send UN Nations could be. He recognized the constructive role the Security Council the October War of 1973, he began to understand how useful the United the usa and the Soviet Union. He also came to office as no friend of the United Nations, indeed as

a well-trained scholar and historian. Because of his European and Jewish very intelligent man, far above the average, and is aware of his skills. He is background he has a more specific understanding than many statesmen of The reasons for his success and influence are complex. First of all he is a

world history and the problems of the Middle East.

shrank from the heart of the matter. He has an engaging sense of humour, and he never left anyone in any doubt as to where the bottom line in his sincere and that he genuinely wanted a peaceful settlement; and he never greatest power in the world and that if they did not use the opportunity he convened a special press conference vigorously rejecting my statement and short term in office. The limits which Nixon set on him in the early days of political power visibly grew with the downfall of Nixon during the otherwise he made it clear that he would return to Washington. His position lay. His attitude was: 'If you want a solution, I shall go on'; politician, he was able to convince most of his interlocutors that he was was offering, they would get nothing out of the whole exercise. A tough or threat, he conveyed to his partners in discussion that he represented the to press the parties to accept the proposals he made. Without any bombast that my statement was well understood and would not have any negative criticism of the us air raids over the phone with Kissinger, he assured me his governmental career became obvious to me in connection with the fashion. In civilized discussion and negotiation he used this power in order Kissinger was that he had, and knew how to use, power in a productive factor. What counts is power. It is unrealistic to believe that the era of impact on my relations with the President. The next day, however, Nixon American bombing of the Vietnamese dykes. When I discussed my public Watergate scandal and, of course, afterwards during President Ford's Machtpolitik, the politics of power, is over. The supreme quality of Henry Even so, in world politics intelligence alone is not the determining

in love with the UN, he regularly visited me in my office on the thirty-eighth such occasions, I admired his skill in public relations. floor, and made a point of giving joint press briefings after our meetings in reason to complain about him. Although I was fully aware that he was not and his determination to be at centre-stage'. But I personally had no blamed him for his 'tendency to manipulate people, his overbearing vanity Fahmi, whom I consider one of the best brains in the Arab world, later on front of the famous Chagall window in the UN lobby. Whatever he said on Kissinger's Egyptian negotiating partner, Foreign Minister Ismail

a complete meeting of minds to occur. I felt very strongly that this satisfactory outcome. There was still too much suspicion for anything like industrialized nations, this encouraging start did not in itself guarantee a tolerance and understanding between the developing world and the thought-provoking speech - in 1975 introduced a greater degree of Although the seventh special session of the UN Assembly – with Kissinger's

> Japan, and the Italian Foreign Minister, Mariano Rumor, in his capacity sent private letters to Kissinger, Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of replies, although phrased in general terms, were reassuring. spare no effort to reach a consensus on the outstanding policy issues. Their as a president of the European Economic Community, urging them to inertia that had characterized these negotiations, in the autumn of 1975 l favourable beginning must not be frittered away. Worried about the

operation between states and proposed 'concerted' action to achieve the same ground, it was couched in a spirit of common effort by the two sides been in effect a revision of the Declaration on the establishment of a New goals of the new economic order. accompanying programme of action. It stressed the need for greater corather than in the peremptory demands of the original declaration and its International Economic Order of the previous year. Covering most of the The major resolution that emerged from the seventh special session had

moving, the focus of the North-South debate was shifted from the on the initiative of Giscard d'Estaing and met in Paris. There were high unwieldly General Assembly to a smaller group outside the United the next. There was no adequate follow-up. In an attempt to get things between North and South was not to be overcome between one month and Nations and with the same uncompromising attitudes of the two sides. was faced with the same problems we had encountered in the United in December 1975, but was soon obliged to come to the conclusion that it hopes that it might bring about a breakthrough. I attended its initial phase ing seven members of opec. This body had been organized and convened consisting of twenty-seven representatives drawn from both sides, includ-Nations - the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, One swallow does not make a summer. The deep-seated difference

some money was made available for development programmes. The dragged on for eighteen months, with relatively little to show for the effort. general commodity, finance and development issues. The discussions energy problem but the developing countries insisted on linking it with results were nevertheless meagre. The basis was laid for a common fund to assist raw material producers and The industrialized nations were interested primarily in discussing the

action, if it can be called that, shifted back once more to the United dialogue. After the disappointing outcome of the Paris talks, the scene of would be helpful here to recount later developments in the North-South covering the major aspects of economic co-operation and development Nations. Over the next few years the developing countries increasingly focused the Assembly's attention on what are called 'global negotiatons Ignoring for a moment the strict chronology of this book, I think it

During the last two years of my term of office, I made strenuous efforts to give these negotiations practical form. Working in formal and informal groups, the delegates to the General Assembly tried one expedient after another in search of a formula to enable further progress to be made.

The main thrust of the Third World countries was to attain their ends by seeking radical changes in the United Nations system as at present organized. Currently the levers of financial power lie in the hands of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (1MF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), where the voting strength closely reflects economic and financial power. The South would like somehow to shift the venue of decision-making in these matters to the General Assembly, where they have the majority vote. In this they have been unsuccessful, since the specialized agencies concerned were created by separate treaties and are not subordinate to the United Nations. All the exhortations contained in the General Assembly resolutions adopted on these subjects have, by their ineffectiveness, only compounded the frustrations of the developing countries and the irritation of the developed.

I do not mean to imply that all the fault in these attitudes lies on one side. If the developing countries are too rigid in their approach, the industrialized nations have hardly responded with excessive generosity to the proposals of the impoverished South. Their official development aid lags far behind the levels they have themselves accepted as targets. They have been more inclined to stand pat on their negative response to the new international economic order than to make concrete and constructive counter-proposals.

When Rüdiger von Wechmar, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, became President of the 1980 General Assembly, he made the effort to get a set of global negotiations under way as the central theme of his term of office. There was no one better suited to the task. Wechmar was a disciple of the former German Chancellor Willy Brandt, perhaps the leading Western protagonist of the Third World's development cause. Wechmar represented one of the West's most successful and prosperous countries, enjoying great influence in the counsels of the North.

It was towards the end of the General Assembly in 1980 that some of the leading representatives of the Third World, together with Rüdiger von Wechmar, visited me in my office in an atmosphere of despair, telling me that all their efforts to work out a compromise solution for global negotiations had failed. They referred to my good personal relations with President Jimmy Carter and asked me to intervene with him in order to get America's consent to the latest compromise proposals of the Group of 77. The timing was hardly auspicious. The presidential election was only a

few weeks away. Nevertheless I had a long telephone conversation with the President and asked him to take a good look at the proposals, bearing in mind that the developing countries believed that America was the major obstacle in the way of starting negotiations.

This the President said he would do, but he reminded me that it was a difficult period for him. He made three main points. First, he said, the United States could not accept anything that would give the United Nations General Assembly any sort of authority over the IMF, the World Bank or GATT. Second, we should bear in mind that the American Congress took a jaundiced view of the United Nations, so much so that he had serious problems in getting funds appropriated by the Congress for the American contribution. Thirdly, he remarked that because of being in an election campaign he had to be cautious. If we were not careful, our actions could become counter-productive, he warned. It was in the interests of the United Nations not to push him too far.

What alarmed me was that the emotions engendered by the strident demands of the Third World and the recalcitrance, if not indifference, of the West, were destroying the credit of the United Nations and might ultimately even tear it apart. This, I considered, would be a tragedy. Virtually every country in the West agreed in theory that the abyss yawning between the rich and the poor peoples was an evil to be combatted. They agreed also that the process of development would bring benefits to the North as well as to the South. If only both sides were guided by this underlying common interest, I felt that a dialogue could eventually produce at least partial results.

It was Willy Brandt himself who suggested a possible formula. As the head of a distinguished group of former statesmen, including Edward Heath of Great Britain and leading private citizens, he had been instrumental in drawing up an exhaustive, widely publicized report on the need to re-order North-South relations to meet the challenges of the new decade. It envisaged a global agreement resulting from a joint effort of political will and a high degree of trust among the negotiating partners, with a common conviction of mutual interest. An essential step in achieving this objective would be a summit meeting of some twenty world leaders, representative of the major groupings, to produce guide-lines and a new impetus for future negotiations.

The former Chancellor came to see me in New York in February 1980 and handed me a copy of his Commission's report with a request to circulate it to all members. He asked me if I would organize the summit meeting envisaged. I was obliged to tell him that due to the lack of a mandate from any organ of the UN I could not act as the convenor of such a conference. Moreover, it was not for me to select the participants as I knew

expand the membership so broadly that it would lose focus and those who had not been invited. There would be irresistible pressure to they would choose the other participants. the conference, one from the North and the other from the South. Together effectiveness. We then decided that we would select two co-chairmen for out of my long experience that this would immediately lead to criticism by

during my Moscow visit in June 1981. He answered at once that they were developing countries. Nevertheless I did take up the matter with Gromyko considered participating in multilateral economic aid programmes to but I knew that this would be pointless. The Russians have never also asked me to try to persuade the Soviet Union to attend the meeting, economic help to the developing countries. 'We shall of course help them. as the Western powers.' He did add that the Soviet Union would render shall not attend because we do not wish to be placed in the same category consequences of Western imperialism. 'It is up to them to make up for never been a colonial power and had no reason to get involved in the economic sphere were the result of colonialism. The Soviet Union had Soviet contribution to the North-South dialogue would be. Gromyko not interested and would not attend. I attempted to stress how useful a Mexico, José Lopez Portillo, who had indicated his interest to us. Brandt As his colleague from the South we decided to approach the President of co-chairman from the North was the Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. but we shall do so on a bilateral basis.' what they have done to the countries of the Third World,' he said. 'We retorted by insisting that the problems facing the Third World in the Brandt asked me to proceed along these lines. Our initial choice for the

can't do it on my own,' he said. He consulted the Americans, the Germans that the main industrialized countries support me in this undertaking. I and he responded positively, but with one reservation: 'I have to be sure and the French, and when they responded favourably he went ahead. Kreisky, so I approached him first. We had a long talk together in Vienna I thought that the easier task would be with my fellow-Austrian Bruno

as the meeting place and joined with Kreisky in issuing the invitations. on this issue, he was predisposed to take an active part, proposed Cancun verria, who had played such a prominent part in the un special assemblies Lopez Portillo reacted immediately. As the successor to Luis Eche-

others, invited the Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, to replace Nations and we foregathered in October 1981. forceful and effective self. I took part as representative of the Unitec him. Fortunately he was able to make himself available and was his usual fell ill. The Austrian government, in consultation with Lopez Portillo and Only a few weeks before the conference was due to meet, Bruno Kreisky

> group was ever the same twice. and genial, but always tough on substance, and yielded very little. The shirt, was inevitably the centre of attention, with all the other participants dinners and social occasions, where careful organization ensured that no were many bilateral talks in the surrounding offices and at the luncheons, main conference sessions never took on the form of negotiations but there watching him carefully to see whether he was prepared to yield on any of conference hall were arranged in a huge circle. Reagan, in a short-sleeved arrangements were both sumptuous and relaxed. The tables in the main educational experience. There were twenty-three delegations and the group and he told me before we dispersed that he had found it an the points that were so freely made to him. He was exceedingly courteous Reagan. This was his first major exposure to Third World leaders as a Instructive for us, and also for him, was the presence of President

international understanding at heart. outspoken, but always left the way open for some understanding between her recent assassination is a bitter tragedy for all those with the interests of the main participants. She was a world leader of the highest quality and Gandhi supported the views of her Third World colleagues. She was very I was much impressed by the forcefulness and clarity with which Mrs

Sichuan, of which Zhao was at one time the governor. sympathetic personality and gets on well with Europeans. He is also very close to Deng Xiaoping, who comes from the south-western province of than the repository of high-level political power. He has a warm and He gave the impression of being a technocrat and administrator rather The Chinese delegation was led by their Prime Minister, Zhao Zi Yang.

continues. Whether this will change with the advent of Gorbachev is oper take them several decades; in the meantime they try desperately to acquire world and the Soviet Union, but not soon. In my own judgement it will millions are hard-working and one day they will catch up with the Western speaking: an attitude which seemed to fit his character and the basic policy know-how from the Western world. Their conflict with the Soviets behind in technology and even in technical infrastructure. Their teeming take them a long time to catch up with the other main powers. They are far ambition to play the role of a major power. They admit publicly that it will under-developed country belonging to the Third World, without any of the Peking government. The Chinese still regard themselves as an During the conference he played a low-key role, listening more than

President Nyerere and Pierre Trudeau. Nyerere, who is never short of words, had launched into a lengthy intervention to establish that although There was a sharp exchange, in the course of the conference, between

Tanzania was a socialist country it would welcome private investment. Trudeau was quick to respond. He asked the Tanzanian President whether he really thought that the Western nations would invest more in his country, knowing that sooner or later their investments would be jeopardized by government intervention. Nyerere and his Third World colleagues were momentarily nonplussed by the retort, but suddenly loud laughter broke out, not least from Nyerere himself, and the meeting went on to other matters.

Regrettably the conference did not lead to any major change in the running controversy over the demands of the less developed countries for a new economic order. True to form of summit meetings, Cancun was long on harmonious generalities but short on practical results. Like so many other top-level gatherings, it provided no opportunity for the hard slog of detailed bargaining which must precede any agreement on so complex and controversial a subject. The conference made no provision for following up on its pronouncements or for making a start on global negotiations. With the onset of the recession of the 1980s, the focus shifted to short-term measures needed to save the developing countries from economic collapse. Each side took note of the views of the other and referred the whole matter back to the United Nations, where new efforts of another kind will have to be made if the world is to be relieved of this fundamental and agonizing conflict.

the political environment in which they had to operate. Coming myself welcome opportunity not only to meet these personalities, but also to grasp as possible. These trips to nearly all the capitals of the globe offered me the term of office as Secretary General I started to visit as many world leaders destiny of the world. Out of this conviction, right at the beginning of my truth: it is personalities more than anything else which influence the leaders of the Third World countries which had swollen the membership of from the industrialized North, I made it a particular point to cultivate the organization. There was a constant flow of heads of state and other leaders influence was limited, but united in their regional and non-aligned group for their officials in modern diplomacy. On their own, their international of them quickly realized how valuable the United Nations could be to were primarily concerned to establish their control domestically, but most the organization. As they achieved independence, the new political leaders In all the years of my professional life as a diplomat, I learned one basic General Assembly. Jointly and individually, they left their mark from the Third World countries to the regular annual sessions of the they gained importance and sometimes dominated the work of the them. It gave them an international sounding board and a training ground

I owe Marshal Tito a posthumous mention for his sturdily independent foreign policy, which established Yugoslavia as a non-aligned country. He always impressed me with his straightforwardness and his strong support for the United Nations. He was frequently critical of it, usually on the grounds that it was too inactive in international affairs and suffered from a lack of clout, but his approach was as constructive as it was frank.

