from Book Two

Source Text

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 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. 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

terms, have become relatively less prominent in United Nations affairs. 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 decision-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. this continues, the anti-colonial revolution, in the eyes of the less capacity in the world is concentrated in a relatively few states. As long as scientific and technological skills, educational talent and productive 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 there are only recommendations, without binding effect. Even so they are 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 voting rights, the situation is different. By joining forces, the smaller states persuasively. But in the United Nations, where all states enjoy the same 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

evolving in a way not foreseen by its founding fathers. It soon became 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 apparent that what the new Third World majority was seeking was countries of the south balance they should now agree to a massive transfer of resources to the the peoples and resources of their former possessions. To redress the their eyes, the old colonial powers had gained their wealth by exploiting 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 Both the agenda and the membership of the world organization were

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

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

supported the argument that it was for the Western countries to development as a responsibility of the former colonial powers. They debate. The Soviet Union and its supporters, and also China, regarded compensate the developing nations for the exploitation to which they had 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 partici-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 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 willing to make adjustments in existing institutions and practices to meet liability for the alleged evils of colonialism and imperialism. They were Obviously, the industrialized countries were reluctant to accept blanket

ordination among donor agencies and waste and corruption among the rely as far as possible on market forces to increase the productive capacity consumers and tax-payers of the developed countries. They preferred to financial aid on concessionary terms, involved a real cost to the industries, preferences or guarantee higher prices for raw materials, or to extend recipients. The cost of major aid programmes was high. To grant trade 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.

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

the self-reliant effort of the countries in the south themselves. Whatever the help from outside, a critical factor in development would be 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 broadsides at each Nothing would be accomplished if the two sides dug in on extreme

in 1973/4, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries ended the sharp and painful economic adjustments. The system of fixed exchange inflation and unemployment. Even the richer nations went into recession, resulting in a combination of 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 rates created by the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 had collapsed and, 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 resources from the multinational corporations. They had sharply reversed the adverse terms of trade from which the former colonial territories 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.

real needs of the South. urgent action, and the inadequacy of the growth targets in relation to the international development strategy and attributing this to the lack of states'. Boumédienne was peremptory, proclaiming the failure of the new system of relations based on equality and the common interests of all session of the General Assembly in April 1974, with a view to establishing a that time the head of the non-aligned group, they called for a special able assets, hoped to make comparable gains.

Under the leadership of President Houari Boumédienne of Algeria, at political will on the part of the developed countries to take the required

strate a political will to co-operate. What his group hoped for from the industrialized nations would have to change their policies and demonavoid confrontation, both sides should initiate a responsible dialogue. The economic domination of the poor by the rich. The Third World now had Assembly was nothing less than the forging of a new international real bargaining power by virtue of their natural resources. In order to 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 special session. For my own part I felt that the us must participate actively significant. I told him that I knew from my contacts in Washington that Boumédienne to seek a constructive compromise. persuaded them to assume a more active role. At the same time I advised highly undesirable for them to be isolated in the Assembly, and I the American administration was taking a passive attitude towards the He insisted that the position of the United States would be particularly

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

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

world history and the problems of the Middle East.

and he never left anyone in any doubt as to where the bottom line in his shrank from the heart of the matter. He has an engaging sense of humour, 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 greatest power in the world and that if they did not use the opportunity he or threat, he conveyed to his partners in discussion that he represented the calling me 'naive'. convened a special press conference vigorously rejecting my statement and impact on my relations with the President. The next day, however, Nixon 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'; was offering, they would get nothing out of the whole exercise. A tough to press the parties to accept the proposals he made. Without any bombast fashion. In civilized discussion and negotiation he used this power in order 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 American bombing of the Vietnamese dykes. When I discussed my public 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 Watergate scandal and, of course, afterwards during President Ford's political power visibly grew with the downfall of Nixon during the Kissinger was that he had, and knew how to use, power in a productive Machtpolitik, the politics of power, is over. The supreme quality of Henry factor. What counts is power. It is unrealistic to believe that the era of 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 cooperation 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 it might 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 (IMF) 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

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

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 not interested and would not attend. I attempted to stress how useful a 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, As his colleague from the South we decided to approach the President of but we shall do so on a bilateral basis.' 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 Soviet contribution to the North-South dialogue would be. Gromyko Mexico, José Lopez Portillo, who had indicated his interest to us. Brandt co-chairman from the North was the Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. what they have done to the countries of the Third World,' he said. 'We 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 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

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

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

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

Instructive for us, and also for him, was the presence of President 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 hall were arranged in a huge circle. Reagan, in a short-sleeved shirt, was inevitably the centre of attention, with all the other participants watching him carefully to see whether he was prepared to yield on any of the points that were so freely made to him. He was exceedingly courteous and genial, but always tough on substance, and yielded very little. The main conference sessions never took on the form of negotiations but there were many bilateral talks in the surrounding offices and at the luncheons, dinners and social occasions, where careful organization ensured that no group was ever the same twice.

I was much impressed by the forcefulness and clarity with which Mrs Gandhi supported the views of her Third World colleagues. She was very 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 tragedy for all those with the interests of international understanding at heart.

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

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

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

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.

welcome opportunity not only to meet these personalities, but also to grasp 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 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 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 the political environment in which they had to operate. Coming myself 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 In all the years of my professional life as a diplomat, I learned one basic they gained importance and sometimes dominated the work of the influence was limited, but united in their regional and non-aligned group for their officials in modern diplomacy. On their own, their international 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

and his joint approach to President Mubarek clearly show were his aspirations lie. Mubarek supports Hussein's policies to the best of his abilities, 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 considerable American reserve. For his part, President Reagan is facing a strong Israeli lobby which seeks to thwart all contact with the PLO. It is proposals.

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 by the international media as a gesture of support for this or that right time, because such personal encounters are immediately interpreted 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 I received repeated invitations from Colonel Gaddafi to visit him in

President Houari Boumédienne of Algeria and I had several encounters over the economic demands of the Third World and the plight of Polisario 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 cooperative. He was highly critical of the attitudes of the industrialized nations and known for his tough, rigid approach in the negotiations on the new economic order.

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

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

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 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 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 part of Morocco - rejecting all claims of the liberation movement Polisario with. His firm position that the former Spanish Sahara was an integral Heads of State I visited during my term of office. The King received me 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 0AU. When, King Hassan was equally intransigent and almost as difficult to deal

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

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

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 should call.'

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 standing in the square in front of the palace. When we got out on to the committee had been summoned to his modest capital by President operation for tens of thousands who were starving. The co-ordinating an explanation. It soon became clear that the minister in charge of 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 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 Lamizana and it was planned that I should go on to the balcony of his seventeen countries in an attempt to co-ordinate the UN emergency relief in the east - which I undertook in February 1974. My itinerary included 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 easy to blame them for their lack of experience and absence of infraand complicated problem common to all developing countries. It is all too ments in disarray is in fact merely symptomatic of a much more profound development strategy is to succeed: 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 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 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

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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.

As I write, the North-South issue is as far from resolution as ever. The 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. But deep-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 economics, bil-exporting and oil-importing countries, governments, international organizations and the private sector, including the banks. Only through the co-ordinated efforts

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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 hunger and misery, the North needs the markets and purchasing power of the South. The prosperity of the Third World is, therefore, ineluctably 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.

Human Rights and Wrongs

One of the most regrettable consequences of the schism between the developing countries and those of the industrialized Western democracies was the deep divide that opened up in the interpretation of what constituted human rights. This is particularly to be lamented because the United Nations will go down in history as the first international organization to concern itself in a sustained and serious way with the rights of all human beings.

In its preamble the UN Charter reaffirmed 'faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small'. That principle was codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. This was no more than the first step in a lengthy journey. The UN can accept a reasonable share of the credit for imprinting this concept of human rights on the consciousness of mankind. It is the principal agency for focusing world attention on the gravest violations of such rights, but even now it has only just begun to grapple with the problem of applying its proclaimed standards when they are most flagrantly disregarded.

