تحدّيات
أفكار
ورؤية مستقبلية

مجموعة خطابات
سمو الأمير حسن وليّ العهد المعظم
١٩٧٧ ~ ١٩٨٢

د. بسام الساكت

تم انجاز هذه الوثيقة بدعم سخي من غرفة صناعة عمان

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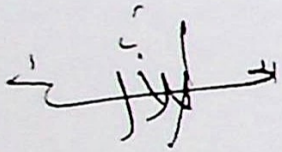
علينا الا ندع المصاعب تثبط همتنا او تعوق مسيرتنا. فالمعوقات والتحديات التي تواجه امتنا كبيرة ، ولكن طموحاتنا وامكانياتنا كبيرة ايضا، وكل ما علينا هو ان نبذل افضل ما عندنا من جهد .



كلمة شكر

يسرني أن أتقدم بالشكر والتقدير الى غرفة صناعة عمان للمساهمة السخية في تغطية طباعة هذه المجموعة من خطابات صاحب السمو الملكي الامير حسن، ولما قدمته ادارة هذه الغرفة وخاصة السيد علي الدجاني من دعم وتشجيع للقيام بهذا العمل.

كما أشكر مطبعة الجمعية العلمية الملكية لمساعدتها في اخراج هذه الوثيقة. وكذلك ان ما بذله العديد من موظفي الدائرة الاقتصادية في الجمعية العلمية الملكية من جهد ووقت للمساهمة في هذا المشروع يستحق الشكر والعرفان.

تقديم

سيبقى صاحب السمو الملكي الامير حسن بن طلال رمزا للقوى الموجهة لخطط التنمية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية الاردنية وما تطمح اليه من بناء مجتمع حضاري انساني متقدم. لقد كرّس صاحب السمو الملكي كل جهوده التي لا تعرف الملل لتعزيز التنمية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية في الاردن بتوجيه من جلالة الملك الحسين. لقد تحدث صاحب السمو الملكي خلال الحقبة الماضية في العديد من الاجتماعات القومية والدولية التي تدعم اقامة وطن عربي موحد يساهم فيه الاردن بجدارة من أجل العمل نحو مستقبل أفضل في عالم يسوده السلام والرخاء والعدل. لقد أضفى أسلوب سموه النيّر وتحليله العلمي وضوحا وقوة اقناع الى أفكاره. انني مقتنع تماما بأن خطابات سموه تحتوي على تحليل جوهري للقضايا المحلية والاقليمية والدولية. مع أن هذه الخطابات لا تحيط بكل مساهمته الفكرية التي تشمل العديد من الاجتماعات والندوات والمناقشات في المجتمعات المحلية والاجنبية بالاضافة الى العديد من الكتب والمقالات.

وعلى المستوى المحلي، يقود صاحب السمو الملكي عملية النقاش الحر المفتوح للقضايا المعاصرة بمشاركة قطاع واسع من الاردنيين. هذه العملية الديموقراطية قد عمّقت احساس الانتماء والمسؤولية بين أبناء الشعب العربي في الأردن. من قراءة هذه الخطابات يحصل القارىء على صورة واضحة للاردن المتقدم الذي يحاول ان يتطور الى مجتمع نام نموذجي يستطيع أن يلعب دورا بناء في الجهد العالمي ضد الظلم والتخلف.

وعلى المستوى الاقليمي والدولي، فان صاحب السمو الملكي يؤيد بقوة التكامل بين الدول العربية، ويؤكد على أن التعاون بين الاقطار العربية ضرورة لبقائها وتنميتها. وكذلك فقد دعا صاحب السمو الملكي للتعاون بين الدول النامية نفسها كشرط اساسي للاعتماد على النفس والتقدم. هذا، وصاحب السمو الملكي يؤمن بالتعاون المتبادل بين الشمال الصناعي والجنوبي النامي من أجل فائدة الطرفين. أعتقد أن هذه الخطابات تقدم سجلا موثقا من آراء مختارة لصاحب السمو الملكي حول بعض القضايا الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والعديد من الافكار المتعلقة بالاردن والعالم العربي. آملا أن تكون هذه المجموعة مفيدة لكل مهتم في تنمية الفكر الاقتصادي والاجتماعي وعلاقته بالتغيرات التي حصلت في الاردن والمنطقة خلال العقد الماضي.