We used to meet in New York and Belgrade and I was a frequent guest of his on the two-island complex of Brioni in the Adriatic off the Yugoslav coast. Under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the islands had been mosquito-ridden and uninhabited. An Austrian named Kuppelwieser had made them habitable. When Tito came to power, he had constructed handsome hotels and guest houses on the larger island and a residence for himself, surrounded by a beautiful garden, on the smaller. He lived very comfortably there, indulging in his various hobbies, which included a private zoo, where he kept a collection of exotic animals sent to him as gifts by foreign political leaders. His other hobby was to build household furniture in a small workshop set in the midst of vineyards he had himself planted. He was proud of his wines and made a point of serving them with fish caught in the surrounding waters.

Two factors influenced his views on foreign policy. The first was a deep fear of the Russians, particularly after the 1968 'Prague Spring' liberalization movement had been destroyed by Soviet forces. He used to tax us Austrians with what he described as our complacency in the face of the Soviet menace. 'You people are too naive,' he said. 'Don't believe that you are not in danger. I have had my experiences with the Russians. They are capable of doing anything.' He was insistent that we remained on our guard against a Soviet military thrust through Austria and south to the Dalmatian coast.

His second great foreign policy concern was to strengthen the structure of East-West détente and the Non-Aligned Movement, thus creating a global equilibrium as a foundation for peace. The last years of his life left him a deeply disappointed man. He witnessed a deterioration in superpower relationships and the erosion of non-alignment as it fell under the increasing influence of the more radical Third World states.

I last saw Tito in a guest house in Havana during the 1979 summit conference of the Non-Aligned Movement. He was obviously physically ill and also deeply depressed. He was particularly concerned over the election of Cuba to chair the meeting, although the host country at these conferences is normally granted that honour. As the more radical leaders established their predominance, Tito's dismay increased. He was deeply exercised as to how the Non-Aligned Movement could maintain its credibility if Cuba, with its close links to the Soviet Union, were its leader.

The Cubans are extremely active in both the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement, although I did not meet Fidel Castro personally until I paid an official visit to Havana in January 1979. He is a charismatic figure, with a strong and magnetic personality and quite an attractive spontaneity in his manner. Greeting me at the airport, he asked immediately: 'Do you want the usual diplomatic protocol, complete with receptions and social events, or would you prefer me to take you to some islands where we can have our talks in peace and quiet?'

There was only one answer to such a loaded question and it suited my own preference. We changed our clothes at a nearby guest house and flew by helicopter to the island of La Juventud a few miles to the south. This is where Castro maintains his education and paramilitary centre for young African students, principally from Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. The youngsters were all in uniform and went through their paces with enthusiasm.

Castro had organized a small dinner for my party with only his closest advisers present. After a general discussion on the international situation, he came to what was obviously uppermost in his mind, the state of relations between Cuba and the United States. He launched a bitter attack against the American administration for rejecting all his efforts to establish better contacts. The Americans were not even permitted to export medicines badly needed in Cuba and he had to seek them in Europe and elsewhere. He almost pleaded with me to use all my influence to persuade the American government and people that he really wanted good relations. I assured Castro that I would inform Washington of his views.

The following day we flew to his private island, which he called his 'little Brioni'. It is a lovely spot, although still primitive, and our talks took place on his yacht, which was tied up at a small dock. The business of the day was interrupted by a session of swimming and harpoon fishing, at which our host excelled. We observed that the group of security men who protected him were principally engaged in finding the largest shoals of fish.

As he sat on the edge of the boat, a steward approached with two glasses on a small silver tray, each filled with a dark liquid. Castro first took a sip from one glass, gargled heartily and spat the contents into the sea. Then he took the other glass and swallowed its contents before diving in. I was told later that the first contained Listerine and the other whisky. Apparently this was his manner of fortifying himself against the rigours of skin-diving.

However that may be, he caught several dozen red snappers and lobsters. He personally prepared lunch; it consisted mainly of the raw seafood garnished with lemon juice, which he insisted was the best way to eat it. I have frequently been willing to sacrifice my digestive system in the

interest of international understanding, but this went beyond my normal bounds. As I found out later, Fidel Castro's strange way of preparing raw lobster was not so bad after all. Friends of ours did it the same way in Connecticut and loved it.

As on the previous evening, our talks concentrated mainly on Cuban-American relations. If this seemed a case of dialectical overkill, there was doubtless a special reason for it. At Castro's insistence, Bradford Morse, the highly respected administrator of the UN Development Programme, had been invited to all our functions for general discussions and to celebrate the opening of a new sugar mill built with the help of his organization.

Morse was a former American Congressman, well connected in Washington, and Castro doubtless wanted to use him as an additional channel to get his message through to the administration. Morse handled the situation very well.

On our departure Castro noticed my small rented aircraft standing on the airport apron. It was an old and somewhat shabby-looking Falcon, with space for only nine people. Professing astonishment, he asked me with disbelief in his voice: 'Are you going back in that thing? Is it safe enough?' I assured him that it was and that in any event I had no choice. The United Nations does not possess its own aeroplane for the Secretary General or anyone else. It rents and charters the planes it uses. I consoled myself with the thought that, if my dignity had been impaired, I might at least have convinced Castro and his revolutonary comrades of the capitalist frugality of the UN organization.

One figure in the Third World merits special respect: King Hussein of Jordan. I visited him on many occasions and was always impressed by the blend of shrewdness, wisdom and courage which he displayed. Small in stature, precise and careful in speech, he has survived the turmoil besetting his country from outside as well as from its large and unruly Palestinian elements within. He combines courage with cautious diplomacy. A highly intelligent man, he supports a Western style of life while maintaining deep roots in Moslem traditions. Experience has taught him the value of prudence. As a young boy, he saw his father assassinated by Palestinian extremists while standing on the steps of a mosque in Jerusalem. His engagement in the Six-Day War of 1967 cost him Arab Jerusalem and his territory on the West Bank of the Jordan. These were hard lessons indeed.

His reluctance to respond to Western proposals that he should negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians should come as no surprise. He can only do so with the approval of the other Arab states. His rapprochement with Arafat

strong Israeli lobby which seeks to thwart all contact with the PLO. It is considerable American reserve. For his part, President Reagan is facing a also no surprise that Muhammad Gaddafi should reject Hussein's to negotiate with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation have met with joint endeavours to involve Washington actively in the peace process and abilities, but he too must be wary of provoking his fundamentalists. The aspirations lie. Mubarek supports Hussein's policies to the best of his and his joint approach to President Mubarek clearly show were his

an international problem. political outcasts when one day their co-operation may be needed to solve ideology and public image may be. It does not help to create a group of find it important to keep contact with all political leaders whatever their people to make their own subjective assessment. Nevertheless I always terrorists and freedom fighters, it will always be left to governments and came to my mind: as long as there is no objective distinction between without acts of terrorism. When I left Gaddafi one simple thought again Charter, the right to fight for their independence. That could be done support liberation movements, which had, he asserted, even under the UN and indignantly. It was absolutely untrue, he said, that he was supporting international terrorism. All he did and would continue to do was to terrorist activities. When I brought this up with him, he reacted sharply government. In the case of Gaddafi - whom I met in August 1977 in Tripoli - it was particularly delicate because of his alleged support of by the international media as a gesture of support for this or that right time, because such personal encounters are immediately interpreted Libya. It was always one of my problems to visit certain countries at the I received repeated invitations from Colonel Gaddafi to visit him in

nations and known for his tough, rigid approach in the negotiations on the operative. He was highly critical of the attitudes of the industrialized managed to establish good relations with him and he was quite cohostages on his border. He was not an easy man to deal with but I over the economic demands of the Third World and the plight of Polisario President Houari Boumédienne of Algeria and I had several encounters

guess was between eighty and one hundred thousand, predominantly ever able to determine exactly how many people lived there. The best neither the Spanish records, the Algerians, the Moroccans nor the UN were King Hassan of imperialism. The territory was so sparsely populated that Western Sahara. The Algerian President had reacted violently, accusing Morocco, whose army had taken over the former Spanish colony of the Boumédienne was equally at odds with his neighbour, King Hassan of

> referendum to determine their political future. nomads, among whom it would have been almost impossible to conduct a

unpleasant repercussions. part of the 'green march' designed to annex the Spanish Sahara. This which, as it turned out, he was making a tour to mobilize public opinion as following morning. He also invited me to join him in the royal train, in indicated to his staff that I wished to present him with the United Nations I had great difficulty in obtaining an appointment with the King. So I in 1984, Polisario was admitted under the name 'Arab Democratic with. His firm position that the former Spanish Sahara was an integral placed me in an entirely false position, but fortunately there were no peace medal, a gold medallion which I made a practice of giving to all the left the organization, creating a most serious crisis for the OAU. On one visit Republic of Sahrawi' as a full member to the OAU, Morocco and her friends for an independent state - created a deep division within the OAU. When, part of Morocco - rejecting all claims of the liberation movement Polisario Heads of State I visited during my term of office. The King received me the King Hassan was equally intransigent and almost as difficult to dea

coup and the Mauritanian government had to surrender its claim to the number of palace revolutions Ould Daddah was deposed in a bloodless continuously attacked the fragile forces of the Mauritanian army. After a situation was clearly beyond his control and the Polisario liberation units managed to avoid eating the eyes when they were served. The Sahara cross-legged and were served with the traditional racks of lamb, although I official residence had such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady whose hobby was writing books for children. His for me took place in a tent put up in the garden. We squatted on cushions Spaniards. Daddah was a modest-looking man, educated in France and Western Sahara in 1979. Mauritania, Mr Moktar Ould Daddah, who had been persuaded by the Moroccans to occupy the southern part of the territory abandoned by the The chief victim of this unhappy dispute was the President of

statesmen. Their influence in the shaping of African policies towards the market economy, their countries were among the more prosperous nations wisest men the African continent has produced. Defenders of the free pher and poet of international standing and Houphouët-Boigny one of the former members of the French National Assembly and experienced Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. Both are highly cultivated men, former colonial powers was of greatest importance. Senghor is a philosoleaders, President Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal and President Felix Much happier were my relationships with two outstanding African

Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is another African leader of great stature. His honesty and personal warmth have created many friends in the United Nations and in the world at large. He is a strong defender of the continent's interests and a determined opponent of South Africa's apartheid policies. He is also a very religious man. At a dinner party during my first official visit, in 1973, he turned to me and asked: 'Are you a Protestant or a Catholic?' I was somewhat surprised by the question and must have shown it, because he went on: 'I have two priests here at the table, one Catholic and one Protestant, to say grace but I have to know on whom I

Dignity and protocol were not always maintained during these trips. Although it is some time ago now, I cannot forget a visit I paid to Kenya in the summer of 1974 to see President Kenyatta. I was informed that he would receive me in the small village of Nakuru, some way from the capital, where he was opening the agricultural fair. I was flown there in a special aircraft and arrived in the middle of the ceremony. Prizes were being given to the best bulls, and tribal dancers then filled the arena. Suddenly Kenyatta turned to me and asked whether I would like to join him in congratulating them. I saw no harm in this and accompanied him into their midst, where, after a few exchanges, he took me by the hand and suggested we join the dance. This aroused universal enthusiasm and applause but I could not help asking myself whether it had been a worthwhile visit when, instead of having political talks with Kenyatta, I ended up in a cattle show dancing with him.

occasion I recorded my address for subsequent use. therefore no one had turned up. In order to salvage something from the event had forgotten to make any public announcement of my speech and an explanation. It soon became clear that the minister in charge of the standing in the square in front of the palace. When we got out on to the attendance and even before leaving New York I had prepared a dramatic further help to these stricken people. Television and radio were in official residence to make an appeal to the international community for committee had been summoned to his modest capital by President operation for tens of thousands who were starving. The co-ordinating seventeen countries in an attempt to co-ordinate the un emergency relief in the east – which I undertook in February 1974. My itinerary included balcony there was not a soul to be seen. I turned to the President, asking for plea to read out to the thousands of people I had been promised would be Lamizana and it was planned that I should go on to the balcony of his Sahel region – stretching from Senegal in the west to Ethiopia and Somalia capital of Burkina Faso. This was part of a tour of the drought-stricken Perhaps my most embarrassing experience was at Ouagadougou, the

> structure, but that only detracts from the root cause of the developing and complicated problem common to all developing countries. It is all too proposals. To my mind, and based on my experience, certain basic office, I see no merit in adding to the confusion by bringing forward new heard a plethora of programmes and concepts during my ten years of models are part and parcel of specific social models. Having seen and development of the Third World. In the final analysis, all development ent are the means for overcoming hunger, poverty and injustice that are countries' present plight. The economic, political, social and cultural easy to blame them for their lack of experience and absence of inframents in disarray is in fact merely symptomatic of a much more profound development strategy is to succeed: put forward by the members of the un in their endeavours to support the problems confronting the developing countries are legion; equally diverg-What would appear to be yet another example of Third World governprinciples hold true and must be subscribed to if any long-term

Hitherto, development aid, both in its conception and in its implementation, has adhered to foreign models; such an approach was doomed, since it made no allowance for those features peculiar to society in the developing countries. The education system propagated in most developing countries, for example, does not meet real social needs. Illiteracy rates are still climbing because most developing countries have not been able to introduce primary education on a general scale. Higher education is often seen as a sign of social achievement, a kind of status symbol, while technical education and vocational training are still not considered priorities. A new educational system suited to the specific needs of the individual countries is a major factor in socio-economic development and should be recognized as such.