It would be unreasonable to expect more in a world still dominated by sovereign nation states. The ambivalence in the Charter established forty years ago persists to the present day. On the one hand members pledge themselves 'to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion'. On the other, the organization is not authorized 'to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state . . .' This provision is too often used to override any specific human rights obligation a state may have accepted. When the organization seeks to induce members to observe universal standards, it moves into a delicate and often inflammatory area of activity.

intentions. Since the United Nations is not a world government, it could hardly be otherwise. The organization has nevertheless succeeded in encouraging member states to accept voluntarily binding legal obligations general provisions of the Universal Declaration were elaborated in 1966 in to apply accepted standards of human rights within their territories. The reach even this stage. The covenants were to come into effect when ratified on economic, social and cultural rights. It had taken eighteen years to legally binding 'covenants', one on civil and political rights and a second states have found it possible to ratify, but the United States, normally in covenants. There have been some curious anomalies. The Soviet bloc regret that less than half the total membership has adhered to the encouragement, the necessary number of ratifications was secured in 1976. by thirty-five states and it took another ten years before, with my either of them. the forefront where human rights are concerned, has not so far adopted The number has continued to grow but as I write I have to note to my great Implementation, inevitably, will continue to lag far behind good

of so many new independent states. The first article of each covenant their application and reflected the situation at the time they were drawn up in the sixties, at the climax of the de-colonization process and the creation was significant and lies at the root of the present differences of interpretaand the free disposal of their natural wealth and resources. The language proclaimed, in identical terms, the rights of all peoples to self-determination human rights structure must of necessity be based on the inherent civil and sovereignty and challenged the Western democratic view that a sound tion. It reflected the desire of the emerging states to emphasize their such rights, preserved in isolation, merely sanction and perpetuate political rights of the individual. The Third World countries assert that of education and economic progress. Their problem is survival, and they of people in Africa and Asia die of hunger and starvation and are deprived privilege and exploitation. Of what use is the right to vote, they ask, if a person is starving, or the right to free expression if he is illiterate? Millions are less exercised by violations of individual human rights whether it be in standards that exasperates and alienates the West. totalitarian or authoritarian regimes. It is this appearance of double The covenants were carefully drafted to allow considerable flexibility in

The inter-relationship between economic and social rights on the one hand and civil and political rights on the other finds continuing expression in every un declaration and resolution over the years. The Third World majority has consistently emphasized the former at the expense of the latter. Their priority has been the promotion of collective rights: opposition to racial discrimination, anti-colonialism, full sovereignty over

Step One

AFRICAN TURMOIL

major crisis area of the continent. I have no doubt that their policy of racial discrimination will <u>one</u> day collapse. The white <u>man</u> has long realized, despite his fear of annihilation, that he <u>cannot do away with</u> his black compatriots. The black <u>population</u> has long been aware that the white <u>man</u> 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.

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 todischarge 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 was faced with a 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. A parallel organization, the 'Group of 77' (actually, now over 125 states), was set up in order to was sed up advance the economic and social development of its membership. Each of these groups met periodically to concert strategy and tactics. Their

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

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 Cuba, 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 world is 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 the 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 a 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 radicalleaders 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 a complex and lengthylprocess. 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

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

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of the poorer nations.

industry and received more than four-fifths of its income. In the South, only be carried out on a world scale if the un organization participated in a product averaging less than \$250 per head per year. world's population possessed more than nine-tenths of its manufacturing major way. The facts were incontrovertible. In the North, one-fourth of the conscience, nations which had subscribed to the UN Charter's pursuit of considerable sympathy for the basic position of the South. In all more than 1.2 billion people lived in countries with a gross national increasing. Remedial action was necessary, and in my judgement it could between the two worlds was not diminishing but to a considerable extent the face of massive poverty, hunger, ill-health and illiteracy. The disparity better standards of life in larger freedom' could not stand passively by in Both personally and in terms of my constitutional position, (1) felt 1

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

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

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 sharp and painful economic adjustments. The system of fixed exchange rates created by the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 had collapsed and, inflation and unemployment. Even the richer nations went into recession, resulting in a combination of countries, which lacked the reserves and productive resources to cope in 1973/4, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries ended the 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

I see to send that you political ... habitually 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 Theysaw that their oil rich brothers had wrested control of their natural The oil shock galvanized the more outspoken leaders of the Group of 77. Eman A

able assets, hoped to make comparable gains

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

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 fich. 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 strate a political will to co-operate. What his group hoped for from the political industrialized nations would have to change their policies and demon-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 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 special session. For my own part I felt that the us must participate actively the American administration was taking a passive attitude towards the Boumédienne to seek a constructive compromise. persuaded them to assume a more active role. At the same time I advised

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

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

palekwork

for new countries in the period

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 in 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. When the also came to office as no friend of the United Nations, indeed as 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

He also came to office as no friend of the United Nations, indeed as 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

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

world history and the problems of the Middle East.

short term in office. The limits which Nixon set on him in the early days of his governmental career became obvious to me in connection with the American bombing of the Vietnamese dykes. When I discussed my public criticism of the US air raids over the phone with Kissinger, he assured me that my statement was well understood and would not have any negative 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 fashion Incivilized discussion and negotiation he used this power in order to him calling me 'naive'. convened a special press conference vigorously rejecting my statement and otherwise he made it clear that he would return to Washington. His sincere and that he genuinely wanted a peaceful settlement; and he never or threat, he conveyed to his partners in discussion that he represented the impact on my relations with the President. The next day, however, Nixon Watergate scandal and, of course, afterwards during President Ford's political power visibly grew with the downfall of Nixon during the position lay. His attitude was: 'Ilyou 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 greatest power in the world and that if they did not use the opportunity he to press the parties to accept the proposals he made. Without any bombast Machtpolitik, the politics of power, is over. The supreme quality of Henry factor. What counts is power. It is unrealistic to believe that the era of Kissinger was that he had, and knew how to use, power in a productive Even so, in world politics intelligence alone is not the determining

such occasions, I admired his skill in public relations. and his determination to be at centre-stage? But I personally had no reason to complain about him. Although I was fully aware hat he was not hat in love with the un, he regularly visited me in myoffice on the thirty-eighth my 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 floor, and made a point of giving joint press briefings after our meetings in Kissinger's Egyptian negotiating partner, Foreign Minister Ismail

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

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inertia that had characterized these negotiations, in the autumn of 1975 Legent private letters to Kissinger, Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan, and the Italian Foreign Minister, Mariano Rumor, in his capacity favourable beginning must not be frittered away. Worried about the 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

operation between states and proposed 'concerted' action to achieve the accompanying programme of action. It stressed the need for greater corather than in the peremptory demands of the original declaration and its same ground, it was couched in a spirit of common effort by the two sides goals of the new economic order. 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 The major resolution that emerged from the seventh special session had

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

results were nevertheless meagre. 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 The basis was laid for a common fund to assist raw material producers and The industrialized nations were interested primarily in discussing the

to the conclusion that this book words be... would be helpful here to recount later developments in the North-South 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 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 hask

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

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

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

successful and prosperous countries, enjoying great influence in the 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 counsels of the North. development cause. Wechmar represented one of the West's most Germany to the United Nations, became President of the 1980 Genera Brandt, perhaps the leading Western protagonist of the Third World's Assembly, he made the effort to get a set of global negotiations under way When Rüdiger von Wechmar, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of of

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

> few weeks away. Nevertheless I had a long telephone conversation with the 2004 President and asked him to take a good look at the proposals, bearing in 100 C obstacle in the way of starting negotiations. mind that the developing countries believed that America was the major America

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

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

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

grant every theory of common interest. The servesaged an objective... mandate from any organ of the UN I could not act as the convenor of such a meeting envisaged. I was obliged to tell him that due to the lack of a circulate it to all members. He asked me if I would organize the summit and handed me a copy of his Commission's report with a request to The former Chancellor came to see me in New York in February 1980

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

shall not attend because we do not wish to be placed in the same category not interested and would not attend. I attempted to stress how useful a and but I knew that this would be pointless. The Russians have never by 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 what they have done to the countries of the Third World,' he said. 'We consequences of Western imperialism. It is up to them to make up for never been a colonial power and had notreason to get involved in the so Reason had Soviet contribution to the North-South dialogue would be. Gromyko during my Moscow visit in June 1981. He answered at once hat they were over 1 but we shall do so on a bilateral basis.' economic sphere were the result of colonialism. The Soviet Union had developing countries. Nevertheless I did take up the matter with Gromyko also asked me to try to persuade the Soviet Union to attend the meeting, retorted by insisting that the problems facing the Third World in the considered participating in multilateral economic aid programmes (10) 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 approximately co-chairman from the North was the Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky Brandt asked me to proceed along these lines. Our initial choice for the (बु

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 wake and he responded positively, but with one reservation: 'I have to be sure I thought, that the easier task would be with my fellow-Austrian Bruno creisky, so I approached him first. We had a long talk together in Vienna

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-

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 others, invited the Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, to replace fell ill. The Austrian government, in consultation with Lopez Portillo and Only a few weeks before the conference was due to meet, Bruno Kreisky

Nations and we foregathered in October 1981.

opproach, and had no reason for worderstake.

were many bilateral talks in the surrounding offices and at the luncheons, dinners and social occasions, where careful organization ensured that no main conference sessions never took on the form of negotiations but there Form and genial, but always tough on substance, and yielded very little. The arrangements were both sumptuous and relaxed. The tables in the main educational experience. There were twenty-three delegations and the Instructive for us, and also for him, was the presence of President Reagan. This was his first major exposure to Third World leaders as a His 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 group and he told me before we dispersed that he had found it an

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

) Tui({group was ever the same twice.