د. بسام الساكت
مدير الدائرة الاقتصادية في الجمعية العلمية الملكية
والمستشار الاقتصادي لصاحب السمو الملكي الامير حسن
ولي العهد المعظم

من أقوال صاحب السمو الملكي، ولي العهد، الامير حسن

- «الاعتماد المتبادل» مصطلح طالما تعرّض لكثير من سوء الفهم والمغالطة فبات في أمسّ الحاجة لاستقطاب وجهة نظر جديدة مغايرة تجعل منه «اعتمادا متبادلا مقسطا بين الشمال والجنوب يحلّ محلّ العلاقة غير المتكافئة مرتبة ونفوذا، والقائمة حاليا بين الطرفين».

- «ليس نقل التكنولوجيا» عملية تنطوي بالضرورة على قيام صراع محتوم بين الاقطار المتقدمة والنامية. فمهما يكن أمر الخلافات قصيرة الاجل والتباين الواضح القائم حاليا بين الطرفين ففي نقل التكنولوجيا على المدى الطويل وفي نهاية المطاف خدمة لمصلحة الجميع».

- وضع الاردن ثقته الكاملة في استراتيجية الاعتماد الذاتي واتخذها نهجا له. فهي – والحق يقال – استراتيجية اتصفت بالأصالة، ولكنها افتقرت الى مدد – يعزّزها – صادر عن الثقة والايمان في الاعتماد المتبادل الجماعي والقومي».

- «أما وقد أصبح انتماء الاردن الى العالم النامي حقيقة مفروغا منها، فعلى هذا البلد أن يشارك شعوب العالم النامي تطلعاتهم وخبراتهم لكي يتمكن من أضافة بعد جديد الى قضية التعاون معهم. وعلى الاردن كذلك أن يعمل على تضييق الفجوة بين المفكّرين ومتّخذي القرارات لديه، اذا أراد أن يضمن تطبيق الافكار الخلّاقة تطبيقا مأمون العواقب».

- «يعتقد الاردن، بصفته عضوا في العالم النامي، أن الحاجة تدعو الى تطهير محلاتنا وعقولنا مما علق بها من أدران أصبحت تعرف اصطلاحا بالحواجز الموقفية»، وأن علينا بالتالي أن نعمل على تعميق ثقتنا بقدرة الاقطار النامية الاخرى، وعلى ارساء قواعد ايماننا بالعون المتبادل والمنفعة المتبادلة».

- «لن تكون القضايا التي ستثار في حقبة ما بعد مؤتمر قمة عمان، الا قضايا الجزء الاخير من القرن العشرين، وعليه فلن يصار الى معالجتها الا بأسلوب ولغة هذه الحقبة اياها. واذا كان الامر كذلك، فلن يسع العالم العربي أن يظل، بعد، عائشا على هامش الزمن أو متخلفا عن ركب الاحداث. فلغة الساعة لغة البحث العلمي المتصل بقضايا ومشكلات الحياة العربية اليومية».

- «ما زال العالم بأسره يميل الى محاباة تحرك رؤوس الأموال على حساب تصدير العمالة. ولكي تولى قضية تحرك العمالة نفس الاهتمام والاعتبار اللذين شاء العرف أن ينعم بهما تحرك رؤوس الاموال، فقد آن الاوان لأن يصار الى عقد اتفاقيات دولية واقليمية تشجع انتقال العمالة وتضمن لها معاملة وأجور كريمة».

- «اذا كان في حكم المقّرر أن تشهد الثمانينات من هذا القرن تغيرا في الانتاج من حيث نوعيته وكمّه معا، فلا بدّ أن يترك هذا التغيّر آثارا يؤمل أن تنعكس على الامة العربية جميعها لا من حيث تزايد نمائها فحسب بل من حيث تزايد حسّها بالانتماء للعصر كذلك».