Self-reliance is a deeply rooted tradition in the developing countries; it offers a firm basis on which sensible aid programmes can be developed. For example, a plan of action oriented towards the achievement of self-sufficiency in food should be the guiding principle for all international efforts to combat famine and starvation, particularly in Africa.

Most developing countries can be seen to be suffering from an identity crisis which takes on the form of bitter and sometimes violent attempts to reassert their cultural identity. Unfortunately, this particular issue is sometimes taken as a pretext for diverting public attention away from pressing day-to-day problems, and it is sometimes exploited for purely ideological reasons. In shaping aid

within the right context, rather than be debased to a mere political this angle, a country's assertion of its cultural heritage will proceed vidual countries and foster their traditional values. Approached from national community should recognize the aspirations of the indiprogrammes and promoting economic co-operation, the inter-

absorb new technologies and subsequently to adapt them to developing countries in building up the infrastructure needed to should thus be taken on an international scale to assist the development should thus take on priority in any development plan. rise to awesome conurbations and new social problems. Rural with the result that the unending waves of urban immigration give development, services and infrastructure are wanting in rural areas. resources and under-utilization of machinery and equipment. Steps The absence of planned infrastructure incurs a wastage of valuable The gap between rural and urban areas is forever widening prevailing conditions.

development is one of the most important preconditions for improving the living standards of the poor nations. ation, an atmosphere of relative peace and security conducive to fall within the super-powers' sphere of influence. Given this situin their search for external and internal security the majority of them whose independence is for the most part still young. Unfortunately, National security is a major concern in the developing countries,

and even many of those more prosperous, are in dire straits, while a developing countries alike are striving to prevent massive defaults on perforce given way to more immediate, practical concerns. Developed and interest rates. The quest for a new international economic order has number of them are weighed down by onerous debt burdens and high been uneven and precarious. Most of the poorest developing countries, recovery of the industrialized states from the most recent recession has ing international markets. international loans, and an increasing mood of protectionism is jeopardiz-As I write, the North-South issue is as far from resolution as ever. The

private sector, including the banks. Only through the co-ordinated efforts all concerned must take responsible and concerted action: North and maladjustments and persistent world economic difficulties call for longerimporting countries, governments, international organizations and the South, market and centrally-planned economies, oil-exporting and oilterm solutions. If world prosperity is to be restored on a sustainable basis, In a crisis situation emergency measures are required. But deep-seated

> of all these institutions shall we be able to shake off our present difficulties and advance anew.

should in no way be considered a form of charity to any country. It should development policy under discussion here. Long-term development aid of thousands in Africa and Asia, it has nothing to do with the kind of particularly in the past decade, has established a direct and strong link recognition of global economic interdependence, which has emerged be based on enlightened self-interest in the industrialized countries. The funds throughout the world may be in terms of saving the lives of hundreds between the developed and the developing world. However necessary and however beneficial the spontaneous raising of

cannot foresee international security being firmly established for generand misery, the North needs the markets and purchasing power of the The basic truth remains – neither side can prosper without the other. ations to come as long as islands of wealth persist in a sea of world poverty. to global trade. If trade expands, the world economy expands. Moreover, I South. The prosperity of the Third World is, therefore, ineluctably linked Whereas the South needs help to help itself if it is to overcome hunger Step One

major crisis area of the continent. I have no doubt that their policy of racial discrimination will one day collapse. The white man has long realized, despite his fear of annihilation, that he cannot do away with his black compatriots. The black population has long been aware that the white man is not a colonialist in South Africa but has the right tollive there. A genuine dialogue is crucial, and both sides must recognize that they need each other. I hope it is not too late for the necessary revolution of the spirit.

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The New Majority

During the whole of the seventies, when I was Secretary General, world attention focused mainly on wars conflicts and international crises and on how these were dealt with by the United Nations. Unfortunately this led to a misconception about the work of the world organization. Since the attitudes of the member governments very often did not permit the UN to discharge its duties as foreseen in the Charter the importance of the Nations deteriorated. Although I fully recognize the importance of the political role of the organization, during my term of office was faced with a new challenge, the handling of a new phenomenon, namely the growing gap between the rich countries in the North and the poor countries in the South of the globe.

In a world which had not really taken note of the historic dimension of this dramatic awakening in the Third World, the United Nations was the one single place where these forces could express themselves and mobilize the community of nations to draw attention to their plight.

The influx of newly independent countries radically altered the entire character of the United Nations. This massive group of Third World nations was not beholden to the West; it was encouraged, but not controlled, by the Soviet bloc. Its leaders proved highly adept at establishing operational groupings within the organization. In addition to continental and regional groups, they formed two over-arching organizations that included the vast majority of United Nations membership. In the political sphere, the Non-Aligned Movement was designed to function as a third force which could remain aloof from East-West alliances and manoeuvres. Their founding fathers were Tito, Nehru and Nasser, together with the Indonesian President Sukarno. Alparallel organization, the 'Group of 77' (actually, now over 125 states), was set up in order to advance the economic and social development of its membership. Each of these groups met periodically to concert strategy and tactics. Their

These overlapping coalitions now include virtually all the non-white, non-Western states in Asia and Africa, the bulk of the countries in South America and even a few Soviet allies such as Cubal Vietnam and the Mongolian People's Republic. They have transformed the parliamentary structure of the United Nations. Bloc politics tends to dominate decision-making. The new majority of the Third World overwhelms the outnumbered West. East-West rivalries, while still predominant in global terms, have become relatively less prominent in United Nations affairs.

The goals of these new members are egalitarian. The bulk of the wealth, scientific and technological skills, educational talent and productive capacity in the worldlis concentrated in a relatively few states. As long as this continues, the anti-colonial revolution, in the eyes of the less developed countries, cannot be considered complete.

On their own, most of these countries could do little to make their case persuasively. But in the United Nations where all states enjoy the same voting rights, the situation is different. By joining forces, the smaller states can, within broad limits, control most of the decisions. To be sure, the word 'decisions' is in most cases, a misnomer. In the General Assembly there are only recommendations, without binding effect. Even so they are not to be ignored, and over the course of time are bound to influence thought and action.

In order to facilitate the development process, the General Assembly created in 1964 the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

Three years later the UN Assembly established the UN Industrial Development Organization to assist the developing countries. It is now in the process of becoming a fully fledged specialized agency of the UN with its own separately funded budget.

Both the agenda and the membership of the world organization were evolving in a way not foreseen by its founding fathers. It soon became apparent that what the new Third World majority was seeking was nothing less than a revolution in the world economy to be won less by coercion than by the power of persuasion in the international forum. They demanded fairness and justice fairness because they did not accept that three quarters of the world's population living in the under-developed countries should enjoy only one fifth of its gross income; justice because, in their eyes, the old colonial powers had gained their wealth by exploiting the peoples and resources of their former possessions. To redress the balance they should now agree to a massive transfer of resources to the countries of the south.

There had indeed been examples in post-war history of such acts of Enlightened self-interest as the Marshall Plan, the American Alliance for Progress, and European Community arrangements for economic assistance to their former African, Caribbean and Pacific territories under the Lomé Conventions. These programmes had one feature in common they combined economic aid with the strengthening of alliances, or at least enhanced political affinity.

In contrast, the demands the Third World countries made on the Western industrialized states offered no comparable rewards. Their more radical leaders seldom based their claims in the context of mutual benefits. They spoke of the redressing of wrongs, and economic and social development, not as an aspiration but as a right to which they were entitled. It was an approach which produced confrontation rather than accommodation of views. The Third World could not achieve its purposes without the participation of the industrialized states they were attacking. The result of this policy in the United Nations was chronic acrimony and frustration.

One group, the bloc of Marxist states, stood largely aloof from the whole debate. The Soviet Union and its supporters, and also China, regarded development as a responsibility of the former colonial powers. They supported the argument that it was for the Western countries to compensate the developing nations for the exploitation to which they had been subjected in an earlier era. The Marxist countries hardly participated in the multilateral development activities of the un. They preferred to pursue their own bilateral aid programmes.

Obviously, the industrialized countries were reluctant to accept blanket liability for the alleged evils of colonialism and imperialism. They were willing to make adjustments in existing institutions and practices to meet the pressing needs of the South, but the improvements they proposed were incremental rather than radical. They insisted that economic development was accomplex and lengthy process. They refused to – as they put it – give money and credit, machinery, infrastructure and technical assistance to countries lacking the personnel, organization and experience to absorb them.

It must be said that they did not have to look far to find instances of the failure of ill-considered development projects, or examples of lack of coordination among donor agencies and waste and corruption among the recipients. The cost of major aid programmes was high. To grant trade preferences or guarantee higher prices for raw materials, or to extend financial aid on concessionary terms, involved a real cost to the industries, consumers and tax-payers of the developed countries. They preferred to rely as far as possible on market forces to increase the productive capacity

of the poorer nations.

conscience, nations which had subscribed to the UN Charter's pursuit of better standards of life in larger freedom' could not stand passively by in the lace of massive poverty, hunger, ill-health and illiteracy. The disparity more than 12 billion people lived in countries with a gross national world's population possessed more than nine-tenths of its manufacturing only be carried out on a world scale if the UN organization participated in a major way. The facts were incontrovertible. In the North, one-fourth of the Both personally and in terms of my constitutional position, I felt considerable sympathy for the basic position of the South. In all good industry and received more than four fifths of its income. In the South, increasing. Remedial action was necessary, and in my judgement it could etween the two worlds was not diminishing but to a considerable extent

Whatever the help from outside, a critical factor in development would be the sell-reliant effort of the countries in the south themselves. product averaging less than \$250 per head per year.

Realistically, however, the process could not be a one-way street.

dialogue between the parties. advocacy of moderation and gradualism and the continuation of a other. I therefore devoted myself to a search for areas of agreement, the positions and used the United Nations to launch verbal proadsides at each Nothing would be accomplished if the two sides dug in on extreme

Even the richer nations went into recession, resulting in a combination of inflation and unemployment. countries, which lacked the reserves and productive resources to cope. world economic system, but their weight fell most heavily on the poorest era of cheap energy by quadrupling the price of oil. These events shook the in 1973/4, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries ended the rates created by the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 had collapsed and, sharp and painful economic adjustments. The system of fixed exchange world economic and social order. The decade of the seventies was one of principle of moving by co-operation towards a more just and rational nations had expressed some reservations, they had endorsed the general ment strategy' to set economic targets, and while the major industrialized exceptional growth. The un had established an 'international develop-When I assumed office the industrial world was ending a decade of

and the other developing countries, particularly those with other markethabitually suffered. The invulnerability of the North had been challenged the adverse terms of trade from which the former colonial territories resources from the multinational corporations. They had sharply reversed They saw that their oil-rich brothers had wrested control of their natural The oil shock galvanized the more outspoken leaders of the Group of 77.

able assets, hoped to make comparable gains.

that time the head of the non-aligned group, they called for a special new system of relations based on equality and the common interests of all states. Boumédienne was peremptory, proclaiming the failure of the international development strategy and attributing this to the lack of session of the General Assembly in April 1974 'with a view to establishing a real needs of the South. urgent action, and the inadequacy of the growth targets in relation to the political will on the part of the developed countries to take the required Under the leadership of President Houari Boumédienne of Algeria, at

industrialized nations would have to change their policies and demonstrate a political will to co-operate. What his group hoped for from the Assembly was nothing less than the forging of a new international avoid confrontation, both sides should initiate a responsible dialogue. The real bargaining power by virtue of their natural resources. In order to economic domination of the poor by the rich. The Third World now had outset of this sixth special session in New York. The real issue he said, was economic order. He sustained this combative tone in the conversation we had at the

in the work of the session if it was to have any meaning. It would become highly undesirable for them to be isolated in the Assembly, and I persuaded them to assume a more active role. At the same time I advised special session. For my own part) I felt that the us must participate actively the American administration was taking a passive attitude towards the significant. I told him that I knew from my contacts in Washington that Boumédienne to seel a constructive compromise. He insisted that the position of the United States would be particularly

the entire structure of international economic relations, including promoderation. It adopted a resolution providing for fundamental changes in clear through numerous reservations that they would not comply. They did not vote against the resulting 'Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New Economid Order' but they made it were not prepared to respond in depth to these far-reaching proposals. visions on commodities, trade and industrialization, natural resources, food, finance and multinational corporations. The countries of the North The special session in 1974 was not to be guided by counsels of

adversarial spirit prevailed. This time the Group of 77 united behind a economic, political, social and cultural systems without any that every state had 'the sovereign and inalienable right' to choose its own had been drafted by President Luis Echeverría of Mexico. This declared proposed 'Charter on the Economic Rights and Duties of States' which interference and should exercise 'full permanent sovereignty' over its At the regular Assembly session the following autumn, the same

wealth, natural resources and economic activities. The developing nations were to have the sole right to decide for themselves the terms for compensating expropriated foreign enterprises.

These demands brought North-South relations in the organization to a new low. Most of the larger industrialized countries resented the verbal attacks and far-reaching demands of the majority. They were unwilling to abandon the existing economic system. If additional aid was to be made available for development, the countries of the North would have to provide most of it. As oil importers they were already making a massive transfer of financial resources to the OPEC countries and they now demanded that these should share in any major programmes to assist those less developed. The session ended in disarray.

The developing countries dismissed the proposal put forward by the West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, that instead of the same old long catalogue of impossible demands they should draw up a list of the things they wanted im some order of priority so that negotiations could start. The representatives of the Third World alone rejected it as patchwork politics where radical action was needed.