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 cismality than the repository of high-level political power. He has a warm and He gave the impression of being a technocrat and administrator rather technicist The Chinese delegation was led by their Prime Minister, Zhao Zi Yang.

continues. Whether this will change with the advent of Gorbachev is open know-how from the Western world. Their conflict with the Soviets 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 one dur 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 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 speaking: an attitude which seemed to fit his character and the basic policy 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 the same four twee. Wet ...

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 new economic order. True to form of summit meetings, Cancun was long new 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 so 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.

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

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 minternational 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 workshopset in the midst of vineyards he had himself furniture in a small workshopset in the midst of vineyards he had himself 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' liberali Spring' lib

of East-West ditente 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 obviouslyphysically 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.

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

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

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

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

on a small silven tray, each filled with a dark liquid. Castro first took a sip this was his manner of fortifying himself against the rigours of skin-diving took the other glass and swallowed its contents beforediving in. I was told from ond glass) gargled heartily and spat the contents into the sea. Then he later that the first contained Listerine and the other whisky. Apparently As he sat on the edge of the boat, a steward approached with two glasses 2

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

- personally was only one want of understan

interest of international funderstanding, but this went beyond my normal under

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.

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

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

disbelief in his voice, 'Are you going back in that thing? Is it safe enough?' with space for only nine people Professing astonishment, he asked me with of the un organization. convinced Castro and his revolutionary comrades of the capitalist frugality the thought that, if my dignity had been impaired, I might at least have anyone else. It rents and charters the planes it uses. I consoled myself with 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 the airport apron. It was an old and somewhat shabby-looking Falcon On our departure Castro noticed my small rented aircraft standing on

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

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

l. (I was always cantiens as a young boy. Indeed.

strong Israeli lobby which seeks to thwart all contact with the PLO. It is and his joint approach to President Mubarek clearly show were his aspirations lie. Mubarek supports Hussein's policies to the best of his also no surprise (that Muhammad Gaddafi should reject Hussein's considerable American reserve) For his part, President Reagan is facing a to negotiate with a joint Joydanian-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

people to make their own subjective assessment. Nevertheless I always assessment to keep contact with all political leaders whatever their subjective assessment ideology) and public himage from the property of the property an international problem Charter, the right to fight for their independence. That could be done support liberation movements, which had, he asserted, even under the UN international terrorism. All he did and would continue toldo was to and indignantly. It was absolutely untrue, he said, that he was supporting right time, because such personal encounters are immediately interpreted political outcasts when one day their co-operation may be needed to solve government. In the case of Gaddafi - whom I met in August 1977 in by the international media as a gesture of support for this or that terrorist activities. When I brought this up with him, he reacted sharply 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 Dreceived repeated invitations from Colonel Gaddafi to visit him in

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

evt [ever]able to determine exactly how many people lived there. The best King Hassan of imperialism. The territory was so sparsely populated that so neither the Spanish records, the Algerians, the Moroccans nor the un were guess was between eighty and one hundred thousand, predominan Western Sahara. The Algerian President had reacted violently, accusing Morocco, whose army had taken over the former Spanish colony of the subjecture assessment man be needed 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

part of Morocco-rejecting all claims of the liberation movement Polisario with. His firm position that the former Spanish Sahara was an integral for an independent state - created a deep division within the OAU. When, Republic of Sahrawi' as a full member to the OAU, Morocco and her friends in 1984, Polisario was admitted under the name 'Arab Democratic King Hassan was equally intransigent and almost as difficult to deal difficult

Thad great difficulty in obtaining an appointment with the King So left the organization, creating a most serious crisis for the oAu. On one visi peace medal, a gold medallion which I made a practice of giving to all the 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 which, as it turned out, he was making a tounto mobilize public opinion as to part of the green march, designed to annex the Spanish Sahara. This placed me in an entirely false position, but fortunately there were no fit a

unpleasant repercussions. Moroccans to occupy the southern part of the territory abandoned by the to Spaniards. Daddah was a modest-looking man, educated in France and Mauritania, Mr Moktar Ould Daddah, who(had) been persuaded by the had managed to avoid eating the eyes when they were served. The Sahara The chief victim of this unhappy dispute was the President of the

Solve situation was clearly beyond his control and the Polisario liberation units number of palace revolutions Ould Daddah was deposed in a bloodless continuously attacked the fragile forces of the Mauritanian army. After a coup and the Mauritanian government had to surrender its claim to the

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

to solve the plight of man. It So I had toggeross.

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 should call.'

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 wiver 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 event had forgotten to make any public announcement of my speech and 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 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 therefore no one had turned up. In order to salvage something from the one an explanation. It soon became clear that the minister in charge of the balcony there was not a soul to be seen. I turned to the President, asking for plea to readout to the thousands of people I had been promised would be further help to these stricken people. Television and radio were in 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 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

out the world ...

THE NEW MAJORITY

development strategy is to succeed: office, I see no merit in adding to the confusion by bringing forward new ent are the means for overcoming hunger, poverty and injustice that are countries' present plight. The economic, political, social and cultural structure, but that only detracts from the root cause of the developing easy to blame them for their lack of experience and absence of infraand complicated problem common to all developing countries. It is all too ments in disarray/islin fact merely symptomatic of a much more profound proposals. models are part and parcel of specific social models. Having seen and 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 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 heard a plethora of programmes and concepts during my ten years of To my mind, and based on my experience, certain basic

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 educationalsystem 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 identity attempts to reassert their cultural identity. Unfortunately, this the 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 <u>angle</u>, 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 prevailing conditions. resources and under-utilization of machinery and equipment. Steps development should thus take on priority in any development plan. with the result that the unending waves of urban immigration give The absence of planned infrastructure incurs a wastage of valuable rise to awesome conurbations and new social problems. Rural development, services and infrastructure are wanting in rural areas, The gap between rural and urban areas is forever widening:

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

ing international markets. international loans, and an increasing mood of protectionism is jeopardiz developing countries alike are striving to prevent massive defaults on and even many of those more prosperous, are in dire straits, while a perforce given way to more immediate, practical concerns. Developed and interest rates. The guest 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 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 importing countries, governments, international organizations and the South, market and centrally-planned economies, dil-exporting and oilall concerned must take responsible and concerted action: North and term solutions. If world prosperity is to be restored on a sustainable basis, maladjustments and persistent world economic difficulties call for longer- world In a crisis situation emergency measures are required. But deep-seated

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

of thousands in Africa and Asia, it has nothing to do with the kind of between the developed and the developing world. 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 should in no way be considered a form of charity to any country. It should development policy under discussion here. Long-term development aid funds throughout the world may be in terms of saving the lives of hundreds However necessary and however beneficial the spontaneous raising bi

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

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Human Rights and Wrongs

One of the most regrettable consequences of the schism between the developing countries and those of the industrialized Western democracies and was the deep divide that opened up in the interpretation of what constituted human rights. This is particularly to be lamented because the United Nations will go down in history as the first international organization to concern itself in a sustained and serious way with the rights of all human beings.

In its preamble the UN Charter reaffirmed 'faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small'. That principle was codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. This was no more than the first step in a lengthy journey. The UN can accept a reasonable share of the credit for imprinting this concept of human rights on the consciousness of mankind It is the principal agency for focusing world attention on the gravest violations of such rights, but even how it has only just begun to grapple with the problem of applying its proclaimed standards when they are most flagrantly disregarded.