Nevertheless, as the months passed, as a result of constant interchanges at the un passions cooled and more moderate views emerged. A seventh special session of the General Assembly was held in the first half of September 1975. The contrast with its predecessor was remarkable. The developed countries, and particularly the United States, had evidently decided that a purely negative posture would help neither party. In a highlight speech the American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, put forward a number of promising proposals in a spirit of reconciliation. Kissinger had begun to recognize the usefulness of the un for Washington's foreign policies and obviously wanted to make a gesture to reduce Third World sceptism towards the United States.

He outlined a broad range of new international machinery, with offers of additional financial resources in response to the developing countries' needs in the fields of commodities, trade, finance, industrialization and food production. Others adopted a similarly conciliatory tone and an intensive effort began to reach common ground. The special session reached its conclusions by consensus and its work contributed to an improvement of economic relations between North and South.

In all candour I would have to admit that the promise of the seventh special session has not been realized in anything like the form then envisaged.

It was the merit of Henry Kissinger that the relationship between the United Nations and the Nixon administration, which had previously been

overshadowed by the controversy over Vietnam, improved progressively, although Nixon himself remained in the background. My relations with the President had been ambivalent. During my first year of office I had put out a public statement concerning the alleged American bombing of the dykes around Hanoi. I appealed on humanitarian grounds to cease operations that led to so much suffering. President Nixon had reacted in sharp tones. The Vietnam War was becoming extremely unpopular and doubtless my intervention was unwelcome, particularly in the period leading up to his second election. Thereafter our contacts remained distinctly cool and distant.

He gave an official luncheon for me at the White House but although we met several times there was never an in-depth exchange of views on world problems. He had little regard for the United Nations. However, I am obliged to say that as to his views and actions in the field of foreign policy one could not but appreciate his knowledge, vision and skill. Of the four presidents with whom I have dealt, he was the best prepared for his diplomatic responsibilities.

I particularly admired the way in which he managed the opening-up of American attitudes towards the People's Republic of China, so ably furthered by Henry Kissinger. I doubt that any American President who did not have strong backing from American conservatives could have run such a high political risk. I also appreciated his management of the detente policy towards the Soviet Union. Both these initiatives contributed materially to an improvement in international relations at the time and their effect was quickly and beneficially evident at the United Nations.

I do not know where Nixon's input ended in these and other policies of his administration, and where Henry Kissinger's began. There was no doubt, however, of Kissinger's encompassing influence on American foreign policy during the first half of my tenure at the United Nations.

He also came to office as no friend of the United Nations, indeed as someone highly sceptical of its usefulness. He was certainly no believer in a universal world political order. Yet under the stress of the critical days of the October War of 1973, he began to understand how useful the United Nations could be. He recognized the constructive role the Security Council had played during the crisis and the way it quickly took action to send un forces as a buffer between the belligerents. As he was fully aware, their prompt dispatch helped to avoid a direct military confrontation between the usa and the Soviet Union.

The reasons for his success and influence are complex. First of all he is a very intelligent man, far above the average, and is aware of his skills. He is a well-trained scholar and historian. Because of his European and Jewish background he has a more specific understanding than many statesmen of

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world history and the problems of the Middle East.

Vorlegreatest power in the world and that if they did not use the opportunity he convened a special press conference vigorously rejecting my statement and impact on my relations with the President. The next day, however, Nixon criticism of the us air raids over the phone with Kissinger, he assured me his governmental career became obvious to me in connection with the short term in office. The limits which Nixon set on him in the early days of shrank from the heart of the matter. He has an engaging sense of humour, was offering, they would get nothing out of the whole exercise. A tough or threat, he conveyed to his partners in discussion that he represented the Kissinger was that he had, and knew how to use, power in a productive Machipolitik, the politics of power, is over. The supreme quality of Henry calling me 'naive'. that my statement was well understood and would not have any negative American bombing of the Vietnamese dykes. When I discussed my public political power visibly grew with the downfall of Nixon during the otherwise he made it clear that he would return to Washington. His position lay. His attitude was: 'If you want a solution, I shall go on'; and he never left anyone in any doubt as to where the bottom line in his sincere and that he genuinely wanted a peaceful settlement; and he never politician, he was able to convince most of his interlocutors that he was to press the parties to accept the proposals he made. Without any bombast factor. What counts is power. It is unrealistic to believe that the era of Watergate scandal and, of course, afterwards during President Ford's fashion. In civilized discussion and negotiation he used this power in order Even so, in world politics intelligence alone is not the determining

Kissinger's Egyptian negotiating partner, Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmi, whom I consider one of the best brains in the Arab world, later on blamed him for his 'tendency to manipulate people, his overbearing vanity and his determination to be at centre-stage'. But I personally had no reason to complain about him. Although I was fully aware that he was not in love with the UN, he regularly visited me in my office on the thirty-eighth floor, and made a point of giving joint press briefings after our meetings in front of the famous Chagall window in the UN lobby. Whatever he said on such occasions, I admired his skill in public relations.

Although the seventh special session of the UN Assembly—with Kissinger's thought-provoking speech—in 1975 introduced a greater degree of tolerance and understanding between the developing world and the industrialized nations, this encouraging start did not in itself guarantee a satisfactory outcome. There was still too much suspicion for anything like a complete meeting of minds to occur. I felt very strongly that this

favourable beginning must not be frittered away. Worried about the inertia that had characterized these negotiations, in the autumn of 1975 I sent private letters to Kissinger, Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan, and the Italian Foreign Minister, Mariano Rumor, in his capacity as a president of the European Economic Community, urging them to spare no effort to reach a consensus on the outstanding policy issues. Their replies, although phrased in general terms, were reassuring.

The major resolution that emerged from the seventh special session had been in effect a revision of the Declaration on the establishment of a New International Economic Order of the previous year. Covering most of the same ground, it was couched in a spirit of common effort by the two sides rather than in the peremptory demands of the original declaration and its accompanying programme of action. It stressed the need for greater coperation between states and proposed 'concerted' action to achieve the goals of the new economic order.

One swallow does not make a summer. The deep-seated difference between North and South was not to be overcome between one month and the next. There was no adequate follow-up. In an attempt to get things moving, the focus of the North-South debate was shifted from the unwieldly General Assembly to a smaller group outside the United Nations – the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, consisting of twenty-seven representatives drawn from both sides, including seven members of OPEC. This body had been organized and convened on the initiative of Giscard d'Estaing and met in Paris. There were high hopes that itmight bring about a breakthrough. I attended its initial phase in December 1975, but was soon obliged to come to the conclusion that it was faced with the same problems we had encountered in the United Nations and with the same uncompromising attitudes of the two sides.

The industrialized nations were interested primarily in discussing the energy problem but the developing countries insisted on linking it with general commodity, finance and development issues. The discussions dragged on for eighteen months, with relatively little to show for the effort. The basis was laid for a common fund to assist raw material producers and some money was made available for development programmes. The results were nevertheless meagre.

Ignoring for a moment the strict chronology of this book, I think it would be helpful here to recount later developments in the North-South dialogue. After the disappointing outcome of the Paris talks, the scene of action, if it can be called that, shifted back once more to the United Nations. Over the next few years the developing countries increasingly focused the Assembly's attention on what are called 'global negotiatons' covering the major aspects of economic co-operation and development.

During the last two years of my term of office, I made strenuous efforts to give these negotiations (practical) form. Working in formal and informal groups, the delegates to the General Assembly tried one expedient after another in search of a formula to enable further progress to be made.

The main thrust of the Third World countries was to attain their ends by seeking radical changes in the United Nations system as at present organized. Currently the levers of financial power lie in the hands of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (1MF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), where the voting strength closely reflects economic and financial power. The South would like somehow to shift the venue of decision making in these matters to the General Assembly, where they have the majority vote. In this they have been unsuccessful, since the specialized agencies concerned were created by separate treaties and are not subordinate to the United Nations. All the exhortations contained in the General Assembly resolutions adopted on these subjects have, by their ineffectiveness, only compounded the frustrations of the developing countries and the irritation of the developed.

I do not mean to imply that all the fault in these attitudes lies on one side. If the developing countries are too rigid in their approach, the industrialized nations have hardly responded with excessive generosity to the proposals of the impoverished South. Their official development aid lags far behind the levels they have themselves accepted as targets. They have been more inclined to stand pat on their negative response to the new international economic order than to make concrete and constructive counter-proposals.

When Rüdiger von Wechmar, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, became President of the 1980 General Assembly, he made the effort to getta set of global negotiations under way as the central theme of his term of office. There was no one better suited to the task. Wechmar was a disciple of the former German Chancellor Willy Brandt, perhaps the leading Western protagonist of the Third World's development cause. Wechmar represented one of the West's most successful and prosperous countries, enjoying great influence in the counsels of the North.

It was towards the end of the General Assembly in 1980 that some of the leading representatives of the Third World, together with Rüdiger von Wechmar, visited me in my office in an atmosphere of despair, telling me that all their efforts to work out a compromise solution for global negotiations had failed. They referred to my good personal relations with President Jimmy Carter and asked me to intervene with him in order to get America's consent to the latest compromise proposals of the Group of 77. The timing was hardly auspicious. The presidential election was only a

few weeks away. Nevertheless I had a long telephone conversation with the President and asked him to take a good look at the proposals, bearing in mind that the developing countries believed that America was the major obstacle in the way of starting negotiations.

This the President said he would do, but he reminded me that it was a difficult period for him. He made three main points. First, he said, the United States could not accept anything that would give the United Nations General Assembly any sort of authority over the IMF, the World Bank or GATT. Second, we should bear in mind that the American Congress took a jaundiced view of the United Nations so much so that he had serious problems in getting funds appropriated by the Congress for the American contribution. Thirdly, he remarked that because of being in an election campaign he had to be cautious. If we were not careful, our actions could become counter-productive, he warned. It was in the interests of the United Nations not to push him too far.

What alarmed me was that the emotions engendered by the strident demands of the Third [World] and the recalcitrance, if not indifference, of the West, were destroying the credit of the United Nations and might ultimately even tear lit apart. This, I considered, would be a tragedy. Virtually every country in the West agreed in theory that the abyss yawning between the rich and the poor peoples was an evil to be combatted. They agreed also that the process of development would bring benefits to the North as well as to the South. If only both sides were guided by this underlying common interest, I felt that a dialogue could eventually produce at least partial results.

wachieving this objective would be a summit meeting of some twenty world decade. It envisaged a global agreement resulting from a joint effort of with a common conviction of mutual interest. An essential step in political will and a high degree of trust among the negotiating partners, a new impetus for future negotiations instrumental in drawing up an exhaustive, widely publicized report on the new challenges of the new challenges leaders, representative of the major groupings, to produce guide lines and Heath of Great Britain and leading private citizens, he had been head of a distinguished group of former statesmen, including Edward It was Willy Brandt himself who suggested a possible formula. As the

The former Chancellor came to see me in New York in February 1980 and handed me a copy of his Commission's report with a request to circulate it to all members. He asked me if I would organize the summit meeting envisaged. I was obliged to tell him that due to the lack of a mandate from any organ of the UNI could not act as the convenor of such a conference. Moreover, it was not for me to select the participants as I knew

effectiveness. We then decided that we would select two co-chairmen for expand the membership so broadly that it would lose focus and out of my long experience that this would immediately lead to criticism by they would choose the other participants. the conference, one from the North and the other from the South. Together those who had not been invited. There would be irresistible pressure to

what they have done to the countries of the Third World, he said. 'We retorted by insisting that the problems facing the Third World in the economic sphere were the result of colonialism. The Soviet Union had were not interested and would not attend. I attempted to stress how useful a during my Moscow visit in June 1981. He answered at once that they were economic help to the developing countries. 'We shall of course help them. as the Western powers.' He did add that the Soviet Union would render consequences of Western imperialism. It is up to them to make up for Hell never been a colonial power and had no reason to get involved in the Soviet contribution to the North-South dialogue would be. Gromyko developing countries. Nevertheless I did take up the matter with Gromyko considered participating in multilateral economic aid programmes to but I knew that this would be pointless. The Russians have never also asked me to try to persuade the Soviet Union to attend the meeting, Mexico, José Lopez Portillo, who had indicated his interest to us. Brandt but we shall do so on a bilateral basis.' shall not attend because we do not wish to be placed in the same category placed in As his colleague from the South we decided to approach the President of co-chairman from the North was the Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. Brandt asked me to proceed along these lines. Our initial choice for the

and the French, and when they responded favourably he went ahead. can't do it on my own,' he said. He consulted the Americans, the Germans that the main industrialized countries support me in this undertaking. I and he responded positively, but with one reservation: 'I have to be sure Kreisky, so I approached him first. We had a long talk together in Vienna First I thought that the easier task would be with my fellow-Austrian Bruno

as the meeting place and joined with Kreisky in issuing the invitations. on this issue, he was predisposed to take an active part, proposed Cancun verría, who had played such a prominent part in the UN special assemblies Lopez Portillo reacted immediately. As the successor to Luis Eche-

others, invited the Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, to replace Nations and we foregathered in October 1981. forceful and effective self. I took part as representative of the United him. Fortunately he was able to make himself available and was his usual fell ill. The Austrian government, in consultation with Lopez Portillo and Only a few weeks before the conference was due to meet, Bruno Kreisky

> group was ever the same twice. dinners and social occasions, where careful organization ensured that no were many bilateral talks in the surrounding offices and at the luncheons, main conference sessions never took on the form of negotiations but there and genial, but always tough on substance, and yielded very little. The the points that were so freely made to him. He was exceedingly courteous watching him carefully to see whether he was prepared to yield on any of shirt, was inevitably the centre of attention, with all the other participants conference hall were arranged in a huge circle. Reagan, in a short-sleeved arrangements were both sumptuous and relaxed. The tables in the main educational experience. There were twenty-three delegations and the group and he told me before we dispersed that he had found it an Reagan. This was his(first)major exposure to Third World leaders as a Third Instructive for us, and also for him, was the presence of President Circle

international understanding at heart. outspoken, but always left the way open for some understanding between her recent assassination is a bitter tragedy for all those with the interests of the main participants. She was a world leader of the highest quality and Gandhi supported the views of her Third World colleagues. She was very I was much impressed by the forcefulness and clarity with which Mrs

Sichuan, of which Zhao was at one time the governor. close to Deng Xiaoping, who comes from the south-western province of sympathetic personality and gets on well with Europeans. Helis also very than the repository of high-level political power. He has a warm and He gave the impression of being a technocrat and administrator rather The Chinese delegation was led by their Prime Minister, Zhao Zi Yang.

continues. Whether this will change with the advent of Gorbachevis open take them several decades; in the meantime they try desperately to acquire world and the Soviet Union, but not soon. In my own judgement it will millions are hard-working and one day they will catch up with the Western take them a long time to catch up with the other main powers. They are far ambition to play the role of a major power. They admit publicly that it will of the Peking government. The Chinese still regard themselves as an under-developed country belonging to the Third World, without any speaking: an attitude which seemed to fit his character and the basic policy know-how from the Western world. Their conflict with the Soviets behind in technology and even in technical infrastructure. Their teeming During the conference he played a low-key role, listening more than

words, had launched into a lengthy intervention to establish that although President Nyerere and Pierre Trudeau. Nyerere, who is never short of There was a sharp exchange, in the course of the conference, between

Tanzania was a socialist country it would welcome private investment. Trudeau was quick to respond. He asked the Tanzanian President whether he really thought that the Western nations would invest more in his country, knowing that sooner or later their investments would be jeopardized by government intervention. Nyerere and his Third World colleagues were momentarily nonplussed by the retort, but suddenly loud laughter broke out, not least from Nyerere himself, and the meeting went on to other matters.

Regrettably the conference did not lead to any major Change in the running controversy over the demands of the less developed countries for a new economic order. True to form of summit meetings, Cancun was long Form on harmonious generalities but short on practical results. Like so many other top-level gatherings, it provided no opportunity for the hard slog of detailed bargaining which must precede any agreement on so complex and controversial asubject. The conference made no provision for following up on its pronouncements or for making a start on global negotiations. With the onset of the recession of the 1980s, the focus shifted to short-term measures needed to save the developing countries from conomic collapse. Each side took notel of the views of the other and referred the whole matter where new efforts of another kind will have to be made if the world is to be relieved of this fundamental and agonizing conflict.

influence was limited, but united in their regional and non-aligned group of them quickly realized how valuable the United Nations could be to General Assembly Jointly and individually, they left their mark from the Third World countries to the regular annual sessions of the organization. There was a constant flow of heads of state and other leaders they gained importance and sometimes dominated the work of the for their officials in modern diplomacy. On their own, their international them. It gave them an international sounding board and a training ground were primarily concerned to establish their control domestically, but most the organization. As they achieved independence, the new political leaders leaders of the Third World countries which had swollen the membership of from the industrialized North, I made it a particular point to cultivate the welcome opportunity not only to meet these personalities, but also to grasp as possible. These trips to nearly all the capitals of the globe offered me the destiny of the world. Out of this conviction, right at the beginning of my the political environment in which they had to operate. Coming myself term of office as Secretary General I started to visit as many world leaders truth it is personalities more than anything else which influence the In all the years of my professional life as a diplomat, I learned one basic

I owe Marshal Tito a posthumous mention for his sturdily independent foreign policy, which established Yugoslavia as a non-aligned country. He always impressed me with his straightforwardness and his strong support for the United Nations. He was frequently critical of it, usually on the grounds that it was too inactive in international affairs and suffered from a lack of clout, but his approach was as constructive as it was frank.

We used to meet in New York and Belgrade and I was a frequent guest of his on the two island complex of Brioni in the Adriatic off the Yugoslav coast. Under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the islands had been mosquito-ridden and uninhabited. An Austrian named Kuppelwieser had made them habitable. When Tito came to power, he had constructed handsome hotels and guest houses on the larger island and a residence for himself, surrounded by a beautiful garden, on the smaller. He lived very comfortably there, indulging in his various hobbies, which included a private zoo, where he kept a collection of exotic animals sent to him as gifts by foreign political leaders. His other hobby was to build household furniture in a small workshop set in the midst of vineyards he had himself planted. He was proud of his wines and made a point of serving them with fish caught in the surrounding waters.

Two factors influenced his views on foreign policy. The first was a deep fear of the Russians, particularly after the 1968 'Prague Spring' liberalization movement had been destroyed by Soviet forces. He used to tax us Austrians with what he described as our complacency in the face of the Soviet menace. 'You people are too naive,' he said. 'Don't believe that you are not in danger! I have had my experiences with the Russians. They are capable of doing anything.' He was insistent that we remained on our guard against a Soviet military thrust through Austria and south to the Dalmatian coast.

His second great foreign policy concern was to strengthen the structure of East-West détente and the Non-Aligned Movement, thus creating a global equilibrium as a foundation for peace. The last years of his life left him a deeply disappointed man. He witnessed a deterioration in superpower relationships and the erosion of non-alignment as it fell under the increasing influence of the more radical Third World states.

I last saw Tito in a guest house in Havana during the 1979 summit conference of the Non-Aligned Movement. He was obviously physically ill and also deeply depressed. He was particularly concerned over the election of Cuba to chair the meeting, although the host country at these conferences is normally granted that honour. As the more radical leaders established their predominance, Tito's dismay increased. He was deeply exercised as to how the Non-Aligned Movement could maintain its credibility if Cuba, with its close links to the Soviet Union, were its leader.

The Cubans are extremely active in both the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement, although I did not meet Fidel Castro personally until I paid an official visit to Havana in January 1979. He is a charismatic figure, with a strong and magnetic personality and quite an attractive spontaneity in his manner. Greeting me at the airport, he asked immediately: 'Do you want the usual diplomatic protocol, complete with receptions and social events, or would you prefer me to take you to some islands where we can have our talks in peace and quiet?'

There was only one answer to such a loaded question and it suited my own preference. We changed our clothes at a nearby guest house and flew by helicopter to the island of La Juventud a few miles to the south. This is where Castro maintains his education and paramilitary centre for young African students, principally from Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. The youngsters were all in uniform and went through their paces with enthusiasm.

Castro had organized a small dinner for my party with only his closest advisers present. After a general discussion on the international situation, he came to what was obviously uppermost in his mind, the state of relations between Cuba and the United States. He launched a bitter attack against the American administration for rejecting all his efforts to establish better contacts. The Americans were not even permitted to export medicines badly needed in Cuba and he had to seek them in Europe and elsewhere. He almost pleaded with me to use all my influence to persuade the American government and people that he really wanted good relations. I assured Castro that I would inform Washington of his views.

The following day we flew to his private (island) which he called his 'little Brioni' (Iths allovely spot, although still primitive, and our talks took place on his vacht, which was tied up at a small dock. The business of the day was interrupted by a session of swimming and harpoon fishing, at which our host excelled. We observed that the group of security men who protected him were principally engaged in finding the largest shoals of fish.

As he satontheledge of the boat, a steward approached with two glasses on a small silver tray, each filled with aldark liquid. Castro first took a sip from one glass, gargled heartily and spat the contents into the sea. Then he took the other glass and swallowed its contents before diving in. I was told later that the first contained Listerine and the other whisky. Apparently this was his manner of fortifying himself against the rigours of skin-diving.

However that may be, he caught several dozen red snappers and lobsters. He personally prepared lunch; it consisted mainly of the raw seafood garnished with lemon juice, which he insisted was the best way to eat it. I have frequently been willing to sacrifice my digestive system in the

interest of international understanding, but this went beyond my normal bounds. As I found out later, Fidel Castro's strange way of preparing raw lobster was not so bad after all. Friends of ours did it the same way in Connecticut and loved it.

As on the previous evening, our talks concentrated mainly on Cuban-American relations. If this seemed a case of dialectical overkill, there was doubtless a special reason for it. At Castro's insistence, Bradford Morse, the highly respected administrator of the UN Development Programme, had been invited to all our functions for general discussions and to celebrate the opening of a new sugar mill built with the help of his organization.

Morse was a former American Congressman, well connected in Washington, and Castro doubtless wanted to use him as an additional channel to get his message through to the administration. Morse handled the situation very well.

On our departure Castro noticed my small rented aircraft standing on the airport apron. It was an old and somewhat shabby-looking Falcon, with space for only nine people. Professing astonishment, he asked me with disbelief in his voice: 'Are you going back in that thing? Is it safe enough?' I assured him that it was and that in any event! had holchoice. The United Nations does not possess its own aeroplane for the Secretary General or anyone else. It rents and charters the planes it uses. I consoled myself with the thought! that, if my dignity had been impaired, I might at least have convinced Castro and his revolutonary comrades of the capitalist frugality of the un organization.

One figure in the Third World merits special respect: King Hussein of Jordan. I visited him on many occasions and was always impressed by the blend of shrewdness, wisdom and courage which he displayed. Small in stature, precise and careful in speech, he has survived the turmoil besetting his country from outside as well as from its large and unruly Palestinian elements within. He combines courage with cautious diplomacy. A highly intelligent man, he supports a Western style of life while maintaining deep roots in Moslem traditions. Experience has taught him the value of prudence. As a young boy, he saw his father assassinated by Palestinian extremists while standing on the steps of a mosque in Jerusalem His engagement in the Six Day War of 1967 cost him Arab Jerusalem and his territory on the West Bank of the Jordan. These were hard lessons indeed.

His reluctance to respond to Western proposals that he should negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians should come as no surprise. He can only do so with the approval of the other Arab states. His rapprochement with Arafat

joint endeavours to involve Washington actively in the peace process and abilities, but he too must be wary of provoking his fundamentalists. The aspirations lie. Mubarek supports Hussein's policies to the best of his also no surprise that Muhammad Gaddafi should reject Hussein's strong Israeli lobby which seeks to thwart all contact with the PLO. It is considerable American reserve. For his part, President Reagan is facing a to negotiate with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation have met with and his joint approach to President Mubarek clearly show were his

proposals.

Case government. In the case of Gaddafi - whom I met in August 1977 in ideology and public image may be. It does not help to create a group of political outcasts when one day their co-operation may be needed to solve an international problem. and indignantly. It was absolutely untrue, he said, that he was supporting support liberation movements, which had, he asserted, even under the UN international terrorism. All he did and would continue to do was to came to my mind: as long as there is no objective distinction between terrorist activities. When I brought this up with him, he reacted sharply right time, because such personal encounters are immediately interpreted without acts of terrorism. When I left Gaddafi one simple thought again 0, e Charter, the right to fight for their independence. That could be Hone by the international media as a gesture of support for this or that Tripoli - it was particularly delicate because of his alleged support of Libya. It was always one of my problems to visit certain countries at the received repeated invitations from Colonel Gaddafi to visit him in

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nations and known for his tough, rigid approach in the negotiations on the operative. He was highly critical of the attitudes of the industrialized managed to establish good relations with him and he was quite co- Grood hostages on his border. (He) was not an easy man to deal with but I new economic order. over the economic demands of the Third World and the plight of Polisario President Houari Boumédienne of Algeria and I had several encounters

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guess was between eighty and one hundred thousand, predominantly ever able to determine exactly how many people lived there. The best neither the Spanish records, the Algerians, the Moroccans nor the un were King Hassan of imperialism. The territory was so sparsely populated that Western Sahara. The Algerian President had reacted violently, accusing Morocco, whose army had taken over the former Spanish colony of the Boumédienne was equally at odds with his neighbour, King Hassan of

nomads, among whom it would have been almost impossible to conduct a

referendum to determine their political future. with His firm position that the former Spanish Sahara was an integral part of Morocco - rejecting all claims of the liberation movement Polisario Republic of Sahrawi' as a full member to the OAU, Morocco and her friends in 1984, Polisario was admitted under the name Arab Democratic for an independent state - created a deep division within the OAU. When, King Hassan was equally intransigent and almost as difficult to deal I had great difficulty in obtaining an appointment with the King So I Telf the organization, creating a most serious crisis for the OAU (On one visit Heads of State I visited during my term of office. The King received me the following morning. He also invited me to join him in the royal train, in indicated to his staff that I wished to present him with the United Nations peace medal, a gold medallion which I made a practice of giving to all the which, as it turned out, he was making a tour to mobilize public opinion as part of (the) green march' designed to annex the Spanish Sahara. This placed me in an entirely false position, but fortunately there were no

married to a French lady whose that his reception and dinner married to a French lady whose that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady such lady suc The chief victim of this unhappy dispute was the President of Mauritania, Mr Moktar Ould Daddah, who had been persuaded by the married to a French lady whose hobby was writing books for children. His Spaniards. Daddah was a modest-looking man, educated in France and Moroccans to occupy the southern part of the territory abandoned by the cross-legged and were served with the traditional racks of lamb, although I for me took place in a tent put up in the garden. We squatted on cushions situation was clearly beyond his control and the Polisario liberation units managed to avoid eating the eyes when they were served. The Sahara number of palace revolutions Ould Daddah was deposed in a bloodless Number continuously attacked the fragile forces of the Mauritanian army. After a coup and the Mauritanian government had to surrender its claim to the Jahapp MAN

Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. Both are highly cultivated men, leaders, President Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal and President Felix Western Sahara in 1979. statesmen. Their influence in the shaping of African policies towards the former members of the French National Assembly and experienced pherland poet of international standing and Houphouët-Boigny one of the former colonial powers was of greatest importance. Senghorlisa philosowisest men the African continent has produced. Defenders of the free market economy, their countries were among the more prosperous nations Much happier were my relationships with two outstanding African

should call. shown it, because he went on: 'I have two priests here at the table, one visit, in 1973, he turned to me and asked: 'Are you a Protestant or a Helislalso a very religious man. At a dinner party during my first official Catholic and one Protestant, to say grace but I have to know on whom I Catholic?' I was somewhat surprised by the question and must have interests and a determined opponent of South Africa's apartheid policies. Nations and in the world at large. He is a strong defender of the continent's His honesty and personal warmth have created many friends in the United Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is another African leader of great stature Three work Sat

applause but I could not help asking myself whether it had been a worthsuggested we join the dance. This aroused universal enthusiasm and special aircraft and arrived in the middle of the ceremony. Prizes were capital, where he was opening the agricultural fair. I was flown there in a whate he was up in a cattle show dancing with him. while visit when, instead of having political talks with Kenyatta, I ended into their midst, where, after a few exchanges, he took me by the hand and him in congratulating them. I saw no harm in this and accompanied Suddenly Kenyatta turned to me and asked whether I would like to join being given to the best bulls, and tribal dancers then filled the arena. would receive me in the small village of Nakuru, some way from the the summer of 1974 to see President Kenyatta. I was informed that he see Although it is some time ago now, I cannot forget a visit I paid to Kenyain Cannot Dignity and protocol were not always maintained during these trips.