It would be unreasonable to expect more in a world still dominated by sovereign nation states. The ambivalence in the Charter established forty years ago persists to the present day. On the one hand members pledge themselves 'to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization to promote universall respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion'. On the other, the organization is not authorized 'to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state ...' This provision is too often used to override any specific human rights obligation a state may have accepted. When the organization seeks to induce members to observe universall standards, it moves into a delicate and often inflammatory area of activity.

At this higher is the expect more in a world still dominated by the curve of the control of t

Implementation, inevitably, will continue to lag far behind good intentions. Since the United Nations is not a world government, it could hardly be otherwise. The organization has nevertheless succeeded in encouraging member states to accept voluntarily binding legal obligations to apply accepted standards of human rights within their territories. The general provisions of the Universal Declaration were elaborated in 1966 in legally binding 'covenants', one on civil and political rights and a second on economic, social and cultural rights. It had taken eighteen years to preachleven this stage. The covenants were to come into effect when ratified encouragement, the necessary number of ratifications was secured in 1976. The number has continued to grow but as I write I have to note to my great regret that less than half the total membership has adhered to the regret that less than half the total membership has adhered to the states have found it possible to ratify, but the United States, normally in the forefront where human rights are concerned, has not so far adopted

in the sixties, at the climax of the de-colonization process and the creation of so many new independent states. The first article of each covenant human hights structure must of necessity be based on the inherent civil and sovereignty and challenged the Western democratic view that a sound had and the free disposal of their natural wealth and resources. The language proclaimed, in identical terms, the rights of all peoples to sellidetermination their application and reflected the situation at the time they were drawn up person is starving on the right to free expression if he is illiterate? Millions of people in Africa and Asia die of hunger and starvation and are deprived was significant and lies at the root of the present differences of interpretaprivilege and exploitation. Of what use is the right to vote, they ask, if a such rights, preserved in isolation, merely sanction and perpetuate standards that exasperates and alienates the West. are less exercised by violations of individual human rights whether it be in of education and economic progress. Their problem is survival, and they political rights of the individual. The Third World countries assert that tion. It reflected the desire of the emerging states to emphasize their totalitarian or authoritarian regimes. It is this appearance of double The covenants were carefully drafted to allow considerable flexibility in

The inter-relationship between economic and social rights on the one hand and civil and political rights on the other finds continuing expression in every un declaration and resolution over the years. The Third World majority has consistently emphasized the former at the expense of the latter. Their priority has been the promotion of collective rights: opposition to racial discrimination, anti-colonialism, full sovereignty over

Step Two

najor crisis area of the continent. I have no doubt that their policy of social licerimination, will one day collapse. The white man has long realized apite his fear of annihilation, that he cannot do away with his block apite his fear of annihilation, that he cannot do away with his block apite his fear that the white annies to a colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live that the swine dialogue is crucial, and both sides must reagnize that they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live they need to the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live the colonialist in South Africa but has the right to live the colonialist in South and the live the colonialist in the live the live

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The New Majority

String the whole of the constites, when I was Decretary General, world attention focused mainly on wars, conflicts and international crises and on how the work of the world viganization. Since the estitudes of the member goronaments very often did not permit the oute hetitudes eithe duties as foreseen in the Charter, the image of the United Mations deteriorated. Although I fully recognize the image of the United Mations deteriorated. Although I fully recognize the importance of the Plations 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 challengs, the handling of a new phenomenon, namely the growing gap between the rich countries in the North and the poor countries in the plant of the globe.

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

The influe of newly independent countries redically altered the state character of the United Notion. This massive group of Third World notices was not beholden to the West, it was assuraged, but not controlled, by the Societ blos. Its leaders proved highly adopt at establishing aparational groups, they formed two over arching arganization to continental and regional groups, they formed two over arching arganization that included the rast majority of United Nations membership. In the political splices, the Point Aligned More that the designed to function as a third force which could remain about four East West alliances and minocuvity. Their founding fathers were Tite, Nelles and Plants age that the fadoresian President Scheme A parallel against in the 'Croup of 7' (actually, now over registrates), was set up in order to advance the conomic and social development of its membership. Fach of these groups must periodically to concert strategy and tooks. Their these groups are periodically to concert strategy and tooks. Their

In my office, a globe was set upir-

in spite of the fact that they include a

erms, have become relatively less prominent in America and awar a few Sprice ailies and as Caba, Westam as umbared Mest. Dast West rivalities, while still prodominant in Sidial aling. The new majority of the Third World overwhelms the out rusture of the United Nations. Blac politics tends to dominate decision torn states in Asia and Africa, the bull of the countries in South United Nations offeirs

dereloped countries, cannot be considered complete. apasity in the world is concentrated in a relatively for states. As long as iontific and technological skills, educational sulent and productive Fire goals of these non-numbers are egalitarian. The bulk of the weelth yes of the less

can, within broad limits, control most of the decisions. To be sure, th word 'decisions' is in most sesses, a missource. In the Octivial Assembly voting rights, the vituation is different. By joining forces, the emailer states persuasively. But is the trained Nations, where all states enjoy the same here are only recommendations, without binding effect. Even so they are er to be ignored, and over the course of time are bound to influence On their own, most of these countries could de little to make their eser

represent of becoming a fully fledged specialized agency of the extentil its bevelopment Organization to assist the developing countries. It is now in hires years later the our Assembly established in order to facilitate the development process, the General Assembly in caparately funded hudgen nted in 1904 the ext Conference on Trade and Development (externo); on Industrial

world apparent that what the new Third World majority was seeking was Thay demanded fairness and justice fairness because they did not accept that A belance they should now agree to a massive transfer of re nothing less than a revolution in the world economy, to be wen less by coercion than by the percent of persuasion in the international forum. The countries should enjoy only one falls fine that it come, justice because, in their eyes, the old colorial powers had gained their wealth by exploiting woking in a way not foreseen by its rounding fothers. It soon became Both the agenda and the membership of the north organization are to a peoples and resources of their former possessions. To reduce the quarters of the model's population living in the under developed

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evoless a world than a history of imperialism and corruption

Progress, and European Community arrangements for economic assist enhanced political offinity. esmbined economic aid with ance to their former African. C Louic Conventions. These programmes had one feature as common, they the strong thuning of alliances, or at least ibbeamend Pacific territories under the NORITY (history of such acts of

They speke of the redicating of mongay and economic and social radical leaders soldom based their claims in the context of section benefits Withour industrialized states offered no comparable remards. Their more without the participation of the industrialized states they were at ntitled. It was an approach which produced evelopment, not as an aspiration but In centrast, the demands the Third World countries made on the of this policy in the United Nations was absence acrimony and s. The Third World could not achieve its purposes to which they were

to pursue their own bilateral aid programmer pated in the multilatoral double practita stituties of the riv. They professed compensate the developing nations for the exploitation to which they had supported the argument development as a responsibility of the former been subjected in an earlier ore. The Marxist countries hardly partici ebate. The Soviet Union and its supportors, and also China, regarded Onegroup, the blacof Marriet states steed largely about from the whole that it was for the Western countries to

in penalismitability for the alleged wile of solonialism and imperialism. They was incremental rather than radical. They insisted that economic development 1 was a complex and length, process. They refused to the they partit give money and securit machines, infrastructure and technical assistance to countries lacking the personnel organization the pressing meeds of the boath, but the improvements they proposed were willing to make adjustments in existing institutions and practices to men and experience to absor

Complete ordination among dense agencies and waste and corruption among the failure of ill considered development projects, or examples of lash of on profesences of guarantee higher prices for ran materials, or to extend consumers and tax payers of the developed countries. The preferred to financial siden somessionary terms, involved a real cost to the industries esipients. The cost of major aid programmes was high. To grant trad It must be said that they did not lave to both for to find instances of the

of the poorer nations.

considerable sympathy for the basic position of the South. In all good considerable sympathy for the basic position of the South. In all good considerable sympathy for the basic position of the South. In all good considerable manuals of life in larger freedom? and does not dead passively by in the face of passive powerty, hunger ill health and illicraw. The disparity between the trea worlds was as diminishing but to a considerable meant increasing. Reported action mass accesses, and in a judgement it could only be expicited out on a world scale if the one againization participated in angler way. The facts were incontroverible. In the North, one fourth of the world's population possessed more than for fits income. In the South, increase in the fourth of its operation in a billion people liked in contrins with a gross mational product averaging less than \$2 to people action has been people.

Whatever the holp from outside, a critical factor in development would be the self-reliant effort of the sourtries in the south themselves.

Nothing would be accomplished if the two sides dug in on automotion positions and used the Hnited Nations to hunch restall broadcides at each search for areas of agreement, the search advocacy of moderation and gradualism and the continuation of a dialogue between the parties.

restes created by the Drutter. Woods Conference in 1914 had collapsed and autions had supressed some reservations, they had endersed the genera ment strategy? to set economic targets, and while the major industrialized exceptional growth. The UN liad established an international develop-When I assumed effect the industrial world was ending a decade of Hatton and anomployment 979/1, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries anded the P and painful assnamic adjustments. The system of fixed exchange d economic and social order. The decade of the sevenies was one of Fenergy by quadrupling the price of all. Those events shoot the but their weight fell most h ent into recession, operation towards serves and producti mere Just and Taliona. enousy on the pooresi

The oil shock galvanised the more outspoken leaders of the Group of 77 that They saw that their oil rich brothers had wrested control of their natural resources from the multinational corporations. They had sharply research the adverse terms of trade from which the former colonial terminates habitually suffered. The around ability of the North had been challenged and the other developing countries, particularly those with other market and the other teaching countries, particularly those with other market to used to search that poor political patterners.

ble assetts, hoped to make comparable gains.

Under the bedeschip of President Honeri Bourassilenne of Algeria, at that time the head of the non aligned group, they called for a special coston of the Conorel Amendby in April 1974, with a view to establishing a non-yetom of relations based on equality and the common interests of all states? Bourassilenne was peramptory, proclaining this failure of the international development strates, and attributing this to the lack of political will or the part of the developed scuntries to take the equival agent action, and the inadequacy of the growth targets in relation to the each needs of the bouth.

ite sustained this combative tone in the concernion we had at the cutact of this sinth special session in New York. The real issue, he said, was economic domination of the poor by the rich. The Third World now had part seal bargaining power by it that of their batteral resources. It ends to avoid confirmation, both sides should initiate a responsible dialogue. The industrialized nations resuld have to change their palicies and demand another political will to so operate. What his group hoped for from the Another was nothing loss than the farging of a new international coorder.

He insisted that the position of the United States would be particularly significant. I cold him that I knew from my contacts in Weshington that the the American administration was taking a possive attitude towards the special session. For my own part I felt that the consust participate actively in the north 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 particulated them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded than to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded than to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded that to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised bounded them to assume a more active tole. At the some time I advised became the sound to the tolerance and the sound to the sound to the sound tolerance and the sound to the sound tolerance and the sound tolerance and the sound to the sound tolerance and t

The special session in 1974 was not to be guided by sounds of moderation. It attopies a secolation providing for fundamental changes in the antice set usual excellation, including providing on commodities, teads and industrialization, natural resources, food, finance and industrial corporations. The countries of the Northwere not prepared to respond in depth to these far reaching proposeds were not prepared to respond in depth to these far reaching proposeds. They did not use against the resulting 'Deducation and Programma of Action on the Establishment of a North Economic Order', but they made is depth to the far annexes a secretarious that they would not comply, depth through numerous reservations that they would not comply.

At the egular Assembly session the full printing autumn, the sense educarsarial apint prevailed. This time the Grap of punited behind a proposed 'Charter on the Economic Rights and Duties of States' which had been drafted by President Luis Economia of Mexico. This declared that such state had 'the sovereign and inalignable rights to choose its own seconomic, political, social and cultural systems without any over its interference and should operate. (all permanent sovereignty over its interference and should operate.)

The developing nations

those less developed. The session ended in distanta attacks and far-reaching demands of the majority. They were unwilling to sended that these should share in any major programmes to assist of financial resources to the orac countries and they no Most of the larger industrialized countries resented the worbal the countries of the North would have to If additional aid was to be made were arready making a massis

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patch patchwork politics where radical action was needed eculd start. The representatives of the Third Morld alone rejects eld long caraingue of impossible demande they should draw up a list o Suman Chancellar, Helmut Schmidt, that instead of the same

September 1975. The contrast with its predecessor mas remarkable. The Third World seeptime anwards the United States. texts foreign policies and obviously wanted to make a gesture to reduce forward a number of promising proposeds in a spirit of reconcination highlight speech the American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, put decided that a purely megative posture would help neither party developed countries, and particularly the United States, had evident special session of the General Assembly was held in the first helf of at the on passions cooled and more moderate siers emorged. A seventh Kissinger had begun to recognize the usefulness of the on 101 Washing

edditional financial resources in response to the developing countries? needs in the fields of commedition, trade, finance, industrialization and food production. Others adopted a similarly conciliatory tone or intensive effort began to reach common ground. The special session He outlined a broad range of new international machinery, with offers of to conclusions by consensus and its work contributed to an

In all cardour I would have to admit that the promise of the sevents

.. patchwork in the days, feading up to my temme. As

per leading up to his second election. sharp tones. The Matney, Mor was becoming entrome dykes around Hanor. I appealed on as my intervention was unwelsome, particularly in the period in the background M; relations with grounds to case Coffice I had put

one sculd not but uppresints his knowledge, obliged to sawthat as to his views and actions in the field of fereign policy problems. He had mue regard for the United Mation mot caread thines there was nevel an in depth exchange of views on more Hegave an efficial function for the active White House but although me with whom I have dealt he was the best proposed ision and skill. Of the

Hom, Kissinger. I doubt that may American Desident wh des novames and People's Peoplebie of China; so backing from American conservatives would have enclosinily evident at the United Tautons general of the deen

12 m/2 foreign policy during the first half of my tenure at the United Nations. Had I had played during the crisis and the may is quickly tool the October war of 1975, he began to and entend becauseful the Unite no our and the Joviet Linion come to office as no friend of the United Nations, indeed a restion and whose Hemy Kissinger's began. Then of Kissinger's encompassing influence or function ac and other policies of k action to send or ricical days o

Scholar a well trained scholar and historian. Because of his Euro very intelligent man, for above the average, and is aware of his skills. He is The custom for his success and influence use complete. First of all he is a

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world mistory and the problems of the Middle hast.

1064183 hat that my statement was well understood and would not have any inguitive hecaw? hort term in office. The limits which Nivon set on him in the early days of to we American bombing of the Vistnamese dykes. When I discussed my public my impact on my relations with the Provident. The next day, however position lay. His attitude meet 'If you want a solution, I shall go on't otherwise he made it along that I otherwise he made it clear that he would return to Washington. His eriticism of the us six raids over the phone with Kinsinger, he assured an greatest power in the world and that if they did not use the opportunity he convened a special press conference rigorough rejecting my statom his governmental career became obvious to me in connection with the end he never left anyone in any doubt as to where the bottom line in his or threat; he conveyed to his partners in discussion that he represented the political power visibly grow with the downfall of Niner during the shronk from the heart of the matter. He has an ongaging sense of huntour, politician, he was able to convince most of his interlocators that he was was offering, they would get nothing out of the whole excreise. A tough Watergate scandal and, of course, afterwards during Tresident Ford's imeere and that he genuinely wanted a peaceful scribencin, and he nover o prace the parties to accept the proposals he made. Without any bombast dushpoints, the politics of person; is over The supreme quality of Henry Tiesinger was that he hat, and knew how to use, power in a productive which. In civilized discussion and the satistion he used this power in order thren so, in world politica intelligence alone is not the determining counts is power. It is unrealistic to believe that the era of

Wissinger's Egyptus regotisting partner. Foreign Minister Ismail Federic, Wholin I consider encoded business in the Arab world, later on blanced him for his 'testismic, manipale repople, his erobesting ranity and his 'determination to be at centre stage?. But I personally had no reason to semplain about him Although I was fully exact that he result in the early his regularly stituding after our meetings in four of the lander point of giving joint proceducions after our meetings in front of the lander Diagrally stitudes in the earlyby. Whatever he said on such occasions, I admined his skill in public relations.

Although the secret hope cint session of the exposently with Kissinger's hought providing operation and sudcissanding between the developing would and the industrialized nations, this encouraging standid not in itself guarantees a complete meeting of minds to occur. I felt retyrationsly that this is a complete meeting of minds to occur. I felt retyrationsly that this is the came obvious to me that my little book who yld

finestic that had characterized these frittened away. Mortied about the inestic that had characterized these negotiations, in the actuant of 1973 sent private letters to Kissinger, Foreign Minister Kitchi Miyazana of Jopan, 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 phresed in general terms, were reasoning.