further help to these stricken people. Television and radio were in attendance and even before leaving New York I had prepared a dramatic occasion I recorded my address for subsequent use. event had forgotten to make any public announcement of my speech and an explanation. It soon became clear that the minister in charge of the standing in the square in front of the palace. When we got out on to the official residence to make an appeal to the international community for committee had been summoned to his modest capital by President operation for tens of thousands who were starving. The co-ordinating who seventeen countries in an attempt to co-ordinate the UN emergency relief capital of Burking Faso. This was part of a tour of the drought-stricken Sahel region – stretching from Senegal in the west to Ethiopia and Somalia therefore no one had turned up. In order to salvage something from the balcony there was not a soul to be seen. I turned to the President, asking for plea to read out to the thousands of people I had been promised would be Lamizana and it was planned that I should go on to the balcony of his in the east - which I undertook in February 1974. My itinerary included Perhaps my most embarrassing experience (was at Ouagadougou,)the 200

> easy to blame them for their lack of experience and absence of infra-structure, but that only detracts from the root cause of the developing and complicated problem common to all developing countries. It is all too ments in disarray is in fact merely symptomatic of a much more profound proposals. To my mind, and based on my experience, certain basic Musch office, I see no merit in adding to the confusion by bringing forward new development of the Third World In the final analysis, all development put forward by the members of the un in their endeavours to support the ent are the means for overcoming hunger, poverty and injustice that are problems confronting the developing countries are legion; equally divergcountries' present plight. The economic, political, social and cultural What would appear to be yet another example of Third World governdevelopment strategy is to succeed: principles hold true and must be subscribed to if any long-term , heard a plethora of programmes and concepts during my ten years of models are part and parcel of specific social models. Having seen and

The world

a major factor in socio-economic development and should be society in the developing countries. The education system propawas doomed, since it made no allowance for those features peculiar to recognized as such. gated in most developing countries, for example, does not meet real Hitherto, development aid, both in its conception and in its achievement, a kind of status symbol, while technical education and general scale. Higher education is often seen as a sign of social ing countries have not been able to introduce primary education on a social needs. Illiteracy rates are still climbing because most developimplementation, has adhered to foreign models; such an approach vocational training are still not considered priorities. A new educa-

Self-reliance is a deeply rooted tradition in the developing countries; tion, particularly in Africa. principle for all international efforts to combat famine and starvaachievement of self-sufficiency in food should be the guiding developed. For example, a plan of action oriented towards the it offers a firm basis on which sensible aid programmes can be

sometimes exploited for purely ideological reasons. In shaping aid attention away from pressing day-to-day problems, and it is particular issue is sometimes taken as a pretext for diverting public attempts to reassert their cultural identity. Unfortunately, this identity crisis which takes on the form of bitter and sometimes violent Most developing countries can be seen to be suffering from an

programmes and promoting economic co-operation, the international community should recognize the aspirations of the individual countries and foster their traditional values. Approached from this angle a country's assertion of its cultural heritage will proceed within the right context, rather than be debased to a mere political slogan.

The gap between rural and urban areas is forever widening: development, services and infrastructure are wanting in rural areas, with the result that the unending waves of urban immigration give rise to awesome conurbations and new social problems. Rural development should thus take on priority in any development plan. The absence of planned infrastructure incurs a wastage of valuable resources and under-utilization of machinery and equipment. Steps should thus be taken on an international scale to assist the developing countries in building up the infrastructure needed to absorb new technologies and subsequently to adapt them to prevailing conditions.

National security is a major concern in the developing countries, whose independence is for the most part still young. Unfortunately, in their search for external and internal security the majority of them fall within the super-powers sphere of influence. Given this situation, an atmosphere of relative peace and security conducive to development is one of the most important preconditions for improving the living standards of the poor nations.

recovery of the industrialized states from the most recent recession has been uneven and precarious. Most of the poorest developing countries, and even many of those more prosperous, are in dire straits, while a number of them are weighed down by onerous debt burdens and high interest rates. The quest for a new international economic order has perforce given way to more immediate, practical concerns. Developed and developing countries alike are striving to prevent massive defaults on international loans, and an increasing mood of protectionism is jeopardizing international markets.

In a crisis situation emergency measures are required Buttdeep seated maladjustments and persistent world economic difficulties call for longer-term solutions. If world prosperity is to be restored on a sustainable basis, all concerned must take responsible and concerted action: North and South, market and centrally-planned economies, oil-exporting and oil-importing countries, governments, international organizations and the private sector, including the banks. Only through the co-ordinated efforts private

of all these institutions shall we be able to shake off our present difficulties and advance anew.

However necessary and however beneficial the spontaneous raising of funds throughout the world may be in terms of saving the lives of hundreds of thousands in Africa and Asia, it has nothing to do with the kind of development policy under discussion here. Long-term development aid should in no way be considered a form of charity to any country. It should be based on enlightened self interest in the industrialized countries. The recognition of global economic interdependence, which has emerged particularly in the past decade, has established a direct and strong link between the developed and the developing world.

Whereas the South needs help to help itself if it is to overcome number and misery, the North needs the markets and purchasing power of the South. The prosperity of the Third World is therefore, incluctably linked to global trade. If trade expands, the world economy expands. Moreover, I cannot foresee international security being firmly established for generations to come as long as islands of wealth persist in a sea of world poverty. The basic truth remains—neither side can prosper without the other.

Step Two

AFRICAN TURMOIL

incrimination will one day collapse. The white-men has long trained onpits his fan of annihilation, that he cannot do anny tith his likely apparation and the right in like the minimality of colonialist in South Africa but he the right to live the same dialogue is choical, and hash sides must range its that they must range its than they must range its that they must range its than the range its trained in the range i

will one day collapse.

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The New Majority

Buring the whole of the severties, when I was Severtay General, well attention feesend main) on was, conflictuated international crises adapted to the third Nations. Unfertiantly this belt is a misconception about the world of the world organization. Since the mittales of the mass below to desire as feesent in the Ohm top the important the United Nations describe the organization, during a period of the organization, during a period of the organization of the patriod of the organization, during a period of the organization of the Ohm to the organization is the Seath of the globe.

In a world which had be treath) when the of the historic dimension this drawntie awakening is the Third World, it Direct Nations must be one single place where these forest could express themselves and subility the community of nations to draw attention to their plight.

The influx of early independent contributions of the United Nations. This immediately object the World stronger, was not beholden to the Worl, it was seen begun but to the World the proved highly adopt to the beholden to the World the grand the grand highly adopt to the stronger of the decision of regional groups, the format the common this constitution is that included the last against of Ultited National scaling the political place, the National Aligned Mountains the final formation of the Comp of)? (actually, now over 15 mounts) was also be the formation of the comp of)? (actually, now over 15 mounts).

A world

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an People's Republic. They have transformed the partie The new andorsty of the Third World over United Nations. Dioc polities tends to domina such as Cub

ad technological skills, educational failure and produce the resid is concentrated in a relatively few states the lo the anti-color

personaively. But in the United Mations, where all or unting rights, the situation is different Pyrjoining forces there are only recommendations, without binding effect. Dron bread limits, control most of the

the process of becoming a fully fleel and appointing a some of the unit in Development Organization to èrense en Trade and Development (onci ab) users the developing committee. It is a process, the County towns! catabilaited the on Industrial

world Both the agondurand the membership of the world eigenization no. evolving in a may not forecome by its founding fathers. It soon because apparent that what the new Third World majority was pooling as welling loss than a reclusion in the world assembly, to be realless to the peoples and resources of their terms custice should enjoy only one fifth a) as the old colonial powers had Samed their in or luminess because they and not decepted in CASIOIL III LIIC IIIICLIM EK

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THE NEW MAJORITY

political affinity a Marshall Dlan, the American Alliano motory or sach acts

died leaders seldem based their dames in the content of material beach. mindestrialized states offered no comparable contact. Their more lation of ricers. The Third World could no est, the demands

been subjected in an earlier car. The Marxie countries haddy par o purous their own bilateral aid programme asted in the maintainal development activities bore, and also Chi...., 188

ecumeries lacking the personnel, erganization and experience to in oromonical, active diantadical. They insisted that soonomis eas a complex and longthy process. They refused to as they past Obsissaly, the industributed sometimes and imperialism. They were ng nords of the bould, but the improvements they proposed nor

as. The cost of majoraid program committee to grant to

attre poorer matrons.

Both personally and in terms of my constitutional position, I felt considerable sympathy for the basis position of the South II all good conscience nations allied had subscribed to the effect of passively by the feet of massive person; hunger, ill health and illiteracy. The diamon, the feet of massive person; hunger, ill health and illiteracy. The diamon, between the two colds massive decessors, and in my judgement is such associated action of the feet of th

Perlinically, however, the process sould not be a one way street. Thatever the help from outside, a critical factor in development would be be offered of the countries in the south thomselves.

Modeling would be accomplished if the two sides dag in an entrance positions and used the United Marions to launch serbal breachides at each other. I therefore detected myself to a search for around segmentary, the advectory of moderation and greatedism and the continuation of a dialogue between the parties:

When I assured effective industrial wall-was soding a boate of asseptional growth. The revised established as "international development of the expressed some resocrations, they had endought industrialized principle of moving by to operation towards a more just and rational world contained assist order. The decade of the seventian and social order. The decade of the seventian and of the seventian and social order. The decade of the seventian and of the seventian and of the seventian and of the seventian of the sevential the State of the sevential sevential the sevential the sevential sevential the sevential the sevential the sevential that their weight fell most beautiful a combination of the containing the prior of oil. The sevential portion world commission which has their weight fell most beautiful a combination of the containing the prior of oil. The sevential portion world commission which is seventially as the portion of the richer market has their weight fell most beautiful a combination of the containing the prior of oil to the combination of the containing the prior of oil to the combination of the containing the prior of oil to be successful.

The vitable and ranized the convergence alreaders of the Croup of professions that their oil wide brothers had arrested sential of their antend resources from the multimational corporations. They had the apply resourced the adverse terms of trade from which the feature colonial territories habitually suffered. The incular admirability of the North had been challenged and the other developing countries, particularly those with other market.

able assets, hoped to make comparable game.

Under the leaduship of President House Beamédisme of Algeria, as that time the head of the non-aligned group, they called for a special consists of the General Assembly in April 1974, with a simulate stablishing non-system of relations based on equality, and the common interests of all states? Boundédienne was peremptory, proclaiming the failure of the international development strategy, and attributing this to the heak of political will on the part of the developed countries to take the equited suggestation, and the inadequaes of the growth targets is relation to the bount.

He sustained this combative tone in the conversation we had at the conserve within sixth special session in New York. The real issue, he said, must constitute sixth special session in New York. The Third World now had seed bargaining power by virtue of their natural resources. In order to excide conformation, both sides should initiate a responsible dialogue. The industrialized resides reald have to change their policies and demonstrate a political will to compense to change their policies and demonstrate a political will to compense the foreign of a new international section.

He insisted that the position of the Hydred States would be passing ignificant. I told him that I know from my contacts in Westington in the Assistant Expression. For my cours part follows to the recent participate actionly in the analysis of the position if it was to be isolated in the Assembly, and I gained the decrease to be isolated in the Assembly, and I possed the decrease to be isolated in the Assembly, and I possed the decrease to be isolated in the Assembly, and I possed the decrease to be isolated in the Assembly and I possed the decrease to be isolated in the same time I administration in the Assembly and I administration to seek a sense to the isolated in the same time I administration in the Assembly and I administration in the I administration

The special position in 19/4 was not to be guided by composite deciding for finite structure of international providing for finite special positions are some division, including positions of the structure of international positions. The countries of the New State of the Position of the State block are should be seen they are the position of the Pos

At the regular Assembly session the following natures, the adversarial spirit prevailed. This time the Group of 77 united behind proposed 'Charter on the Economic Pights and Duties of States' which had been drofted by President Luis Echeveria of Mexico. This declare that way state had the serial and inclinable right'to choosits and that political, social and submit systems without any outside commit, political, social and submit systems without any outside interference and should exercise 'fall permanent soveright' over its interference and should exercise 'fall permanent soveright' over its interference and should exercise 'fall permanent soveright' over its interference.

These demands brought North South relations in the organization to use less. Most of the larger industrialized sountries resented the reshall stacks and far reaching demands of the majority. They were uswilling to about on the existing economic system. If additional aid was to be made wailable for development, the countries of the North would have to provide most of it. As all important they were already making a massive transfer of financial resources to the opposite already making a massive transfer of financial resources to the opposite programmes to assist those less developed. The session coded in distance.

The developing countries decreased the proposal put forward by the West Cerman Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, that instead of the same old long catalogue of impossible domands they should draw up a list of the things they wanted in some order of priority so that negotiations could start. The representatives of the Third World alone rejected it as participated politics where redical action man needed.

at the 111 passions social and more moderate views emerged. A social special session of the General Assembly was held in the first half a September 1975. The sentrast with its producessor may conscitable. The developed countries, and particularly, the United States, had criderally decided that a purely regarive posture would help neither pasts. In highlight speech the American Secretary of States, Heavy Essaings, purferward a number of promising proposals in a spirit of recognition. Kinsinger had began to recognize the ascfulness of the ray for Washing ton't foreign policies and abridually marked to make a gesture to reduce Third World seeptime to made the United States.

He outlined a bread wange of now international machinery, with office of additional financial resources in response to the developing countries useds in the fields of commedities, trade, financy, industrialization and feel production. Others adapted a similarly consiliatory tone and adapted a similarly consiliatory tone and internation of began, to reach sommon ground. The special assistance of the constraints by conscisus and its work contributed to an improvement of someonic destinates between North and South.