The major resolution that emorged 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. Govering most of the same ground, it was soughed in a spirit of someon effort by the two sides eather than in the persuptory demands of the original declaration and its accompanying programme of action. It stressed the need for greater the operation between states and proposed 'soncerted' action to achieve the goals of the new societies of declaration.

Actions Marth and South was not to be overcome between Marth and South was not to be overcome between security to get things the focus of the North South debate was shifted from the unwinded). Concred Assembly to a smaller group outside the United Nations the George of the North South debate was shifted from the Consisting of the Conference on International Economic Go operation and indicated the initiative of Giocard d'Estaing and not in Paris. There were high hopes that it might bring about a breakthrough I attended its initial phase in Becomber 1975, but was soon obliged to some to the excellation that it was faced with the same problems we had encountered in the United Nations and with the same problems we had encountered in the United Nations and with the same announterance 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 course to be produced and some money was made available for development programmes. The results recreases helps meager.

Ignoring for a moment the uniar chancelegy of this Book, I think is would be helpful here to recount later developments in the North South dialogue. After the disappointing outcome of the Paris telles, the secne of section, It is easy be called that, shifted head uses more to the United Nations. Over the next few years the developing countries increasingly focused the Assembly's attention on what are called global negations of secondary the major aspects of sconomic competition and developments.

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form: Working in formed and informe

(which will be specialized agencies common and they have been fully special section and the specialized agencies common and they have been fully separate treaties and reflects economic and financial power. The South rould like southow to World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Cener international economic order than to make concrete and constructive has he behind the levels they have themselves accepted as targets. They andustrialized nations have hardly responded with excessive generosity to fractications of the developing countries and the initiation of the developed these subjects have, by their ineffectiveness, only side. If the developing estatrice are too rigid in their approach, the achorations contained in the General Assembly resolutions adopted on bave been more mediated to stand parton their negative response to the new the preposals of the impercrisited South. Their official development aid I do not meen to imply that all the fault in these attitudes lies on on The main thrust of the Third World countries was to attain their and a Tariffs and Trade (CATT), where the wating strength about e United Nations system as at present of financial power lie in the hunds of th compounded the

development sause. Mechinal represented one of the Mest's Brandt, perhaps the Icading Mestern protagonist of the Third World's as the central thomosphis term of office. There was no one better suited to exectsful and prosperous countries, enjoying great influence Assembly, he made the effect to get a secof global negotiations under way the task. Wachman use a disciple of the former Corman Chancellor Will Cornany to the United Nations, became President of the 1980 General When Ruciges von Weehmas, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of

Mcclinar, visited me in my office in an atmosphere of despair, telling me President Jimmy Curter and usked me to intervene with him in order to get the timing was hardly auspicious. The presidential election was only eneried's consent to the latest compromise proposals of the Group of //: It was towards the end of the Ceneral Assembly in 1880 that some of the gotiations had failed. They referred to my good personal relations ding representatives of the Third World, tegether with Radigar von compromise solution for globa

... un successful. 120

> obstacle in the way of starting negotiations mind that the developing countries believed that America was the major resident and asked him to take a good book at the proposals, bearing in la long telephone conversation with the

United Nations not to pasir him too far could become country productive, he wanted. It was in the interests of the Amorican contribution Thirdly, he concribed the Bank or earry Second, we should bear in mind that the American Nations Concul Assembly any sort of authority over the sur, the Morle nad scribus problems in Setting and appropriated by the Congress for the This the fresident said he would do, but he remind period for him. He made three main points. First, he said, the a jaundicul view of the United Mations, so much so that he apuld not accept anything that would give the United If we were not careful, our actions that it was o e or perugan o

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

Headir O. Least Britain and Icading head of a distriguished group of farmer statesmen, including Billiand with a common conviction of mutual interest. An essential political will and a high degree of trust nstrumental ill drawing up an exhaustive, widely publicised report on the anders, representative of the major groupings, to produce guide lines and chieving this objective mould be a summit meeting of some twenty sendt. It tuvisuged a global agreement resulting from a joint effort of It was Willy Brands himself who suggested a possible formula. As the re order. North South relations to meet the challenges of us for future negotiations among the negotiating partners.

namuate from any organ of the un Leould not act as the convener of such a netting enrisaged. I was obliged to tell him that due to the lack of a The former Chancellor came to see me in New York in February 1980 ded me a sepy of his Commission's report with a request to was not for me to select the participants as a knew rs. He asked me if I would organize the summi

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

Brandt asked me to proceed along these lines. Our initial choice for the se shair man from the North was the Austrian Chanceller Brane Kreisky. As his colleague from the South we decided to approach the President of Mexico, José Lopez Fortillo, who had indicated his interest to us. Brandt also asked me to my to persuade the Soviet Union seattened the meeting, but I knew that this would be pointless. The Russians have never considered participating in multilateral economic aid programmes to developing countries. Novertheless I did take up the matter with Groundto during my Measure visit is June 1981. He amove ed at case that they won the rested by insisting that the problems facing the Third Mould in the seconomic sphere were the result of colonidists. The Soviet Union had seconomic sphere were the result of colonidists. The Soviet Union had seconomic sphere were the result of colonidists. The Soviet Union had seconomic sphere were the result of colonidists. The Soviet Union had seconomic sphere were the result of colonidists.

what they have done to the countries of the Third Morld; he said. We shall not attend because we do not wish to be placed in the same category as the Western powers. He did add that the Soviet Union would render so the Western powers. He did add that the Soviet Union would render as the Western powers. He did add that the Soviet Union would render as the Western powers. He did add that the Soviet Union would render to the Sov

Thought that the easier task would be with my fellow thustall Thuse Kreith, so I approached him first. We had a long talk together in Vienna and he responded positively, but with one responding talk together in Vienna that the main industrialized countries support me in this undertaking. To can't do it or my own,' he said He seconded the Americans, the Company and the French, and when they responded favourably he went ahead.

Lopes Pestillo reacted immediately. As the successor to Luis Echevertis, who had played such a prominent part in the ent special assemblics on this issue, he was predisposed to take as active part, proposed Cancumar the maesing place and joined with Kreisky in issuing the invitations.

Only a few weeks before the conference was due to meet, Brune Kreisky fell ill. The Austrian government, in consultation with Lopez Portillo and ethers, invited the Canadian Point Minister, Pierr Tradeau, to reptain bin. Fortunately he was able to makedurantif available and was his assulforceful and effective self. I took part as representative of the United Nations and we foregathered in October 1984.

I had no reason for undertaking this form. But

Reagan. This was his first major exposure to Timit Would leader to group and he teld in before we disposed that he had found it an educational exposiones. There was though takened. The tables in the main armonic ments were both sumptusus and released. The tables in the main configuration half were arranged in a huge visels. Peogan, in a short sleeved shirt, was inevitably the contex of attention, without the raine participant atching him carefully to see whether he was prepared to yield on any of the points that were so freely made to him. He was executingly sourteous and gental, but always tough on substance, and yielded any little. The mentional trailer in the surrounding offices and at the backbone dimens and social occasions, where confed organization ensured that no group was executions.

A was noted impressed by the forestations and clarity with which May Garattatupperfed the views of her. Third World colleagues. She was now had extending between the main participants. She was a world leader of the highest quality and her recent assassination is a bitter tragedy for all those with the interests of insertiational understanding at heart.

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

During the conference be played asker-key sole, listening more than peaking an attitude which seemed to fit his character and the basic policy of the Poking government. The Chinese still regard themselves as an under-developed country belonging to the Third Westld, without any substitute play the obe of a major power. They admit publicly that it will take them a long time to catch up will the other main powers. They are fall behind in technology and counin technical infrastructure. Their technical insteading and counin technical infrastructure, with the Boviet Union, but not soon. In my case judgement it will take them as a land the Boviet Union, but not soon. In my case judgement it will take them seemed conduct the matter than the months that they despeately to acquire the anti-one field this will change with the advent of Gorbachevite sport of question.

There was a sharp exchange, in the course of the conference, between President Myerers and Biome Trudeon. Myerers, who is never about a words, had launched into a languary intermention to establish that although

Fanzania was a socialist country it would release private investment. We frudeau was quick to respond. He asked the Fanzanian President was fincther the really thought that the Western nations would invest more in this country, knowing that sooner or later their investments would be jeeperdized by government intervention. Nyerere and his Third Western tolloagues were mornimistly non-dusted by the retort, but suddenly lead faughter broke out, not least from Nyerere himself, and the necting wond faughter broke out, not least from Nyerere himself, and the necting wond

Regictably, the conference did not lead to any, major change in the cuming seminoversy one the definance of the less developed seminiss for the seenamic order. Truche form of summit meetings, Cancus was long on hormonious generalities but short on practical results. Like so many other top level gatherings, it provided no apportunity for the limit ologist detailed bargaining which must precede any agreement on so complex and controversial a subject. The conference made no practicion for following up the season of the recursion of the recursion of the 1980s, the four chifsed to short term measures needed to save the developing countries from economic collapses. Each side took note of the rises of the other and effect of making a start of the four chiral and againing be made if the World is to be relieved of this fundamental and againing conflict.

truthe it is personalities more than a as possible. These trips to not In all the years of my perfectional life as a diplomat, Hearned one basic leaders of the Third World countries which had mollon the membership of term of office as Secretary Ocneral I started to visit as many world leaders were primiting concerned to establish their control democrically, but most for their efficiels in modern diplomacy. On their every he organization. As they achieved independence, the new political leader hom. It gave them on international counding board and a training ground lectiny of the world. Our of this conviction, right at the beginning of my elcome epiportunity not only to meet these personalities, but also to grasp .. the thought of making 124 new beginning started to of som the Third World countries to the regular enmual rganization. There was a constant flow of heads of state and other leaders Aucres was limited, but united in their regional and son uligned group realized bow reducible the United Nations could be to Helicozpitale of the globe offered me th 6 edinning

A owe Marshal Tito a posithumous mention for his standily independent foreign policy; which established Yngoslavia as a non-aligned established always impressed me with his straightformulases and his strong support we for the United Nations. He was frequently estical of h, usually on the grounds that it reasons estical in international affairs and suffered forms tack of close, but his approach was as constructive as it was fearle.

We used to meet in New York and Balgrads and I was a frequent guest of his on the two island samples of Brioni in the Adhiatic off the Vigoslav asset. Under the Austra Hangarian Empire, the islands had been nosquite ridden and minhabited An Austrian maned Kuppelwiese had been 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; suspended by a beautiful gueste, or the smaller. He had say confertably diere, industring in his various habbies, which included a private good where had opt a collection of exotic enimals sent to him as gifts by foright political leaders. His other holby was to build household furniture in conditional workshop set in the midst of vineyards he had himself of planted. He was posed of his wises and made a point of emission in glassical fash caught in the secondary was to be and he had himself of planted. He was posed of his wises and made a point of emission in the midst of vineyards he had he had been the fash caught in the secondary was to be a widst of the midst of vineyards he had himself of planted. He was posed of his wises and made a point of emissions.

Two factors in flamescalchie views on foreign policy. The miss and day for softhe Bussian, particularly after the 1969 Trage Spring' liberali- \(\rangle \) Austrians with what he described as aux completens, in the face of the measure 'Von people as formatic,' be said. 'But to this charge are not incharge. I have had my experience with the Business They are apable of during anything? He was instituted that we remained against a flowing anything? He was instituted by Austria and south to the Business and the state of the said and the state of the said and south to the said against a flowing anything? He was instituted that we remained the state of the said and south to the Business and the state of the said and south to the Business and south to the said against a flowing anything? He was instituted the said and south to the Business and south to the said against a flowing anything the said through Austria and south to the Business and south to the said against the said and said the said through Austria and south to the Business and said the said through Austria and south to the Business and said through Austria and south to the Business and said through Austria and south to the Business and said through Austria and south to the Business and said through Austria and south to the Business and said through Austria and south to the Business and said through Austria and south to the Business and said through Austria and south to the Business and said through Austria and said

His second great fersign policy encorn was to strengthen the structure of East West disease and the Non-Aligned Movement thus creating global equilibrium as a foundation for peace. The last years of his life left him a deeply disappointed soon. He witnessed a deterioration in superfluxers the situating and the erastion of non-alignment as it felt to the power to be it is a superfluxer of the most radical Third World states (abviously).

That are Tita in a guest house in Harran during the 1979 times of the are Tita in a guest house in Harran during the 1979 times obviously physically ill conference of the Non-Aligned Most and the test country at these decided at their producines, Tito's dismay increased. He was deeply deprisedly, greated that how A the search and to have the Most Aligned Most and sould maintain in the state of the widst of Spring. In Austria, a bviews of ill and a could be in the widst of Spring. In Austria, a bviews of ill and a could be in the widst of Spring. In Austria, a bviews of ill and a could be in the widst of Spring. In Austria, a bviews of ill and a country in the season and maintain in the country of the production of the widst of Spring. In Austria, a bviews of ill and a country in the season and the s

le'pressed.

There was only one moves to such a loaded question and it united my own preference. We changed our clothes at a nearby guest house and flow 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 singola, Mozambique and Namibia. The youngstore were all in uniform and went through their passe with turings.

islands where we can have our talks in peace and quiet?

Castro had organized a small dinner for my party with only his closest advisers present. After a general discussion as the international situation, he came to what was obviously appearant in his mind, the state of elations between Guba 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 additions bedly needed in Guba and he had to sock them in Eurapearal showhere. He almost pleaded with me to use all my influence to persuade the American government and people that he really wanted good selations. I assured Gastro that I would inform Washington of his views.

The following day we flew to his private island, which he called his little Brioti. It is a levely 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 Trousier of swimming and harpoon fishing, at which our host avoiled. We observed that the group of security men who protested him were principally engaged in finding the largest shoals of fish. As he was not the classes of the boat, a steward approached with two classes.

As he sure of 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 speciate contents into the sea. Then he took the other glasse and swallowed its contents before diving in. I was told later that the first contained Listerine and the other whicky. Apparently, this was his manner of fortifying himself against the rigours of skin diving.

However that may be, he caught several dosen red snappers and lobsters. He personally propared lunch; it consisted mainly of the raw seafood garnished with lemonificial, which he insisted was the best way to east. I have frequently been willing to snerifice my discrive system in the east. I have frequently been willing to snerifice my discrive system in the east. I have freezer Greneral survived the furmoil with

ounds. As I found out later, Fidel Castro's stronge way of preparing ran obster was not so bad after all. Friends of ours did it the same way in beneathful and level it.

As on the previous evening, our talks concentrated mainly on Gubant American relations. If this account a case of dislocated overkill, there was doubtless a special reason for it. At Gastro's insistence, Bradford Morse, the highly especial administrator of the on Development Programme, had been invited to all our functions for general discussions and to calebrate the opening of a sea eagar will built with the help of his expensation.

Means was a former American Geogressman, well connected in Meahington, and Gastro doubless wanted to use him as an additional hearnest of get his message through to the administration Morse handled he situation very well.

the airport apron. It was as old and somewhat shabby bushing Taluun, with space for only nice people. Professing astenishment, he asked are with disbeliefic his voice. According back in that thing? Is it safe assay. It is surred him that it was and that it any some short the Secretary General or anyone short that, if my dignity had been impaired, I might at least have convinced Castro and his revolutionary coin ades of the capitalist fragality of the safe factor and this revolutionary coin ades of the capitalist fragality of the safe factor and this revolutionary coin ades of the capitalist fragality of the safe factor and the safe factor

One figure in the Third World muits special respect: King Hassin of Jordan I visited him on many secusions and was always impressed by the bload of sincondness, wisdom and courage which he displayed. Small is status, presise and eastful in speak, he has survived the turmoil besetting his source; from outside as well as from its large and would be setting his source; from outside as well as from its large and would be administration of his colligent 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 fether assessmated hy Palestinian extremists while standing on the stops of a mosque in Jerusalem. His engagement in the Six Day War of 1967 cost him Analy Jerusalem and Hastellion you the West Bank of the Jordan These was heard leavent indeed.

His reluctance to respond to Mestern proposals that be should regotiate on behalf of the Palestinians should concern as surprise. He can only the with the approval of the other Arab states. His rapproduction with the approval of the other Arab states.