In all condour I would have to admit that the promise of the seventh special assion has not been realized in anything like the form that beninged.

It was the merit of Henry Kinsinger that the relationship between the

ausucheden cells, the controvers) size Wiemun, improved progressively although Nimes himself remained in the background My relations will the President had been ambivelent During my first year of office I lad provide a public statement concerning the alleged American beambing of the dyless around Hanci. I appealed on humanitarian grounds to consequently to be much led to so much sufficing. President Nimes had assert in the provident Natural Security and population that the controvers particularly and population to the second election. Therefore our contracts remained to the provident of the limit of the latest particularly in the point to the provident of the latest particularly in the point to the second election. Therefore our contracts remained the latest particularly and the latest particularly in the point to the point of the latest particular than the latest particul

He gave an official functions for mast the White House betailding by the fact from the fact that the second for the United Nations House, and obliged to suy that as to his sicres and actions it the following policy are could not but approxime his knowledge, vision and skill. Of the four problems with whom I have dealt, he was the best proposed for his diplomatic composition.

I particularly admitted the way in chief he managed the spaning up of American estimated tomated the Teopie's Republic of China; so ably fishered by Henry Kissinger. I doubt that any American President who hid not have strong backing from American concernatives could have a seen a fugli political circle. I also appropriated his paragement of the Mant polity towards the Boriet Union. But those initiations countilly materially to an improvement in intermetional clusions the line and their first way quickly said backfould, evident of the II-stad Nation.

I do not know who e Nixon's input order in these and ectic points his administration, and where Ilemy Kassinger's began There was American doubt, home or, of Kissinger's accompanying influence or American foreign policy during the first litality from the contract the United Nations.

He also cannote effice as friend of the United Nations, indeed a second health political to be began to understand how ascisling United Nations (National Association) as believed that Countries and the Countries of the United Nations could be He recognized the constant and the Section Countries had played during the exists and the section of the parameter disputes helped to avoid a discountries, confrontation between the believe military confrontation between the customatic field and the Section Union.

Hit I case to the second and instanted Board age, and is a mane of his at 111 Jie.

The I can be also as a second position of the Board and is a mane of his Emperation of Journ Background be ackground by the Board and Journ Background be ackground by the Board and Board and Journ Background by the Board and Board a

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Madifolitik, the politice of power, is over. The supreme quality of Illury Even so, in world polities intelligence alone is not the determining Fith Middle East, world

no onand he never left unyone in any doubt as to where the better, line in hi has to shrank from the heart of the matter. He has an engaging venue of humans world greatest power in the world and that if the the Continuent he corresed to his partners in discussion that he represented the singers and that he genuinely wanted a peaceful ectilement, and he new was offering, they would get nothing out of the w convened a special press conference rigorously rejecting my statement and impact on my relations with the President. The next day, however, Nixon that my statement was well understood and would not have any negative eritieing of the us air raids over the phone with Kissinger, he assured me ms forcumental career became obvious to me in connection with the horternin offer. The limits which Him set of him the carly days of editical power visibly great with the downfull of Nixon during the Hatergate scandel and, of course, afternards during Desident Fords merican bombing of the Victuannese dyses. When I discussed my public prose the parties to accept the proposals he made consider most of his investocators that he was esitalos a team polytica, ne i to uco, power in a productio i shall go on

Complain about him. Although I was fully availe that he was not ارهمها front of the famous Chagall window in the walebby. in love with the expheregularly risited me in my office on the thirty eightl and his determination to be at centre stage. But I personally had no blamed him for his tendency to manipulate people, his greebearing unit; such essasions, I admired his skill in public relations Fahmi, whom I consider one of the Kissinger's Egyption regulating parence, Foreign Minister Ismen brains in the Anab world, later on

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... world, Even so, the world has to go on. To complain about love in front of the famous Chasall window does not make a difference. ratiofactory outcome. There was still too much exepision for any thing like industrialized netions, this encouraging start did not in itself surrantee a Although the seventh special coosion of the on Assembly—with Kinning or is piciance and understanding between the developing in 1975 introduced e a greater degree of world and the

Japan, and the Itanan Society Minister, Mariano Rumor, and copacity inertia that had characterized these negotiations, in the autumn of 1975 spare no effort to reach a consensus on the outstanding policy issues. Their as a president of the European Beatonic Community, urging them. sent private letters to Kissinger, Toreign Minister Kiichi Miyazana o splies, although phraced in general terms, more reasoning.

rather than in the percurptory domands of the original declaration and its same ground, it was couched in a spirit of common effort by the two sides operation between states and proposed seasogical action to achie accompanying programme of action. It stressed the need for greater so International Regionite Order of the previous year. Covering most of the een in effect a revision of the Declaration on the establishment of a New The major resolution that emerged from the seventh special session had The deep realed difference

emoving, the focus of the North South debate was shifted from the Nations the Conference on International Economic Co operation in December 1975, but was soon obliged to come to the conclusion that i ing seven members of or no. This body had been organized and convened consisting of twenty seven representatives drawn from both sides, includ namically General Assembly to a smaller group outside the United on the initiative of Giscard d'Estaing and met in Paris. There were high the next. There was no adequate follow up. In an attempt to get things between North and South was not to be evercome between enominath and was faced with the same problems we had encountered in the United Nations and with the same uncompromising attitudes of the two sides: ropes that it might bring about a breakthrough. Fattended its initial One swallow does not make a summer

some money was made available for development programmes. The energy problem but the developing countries insisted on linking it with The basis was laid for a common fund to assist new material producers and results were nevertheless incagre. dragged on for eighteen months, with relatively little to show for the effort The industriclized nations were interested primarily in discussing the commodity, finance and development issues. The discussions

dialogue. After the disappointing outcome of the Peris talks, the scene of facused the Assembly's attention on what are called 'global negotiators Nations. Over the next few years the developing countries increasingly action, if it can be called that, shifted back once more to the United cevering the major aspects of economic co-c would be helpful here to recount later developments in the North South Ignoring for a moment the strict chromology of this book, I think it peration and development

give these negotiations practical form. Working in formal and inform nother in search of a formula to enable further progress.

roficets econòmic and financial power. separate usaties and are not subordinate to the United Nations. All the Agreement on Fariffs and Trade (our World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (1217) organized Currently the levers of financial pour Assembly, where they have the resking radical changes in the United Nations ejetem as at process The main tinus of the Third World countries was to attain their ends b In this ency have been would like somehow to oting strongth of and the Genera

logs for behind the levels they have themselves accepted as targets. The nternational economic order than to make conclude and constructi are been more inclined to stand pat on their negative response to responded wit crow approach, the

(Contany to the United Nations, became President of the 1986 General Assembly, he made the effort to get a out of global negotiations under may successful and prosperous countries, enjoying great influence in th Brands, perhaps the leading Western protegonist of the Third World's the task. Meehmar was a disciple of the former German Chancello. Willy as the sentral theme of his term of office. There we no one hetter suited to development cause. Weekmar represented one of the West's most When Rüdiger von Wechmar Ambassador of the Federal Republic of

negotiations had failed. They referred to my good ; leading representatives of the Third World, together with Rüdiger von President Jimmy Carter and asked me to intervene with him in order to g Weehmar, visited me in my office in an atmosphere of despair, telling my bacrica's consent to the latest compromise proposals of the Group of 7 It was towards the end of the Coneral Assembly in 1980 that some of the taming was hardly auspicious. The presidential election was

the developing countries believed that America

election compaign he had to be cautious. If we were not Congress took a jaundieed view of the United Nations, so much a difficult period for him. He made tince main points. First, he said, United Nations not to push him too far. sould become counter productive, he named I these in the interests of the had serious problems in gening funds appropriated by the Congress for th Ceneral Assembly any sont of audionity over the IMF, the States could not accept anything that would give the ident said he would do, backe reminded me that it was Thirdly, he remarked that because or eald bear in mind that

combatted. They agreed also that the process of devel produce at least partial results. by this underlying common interest, I felt that a dialogue could eventually benefits to the North as well as to the South. If only both sides were guide gawning between the rich and the poor peop altimately even tear it apart. This, I considered emends of the Third World and the recalcination, What slarmed me was that the motions , were desurying the credit of the Chined Nations and in in the West agreed in , mould be a traged rior riverici criec⁾. O

instrumental in drawing up an extranstrue, head of a distinguished group of former statesmen, including Edman leaders, representative of the major groupings, to produce guide lines need to re order. North South relations to most the challenges of whiteal will and a high degree of trust among the negetiating partner leasede. It cirvisaged a global agreement resulting neu impotus for future negotiations It was Willy Brandt himself who suggested a pessible formula. As the

circulate it to all members. He asked no if I would organize the summi The former Chanceller came to see me in from any organ of the bit I could not act as the convener of such obliged to tell him in New York in Echmary 1986

He. ..

Stall emocratics of Western imperialism. It is up to them to make up to placed shall not attend because we do not minto be placed in the same sategory in as the Mestern powers. He did add that the Soviet Union would reads economic help to the developing countries. We shall of course but we shall do no on a bibliogal basis? Menico, José Lopes Pertillo, who had indicated his interest to us. Brand conomic sphere were the result of selectation. The Soviet Union had Soviet contribution to the North South dialogue would be. Gromph exing my Moscoussist in June 1961. The answered at once that they were started by insisting that the problems facing the Third World in the eveloping countries. Nevertheless I did take up the matter with Gromy he so saked me to my to persuade the Seriet Union to attend the meeting chairman from the North was the Austrian Chancellor Druno Kreish I knew that this would be pointless. The Russians have now It asked me to proceed along thee lines. Our initial choice for the calonial pawer and had no reason to get involved in the es ur multilateral economic aid programmes

Ishonghe that the union tack modifies it is, filled to go the in Visual Russe and he tupeded positively, between one severation of house to be sure that the main industrialized countries apport no in this undertaking that the main industrialized countries apport the inchinations, the Cambridge of the Truncia, and then they responded foremachly he postuloud.

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Teper I ortillo reacted immediately. As the successor to Inia Febo versio, who had played such a prominent part in the exespecial assemblies on this issue, he was predisposed to take an active part, proposed Cancun as the meeting place and joined with Kroich, in igning the invitations.

Only a few weeks before the conference was due to most, Bruno Kroish, fell ill. The Austrian government, in consultation with Lopez I brille and others, in itself the Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudesu, to applece him. To ture talk he was able to make himself available and making and forceful and effective solf. I took part as representative of the United Mations and we foregardated in October 1987.

on shall be placed in the first circle. The Chinese province of S

THE NEW MAJORITY

Reagan. This was his first major exposure to Third World leaders as a group and he told me before we dispersed that he had found it an educational experience. There were twenty three delegations and the arrangements were both sumptuous and relaxed. The tables in the main, conference had were averaged in a bage circle. Reagan, in a short sleaved shirt, was insuitably the cause of attention, with all the other participants wereling him earefully to see whether he was prepared to yield on any of the points that were so feely made to him. He was exceedingly courteous and geniel, but always longit on substance, and yielded way little. The main conference assists mever took on the form of regoriations but these were many bilateral talks in the surrounding offices and at the luncheous, there are and social occasions, where were and social occasions, where we full organisation ensured that no group was ever the same twice.

Candhi supported the siems of her Third World colleagues. She was seen outspoken, but always left the way open for some understanding between the main participants. She was a world leader of the highest quality and her recent assassination is a bitter truged) for all those wide the interests of interestional understanding authors.

The Chinese dalegation was held by their Prince Ministers that the Impression of being a technology and deliminate the second than the repositor, of high level political power. He has a managemental their personality and gets on well with Europeans. He is also very close to Dong Xinoping, who comes from the couth mestars province of Sichuan, of which Zhao was at one time the governor. A province of Sichuan During the conference be played a low ley rate, listoning more than

speaking: an attitude which seemed to fit his characteristic basic policy of the Paking government. The Chinese still regard themselves as an under developed country belonging to the Third World, without an ambition to play the role of a major power. They admire publicly that it will take them along time to catch up with the other main power. They are few behind in technology and even in technical infrared aparath Along the main rolling and one day they will catch aparath the Western world and the Boviet Union, but not soon. In my own judgement it will take them several decodes; in the meantime they are desponded, to acquire know how from the Western world. Their conflict with the Soviets continues. Whether this will change with the advent of Gorbachev is open to appear to the few fields.

There was a shorp eachange, in the course of the conference, but near President Nyerore and Pierre Trudeau. Nyerore, who is now, short of words, had laurched into a langthy intervention to establish that although

BETWES ...

Tenzanja was a socialist country it would inclosine private investments. Truducit was quick to respond. He asked the Tanzanian President whether he really thought that the Western nations would invest more in his country, knowing that sound to later their investments would be jopardised by government intervention. Myercre and his Third World bulkagues were momentarily nonphused by the retort, but suddenly load bulkagues were momentarily nonphused by the retort, but suddenly load bulkagues were momentarily nonphused by the retort, but suddenly load bulkagues broke out, not least from Nyercre himself, and the meeting near

hughter broke out, not least from Nyous himself, and the meeting on trackers.

Hunning contraversy over the demands of the least developed countries for new economic order. True to form of summit meetings, Cansun not long of increasing generalities but short an practical results. Like so many which top lovel gedictings it provided no apportunity for the head clay of the order as practical results. Like so many on its promouncaments or for making a start on global regulations. With the most of the recession of the 1980s, the focus shifted to short tombe to the United Nations, where new effects of another kind rill have to be reade if the world is to be elieved of this fundamental and agonizing conflicts.

Buncat Assembly. Jointly and individually, they less their mark Mark)
... to change form. Subject the globe to assembly. Mark in the a wheas possible. These trips to nearly all the capitale of the globe effered me the term of effect as Secretary Ocneral I started to visit as many world leaden welcome opportunity not only to meet these personalities, from the Third World countries to the regular annual sessions of them quickly realized how valuable the United Nations could be to to the organization. As they achieved independence, the new political leadow from the industrialized North, I made it a particular point to cultivate the organization. There was a constant flow of heads of state and other leaders influence was limited, but united in their regional and non-aligned group were primarily concerned to establish their control demostically, but most eaders of the Third World countries which had swellen the membership of br their officials in modern diplomacy. On their own, their international hem. It gave them an international sounding board and a training ground political environment in which they had to operate. Coming mysch y of the world. Out of this conviction, right at the heginning of my sometimes dominated the work of the anything also which influence the dscass experied

Lowe Marshal Tito a postitumous mention for his statelily independent fereign policy, which established Tugoslavia as a non-aligned country. Machinery impressed me with his straightforwardness and his strang support for the United Mations. He was frequently critical of it, usually on the grounds that it was too inactive in international effairs and suffered from a lack of clout, bathio approach was an constructive as it was franklack of clout, bathio approach was an constructive as it was frank-

Wieused to meet in New York and Belgrade and I was a frequent guested in the coast. Under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the islands had been assignife ridden and uninhabited. An Austrian and Kuppolarias had been than habitable. When Tito came to power, he had sometised at handsome hatch and guest house on the larger island and a residence for himself, surrounded by a beautiful guiden, on the smaller. He liked as sometises, where helper collection of excite animals sent to him asgifts to edge, political leaders. His other looks was to build household furniture in a small workshop set in the midet of sine and helper household furniture in a small workshop set in the midet of sine and helper helper in the midet of sine and helper helper in the says to be a helper in the says to be a helper to be a midet of sine and helper head of his sine says to be a helper household furniture in the surrounding matter.

Eno factors influenced in views on foreign policy. The first was a dap for of the Russians, particularly after the 1966 Trague Spring liberalisation more ment had been destroyed by Soviet forces. He used to take the station with what he described as our completency is the face of the Soviet menace. You people are too naive, he said: Don't believe that you are not in danger. Have had my experiences with the Russians. They are capable of doing anything. He was insistent that we remained on our guard against a Soviet military thrust through Austria and south to the Dalmatian coast.

His second great foreign policy concern was to strengthen the structure of East West delene and the Non Aligned Movement, thus creating a Kay global aquilibrium as a foundation for passe. The last years of his life left him a deaply disappointed man. He witnessed a deterioration in superpower relationships and the greater of non-alignment up it foll under the increasing influence of the more realisal Third West cases.

Hast saw Tito in a guest base in Hasta during the 1070 sumprite conference of the Non Aligned Monement. He may obviously physically ill and they deeply depressed. He was particularly concerned over the destion of Guba to shair the moting, although the host country at these conferences is normally granted draw hoston. As the mote radical leaders carbinated their prodominance, Tito's diama, increased. He was deeply exercised as to how the Non Aligned Movement could majorain in cardibility if Guba, with its shoot links to the Soviet Union, were its leader that?

active in both the United Nations and th

thican students, principally from Angola, Mozambique and Namibia There was only one enswer to such a loaded question and it suited my al an annount and went throagn then paces wi

5 5 V Cactre had organized a small dinner for my party with only his ons. 1 assured Castro that In e botmeen Cube and the United States. He leanched a e to what was obviously apparament in his mind, the et e. He almost pleaded with me to use all my influence to persone The Americans a of bis views.

protected him were principally engaged in finding the largest shouls of fish ur host excelled. We observed that the group of security man who As he sait our the edge of the beat, a steward approached with two glasses em glass, gangi mall silver tray, each filled with a dark liquid. Castro first took a si yled beautily and spot the contents into the sea. Thenke Sea s at a small dook. The business of the de

مديرين

this was his manner of for tifying himself against the rigours of skin diving

the other glass and swallawed its contents before diving in. I was told

contained Listering and the other which; Apparant,

Figure one. In his mind, he views a dark glass sea. Before di

seefood garnished with tenson juice, which he insisted

ounds. As I found out later, Fidel Castro e strange way of preparing raw of dialectical went beyond my morma

celebrate the opening the highly respected administrator of the sar Development Programme merican relations. If this seemed a case of dialectical exertill, there was e special reason for it. At Castro's insistence, Bradford Morse talks concentration discussions and to

the situation very well channel to get his message through to the administration. Washington, and Castro doubtless wanted to use him as an additional Moise was a former American Congressman, well connected is Morse handle

with space for only nine people. I rollsning astonishment, he asked me with On our departure Castro noticed in semall conted aircraft standing or ecnough:

the value of prudence. As a young boy, he saw his father assassinated b maintaining deep roots in Modern traditions. Experience has taught him macy: A highly intelligent man, he supports a Mestern style of life wh Jerusalem. His engagement in the Six Day War of 1967 erusalem and his territory on the Mest Bank of the Jos and lessons indeed. Terusalem. Jerusalem indeed and of chrowdness, windom and courage which he displayed: Small Soct Line enbecat.

talks of dialectical space. Terusalem. Jerusalem Indeed with the approval of the other Arab states. His repprechanged with Araba on behalf of the Palestinians should come as no surprise. He can only do so His reluctance to respond to Western proposals that he should negotiate

and his joint approach to President Mubarek clearly show were his aspirations lie. Mubarek supports Hussein's policies to the best of his shillities, but he too must be wary of provoking his fundamentalists. The joint endeavours to involve Washington actively in the peace process and to negotiate with a joint Jordanian Palestinian delegation have met with Sconsiderable American reserve. For his part, President Reagan is facing a strong Israeli lobby which seeks to thwart all contact with the past It is proposale.

hetween) idealong indeplace and matter to keep contact with all political leaders whatever their dishacher came to my mind as long as there is no objective distinction between There is) way y we without acts of terrorism. When I left Gaddust one simple thought again political outcosts when one day their to operation may be needed to solve an international problem. (Cove)

President Houari Roumédianne of Algunia and I had social ensuments over the conomic demands of the Third World and the plight of Polisario ferrorists and freedom fighters, it will always be left to governments and ideology and public image may be. It does not help to create a group of people to make their own subjective assessment. Nevertheless I always Charter, the right to fight for their independence. That could be done support liberation movements, which had, he asserted, even under the tixt international terrorism. All he did and would continue to and indignantly. It was absolutely untrue, he said, that he was supporting Sovernment. In the case of Caddafi sight time, because sucit personal encounters are immediately interpreted Libya. It was always one of my problems to visit certain countries at th y the international media as a gesture of support for this reorist activities. When I brought this up with him, he reacted sharply essived repeated invitations from Colonel Caddass to visit him in it was particularly delicate because of his alleged support of whom I met in August 1977 m

puer the economic demands of the Third World and the plight of Polismic hostages on his border. He was not an easy man to deal with but I managed to establish good relations with him and he was quite agreement.

Operative He was highly critical of the attitudes of the industrialized rations and known for his tough, rigid approach in the regotiations on the new economic sorths.

Roundiness was equally at odds with his neighbour, King Hassen of Mosoos, whose army had taken on the former Spanish colon, of the Western Sahara. The Algerian President had reacted violently, accounts recipled the Spanish records, the Algerians, the Mosoomer Spanish populated that the abtomine smooth how many people lived these The heat Spans was between eighty and one hundred thousand, prodominantly. Is is, There is no distinction between inteology and image. Once He

nomads, among whom it would have been almost impossible to conduction determine their political future.

with. His firm position that the former Spanish Sahara was an integral part of Morocco—rejecting all slains of the liberation within the Scharic San independent state

republic of Schemic and all members the name 'Arab Domocratic New Republic of Schemic and ill members the series for the out On one rising the grant difficulty is obtaining an appointment with the King Sall indicated to his staff that I wished a province of siving to all the Heads of State Luisited during as the heads a practice of siving to all the Gollowing meming. He also instead me to join him in the system to all the black, as it thinks the marchides a position who follows the Spanish Schom. This placed me in an action, false position, but fortunately there are implement appropriation.

This placed me in an action, false position, but fortunately there are implement appropriation.

Manituming M. Mohte Guld Baddal, who had been personaled by the Spaniards. Dodded manitudes to occupy the seathern part of the territory abandoned by the Spaniards. Dodded many abades hooking many advented in Transonal manited to a French ledy whose hooky was writing books for children. His official residence had such limited facilities that his reception and dissociar took place in a test put up in the gestles. We squatted on cushing the legged and moreograph with the traditional radio of lamb, althought manged to avoid eating the eyes when they reconstituted in a bloodless situation was clearly beyond his control and the Polisario liberation units compand the Manitanian Sport Mestern Sahara in 1999.

Much happier mestary relationships with two outstanding Africa.

Much happier mestary relationships with two outstanding Africa.

Much happier were Thy relationships with two outstanding African kaders. President Ecopold Sédat Senghor of Senegal and President Eslin Hamphout Brighty of the Ivory Goest. Both are highly cultivated men former members of the Trench National Assembly and experienced former Their influence in the shaping of African policies towards the former calonial powers was of greatest importance. Sanghor is a philosopher and poet of international standing and Houphouët Boigny one of the misset men the African continent has produced. Defenders of the free market economy, their countries were among the more prosperses nations

ecords his name on a gold medallion. Two. The philosopher...

Catholic and one Protestant, to say grace but I have to know on whom I should eath? shown it, because he went on: 'I have two priests here at the table, one Nations and in the world at large. He is a strong defender of the continent's Catholic?' I was somewhat surprised by the question and must have my wait, in 1979, he turned to me and asked. Are you a Protestant or a He is also a very religious man. At a dinner party during my first official

into their midst, where, after a few exchanges, he teek me by the lead and capital, where he was opening the agricultural fair. I was flower there irra the summer of 1974 to see President Konyatta. I was informed that he him in tongratulating them. I cam no harm in this and accompanied him Suddenly Kenyatta turned to me and asked whether I would like to join would receive me in the small village of Nakuru, some way from the Cattle show densing with him. risit when, instead of having political talks with Kenyatta, I ended se but I could not holp asking myself whether it had been a worth the hest hulls, and tribal densers then filled the arena This aroused universal enthusiasm and

therefore no one had turned up. In order to salvage something from the Lamisans and it was planned that I should go on to the buleany of his plea to read out to the thousands of people. I had been promised would be efficial residence to make an appeal to the international community for Sehol region strotching from Senegal in the west to Ethiopia and Semalia eapital of Burkins Faso. This was part of a tour of the drought stricken attendance and even before leaving New York I had prepared a dramatic committee had been summoned to his modest capital by Presiden tanding in the square in front of the palace. When we got out on to the peration for tens of thousands who were starving. The so ordinating eventeen countries in an attempt to co-ordinate the two emergency policies want had forgotten to make any public announcement of my speech and alcony there was not a soul to be seen. I turned to the President, asking for rthe east—which I undertook in Tebruary 1974. My itinovary included Perhaps my most embarrassing experience was at Onagadongon, the explanation. It soon become clear that the minister in charge of the these stricken people. Television and radio were in

... must say is. The world is legion. The self is a suffering for

models are part and parcel of specific social models. Having seen and ent are the means for evercoming hanger, poverty and injustice that are problems confronting the developing countries are legion; equally divers countries? present plight. The economic, political, social and calcular casy to blame them for their lash of experience and absence of infra ments in disarray is in fact merely symptomatic of a much more profoun development of the Third World. In the final analysis, all developmen patforward by the members of the or in their endeavours to support the heard a plethora of programmes and concepts during my ten yours o proposals. To my mind, and based on my experience, certain basic evelopment strategy is to succeed. adding to the confusion by bringing formu detracts from the root cause of the developin nother example of Third World govern to all developing countries. Te is all too 15 becaibed to if any long term

tional system suited to the specific needs of the individual countries in recognized as such. a major factor in socio economie development and should general seale. Higher education is often seen as a sign of see ing countries have not been able to introduce primary education on a gated in most developing countries, for example, does not meet real implementation, has adhered to foreign models, such an approach achievement, a kind efeature gymbol, while technical adacation an social needs. Tiliteracy rates are still climbing because most develop Hidrory, development aid, both in its conception and in its ociety in the developing countries. The education system prope as deemed, since it made no allowance for those features possion to

1221 Salf Self-reliance is a deeply rooted tradition in the developing countries, it offers a firm basis on which sensible aid programmes can be developed. For example, a plan of action oriented towards the principle for all international efforts to combat familia and sterio achievement of self-sufficiency in food should be the guiding

かり attempts to reasont their cultural identity. Unfortunately, this Most developing countries particular issue is cometimes taken as a protest for directing publ dentity crisis which takes on the form of hitter and constitues violent can be seen to be suffering from an

Waves rise and rise 🕶 The gap between with the result that the unending waves of w to new technolo conurbations and no the infrastructure needed to in any development pian u mastage of Valuable and equipment Steps dapt them to

independence is for the most partially young. Unfortunately, concern in the developing countries

rates. The quest 101 a new internationar o the North South issue is as far from resolution as ever. The weigned down by offerous debt but easing mood of protectionism is jeopardiz - Journal mion ha

erm solutions. If world prosperts Waves rise and fall, but the sea remains. risis situation emergency measures are required. But deep scated a sustainable basis

THE NEW MAJORITY

elepment policy under nome micraclemacnee OT CITALIF

Sea Simon Cuna 1 LeSouth. The prosper cament foresee international security Whereas the bouth meets help to help teelf if it is to overcome hunger remains - nerth of the Third World is, therefore, incluetably linker рсии Зипа seroistin a sea al morid por y established for Sene.

Step Three

... A world is a world is a world. (page 7) Even so the world has to go on. To complain about love in front of the famous Chagall window does not make a difference. He shall be placed in the first circle. The Chinese province of Sichuan continues to change form. Subject the globe to assembly. Mark in the empire thus. [Figure 1]. In his mind he views a dark glass sea. Before diving in he talks of dialectical space.

Jerusalem. Jerusalem indeed.

Is is.
There is no distinction between ideology and image.
One.
He records his name on a gold medallion.
Two.
The philosopher must say is.
The world is legion.
The self is a suffering form.
Is is.
Waves rise and fall, but the sea remains.