Lesevie £ 7

considerable point endeavours considerable American reserve. For his part, President Reagan is facing o also no surprise that Muliammad Caddafi should reject Hussein's and his joint approach to President Mubarck clearly show were his with a joint Jordanian. Palestipian delegation have mot with Mubarch supports Hussein's policies to the best of his be wary of provoking his fundamentalists. The

an international problems ideals, and public image ma, be. It does not help to acate a group of came to my mind: as long as there is no objective support liberation movements, which had, he asserted, one Charter, the right to fight for their independence. That political outcome when sue day their to operation may be needed to solve without acts of terrorism. When I left Guddefi one simple thought again Eibya. It was always one of my problems to wisit certain countries at the In the sast of Gaddah it was particularly delicate -because such personal encounters aroimmediately interpreted freedom fighters, is will always be left to governments and ics. Whon I brought this up with him, h Sesture of support for this or that because of his alleged support of Suitanddes sem aq toqt idacts persea

annaged to establish good relations with him and he sations and known for his tough, rigid approach in the augustic tiens on the ostages on his border. He was not an easy man to deal with but I ver the economic demands of the Third World and the plight of I olimpio President Housei Boumédissas of Algoris and I had several encounters He was highly critical of the annuales of the industrialized nas quiec co

en with considerable reserve. I had to cross.. Western Sahara. The Algerian President had reacted violently, accusing either the Spanish records, the Algerians, the Moroscans not Acrosso, whose examp had taken over the former Spunish colony of the ing Hassar of imposition. The territory massa sparsely populated that Dountediense was equally accords with his neighb emine exactly how many people lived these. The "Ishiry and one hundred thousand, hour, King Hassan of grantiment of

4-6 I had great difficulty in obtaining on appointment with the King following merning. He also invited me to join him in indicated to his staff that I wished to present him with the United N tele die organization, oreating a most serious exists for the OAU. On one visit Depublic of Santawi' as a full member to the one, Morocco and her frien Heads of State I visited during my term of office. The King received placed me in an entirely felse position, but fortunately which, as it turned out, however miling a tour to mobile public peace medal, a gold medallion which I made a practice of giving to all the part of the 'green march' designed to anner the Spanish Sakos created a deep division within the easy When inuansigent and almost as difficult to do former Spanish Salar 'Arob Demograt The Police Same

Cross-legged and rereserved with the traditional racks of lamb, although l terpleasant repercussions.

The chief riction of this unhappy dispute was the President of the United and Deddah, who had been persuaded by the Mauritenia, Mr. Mokka. Ould Deddah, who had been persuaded by the Morosculas to occupy the southern part of the territory abandoned by number of palace revolutions Oald Daddah was deposed in a bioouless continuously attacked the fragile forces of the Mauritanian army. After a for me took place in a tent put up in the garden. He equatted on suchions Western Sabara in 1979. coup and the Mauritanian government had to surrender situation was clearly beyond his control and the Polisario liberation unite managed to avoid seting the ey official recidence had such limited facilities that his reception and dinner married to a French lady whose hobby was witing books for children. Th Spaniards. Daddult was a modest bolking man, educated in France and so when they were served The Sal its claim to the

statesmen. Their influence in the shaping of African policies to wards the former members of the French National Assembly, and Houghouse Doigny of the Ivory Coast. Both are highly cultivated mor pher and poet of international standing and Houphoute-Doigny one of th eadors, President Léopold Sédar Sanghor of Sangal and President Telix Much happier were my relationships with two outstanding African seet men die African continent has produced. Defenders of the free porters was of greatest importance. Soughor is a philoso experience

world Nations and in the world at large. He is a strong defender of the continentis tion, inarying he turned to me and asked; Are you a Protestant or a Cathelic? I was somewhat surprised by the question and must have Outholic and one Hairaho a ta) religious man. At a dimner party during my first official te determined opposes Protestant, to say grass but I have to know the mineral. t of South Africa's apartheid policies African loader of great stature priests here at the table, one

apital, where he are opening the agricultural fair. I was flow there is special and arrived in the middle of the country. Prizes were being given to the hear balls, and tribal dancers then filled the area foundation? Years the turned to mean dashed whether I would like to join him is congressibilities them. I saw no harm in this and occumpanied him is congressibilities of the means of ashed whether I would like to join him is congressibilities them. suggested we join the dance. This aroused appleause but I would not help asking mysulfullible introduction of her introduction. into their midat, where justice a few eachenges, he took me by the hand and the summer of 1974 to see President Konyetta Dignit, and protocol were not always maintained during these trips. oir whee, instead of her ring political teaks with item; atta, i ended but I would not holp asking myself thether; it had been a word now, I cannot forgets right I paid to Kenya in that he CHURCOTAN SE

13 official residence to make an appeal to the international community for en orphanation. It soon begatte clear that the minister in charge of the baleony diene was not a soul to be seen. I turned to the I resident, asking for Suited region—stratelying from Sanagal in the worte Ethiopia and Sanalia tapital of Barkita Faso. This was part of a toprof the drought attitude. standing in the square in front of the pulses. When we evention elements in an attempt to co-ordinate the unconcerney relief mest had forgotter to m emmittee had been summoned to his to read out to the thousands of people I had been promised would be dunce and even before loosing New York I had prepared a dramati which I undertook in February 1971. My itinorary includes mest embarrassing experience une et Onegedeugen the sands the west starting. The co ordinating erder to salvage or to the balcony of his VIT OF TIO THE TO President

es his world out -- 130

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levelopment of the Third World. In the blems Characters thousand distantay is in fact merely symptometic of a much more profession blame them for their rack of experience time plicated problem commons out that only de resem pugne the economie, politic true and must b r) mmu, amu basea deposition of the second adding to the comus. ensing hunger, powerty and injustice that are MOUICI CA subscribed to if any long teen emple of Third World govern momgolovob lle sieviloge and a smooth and a smooth and degions equally diverge se of the developing . Sing 101 Ward icw Haring seep إمسطيت إمساره beence of infe

our comonne development and should be THE ALLOWATION TO ill climbing because most devole eracines frames (especial concerna does not meet rea

olf reliance is a deeply rooted to es a firm basis on which ped. Tor example, of self-auffici and madional choins to compar to - Prate of actions of lities is the desciming conntri sible aid programmes con

contries countries can which takes on the form of his Sarssoad went their cultural the und bemichines - joicht problems, and it is uz mon Senegare es Unfortunately, this ar straping aid

within the right context, rather than be peration, the inter

Countries in building up the initiastra come controlicas technologies and subsequently to of planned inflasti ucture incurs a mastage of relaable services and infrastructure are manting in rural areas taren on an international angration give adapt them to shame Rarat -widening:

evelopment is one of the most important precenditions for improve an atmosphere of relative peace and recurity conduciependence is 101 the most part still young. Unfortunately for automal and internal security the majority of them paper powers someon in the developing countries,

force grow way to more immediate, practical permitand premises. Must of the peerest developing countries, rates. The quest to of them are weighed down by uncrous debt burdens and hi the industrialized states from the most recent recession has and an intercasing in fauli issue is as far from resolution as even The interpational conforme order has erous, are in dire strain ionism is jeoparduzins Developed and

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Human Rights and Wrongs

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rights, is the dignity and worth of the heatin person, is the equal ights of the private and small? The private was codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1946. This was consolid the first top in length, journey. The extensional rights of the extensional rights of the private to the first top in length, journey. The extensional rights of the extensional rights of the private to the first top in the private and the first top in the private and the first top in the private and the first top in the problem of the private and the problem of the first top in the problem of the problem o

He would be an ensomable to expect more in a would still dominated by or origin action states. I lie ambivalence in the Gluate, established by same age persists to the present day. On the selected members pledge the machine to take John and coposite action in so operation with the Organization is present activated action in so operation with the Organization is presented in the original function as to make a property of the original action is so trained in the agency of the original function is a selected with the original action of the original

This history is the effect of that curious process.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WRONGS

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The interrelationship between consonic and social rights on the one and and airill and political rights on the one over the years. The Third West algority has somicantly emphasized the formation of the expanse of the state. Their priority has been the promotion of sollective rights:

Step Three

In my office a globe was set up, less a world than a history of imperialism corruption. I used to search that poor political patchwork in the period leading up to my tenure. As a scholar, it became obvious to me that my little book would be I had no reason for unsuccessful. undertaking this form. But the thought of making a new beginning started to operate on me in the midst of Spring. In Austria, obviously ill and depressed, the Secretary General survived the turmoil within with considerable reserve. I had to cross his world out anew. This history is the effect of that curious process.