- «يرى الكثيرون في منطقة الشرق الاوسط، وقد انطلقوا من بديهية كون معظم الاقطار النامية في هذه المنطقة أقطارا زراعية في الاصل، أن لا سبيل الى تحقيق تنمية هذه الاقطار الا بترجيح كفة التصنيع وبتقليل الدور الزراعي فيها. لقد فات هؤلاء ما أصاب أقطارا زراعية البنية أصلا، عمدت الى التصنيع، فحلّ بها سوء مصير مشترك جعلها عمليا عاجزة من أن تنتج طعاما كافيا يقوم بأود سكانها ليس الا».

- «لا بدّ أن يثاب كل جهد مبذول نحو التنمية، لا أن يعاقب. ولا بدّ أن يستمر تشجيع أقطار نجحت في تسجيل مستويات نمو مرموقة، وأن يستمر اعتبارها اقطارا مؤهلة لا ثابتها بقروض سهلة الشروط وبمعاملة متساهلة، الى حين تتبوأ هذه الاقطار مركزا تنمويا مأمونا».

المحتويات

الصفحة

كلمة شكر ..... أ

تقديم ..... حـ

مقتطفات من خطابات سموه ..... هـ

كلمة سمو الامير حسن بن طلال ولي العهد المعظم في الاجتماع الثالث والستين لمنظمة العمل الدولية، جنيف ١٠ /٦/١٩٧٧. (انجليزي) ١

خطاب سمو الامير حسن بن طلال ولي العهد المعظم في المؤتمر الاقليمي للمرأة العربية، ٢٩ أيار – ٤ حزيران ١٩٧٨ (انجليزي) ١٣

كلمة سمو الامير حسن بن طلال ولي العهد المعظم في مؤتمر الامم المتحدة للتعاون الفني بين الدول النامية، ٣٠ آب/ أغسطس – ١٢ أيلول / سبتمبر ١٩٧٨، بيونس آيرس– الارجنتين، (انجليزي) ٢١

(العلاقات الاردنية الاوروبية) خطاب سمو الامير حسن بن طلال ولي العهد المعظم الى المجموعة الاوروبية الاطلسية في مجلس العموم، بتاريخ ٢٣ آذار ١٩٨١، (انجليزي) ٣١

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خطاب سمو الامير حسن بن طلال ولي العهد المعظم في الدورة السادسة والثلاثين للجمعية العامة للامم المتحدة، الاثنين ٢٨ أيلول ١٩٨١، نيويورك، (انجليزي). ٥٣

كلمة سمو الامير حسن بن طلال ولي العهد المعظم، رئيس مجلس أمناء منتدى الفكر العربي، في الاجتماع الثاني لمجلس أمناء المنتدى، البحرين ٢١–٢٢ تشرين الاول ١٩٨١، (عربي) ٦٥

كلمة سمو الامير حسن بن طلال ولي العهد المعظم في ندوة المنتدى الانساني التي عقدت في كلية الزراعة – الجامعة الاردنية في الفترة ١١–١٢ تشرين الثاني ١٩٨١، (عربي) ٧١

كلمة سمو الامير حسن بن طلال ولي العهد المعظم في حفل تخريج دورة القيادة والاركان الثانية والعشرين المنعقدة في كلية القيادة الملكية، عمان ٢٥ تشرين ثاني ١٩٨١، (عربي) ٧٧

خطاب

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

في

الاجتماع الثالث والستين

لمنظمة العمل الدولية

جنيف ١٠/٦/١٩٧٧

السيد الرئيس ، السيد المدير العام ، الوفود الافاضل ،

انه لشرف كبير لي ولبلدي ان امنح فرصة مخاطبة هذا المؤتمر . وأود أولا ان اعبر عن عميق شكري للسيد بلانشار لدعوته الكريمة لي . ويمكن اعتبار مؤتمر العمل الدولي مظهرا سنويا للمجتمع الدولي على دعم الرفاه الانساني في مجالي العمل والاستخدام وعلى تقوية عرى التعاون التي تربط جميع الدول ، الصغيرة منها والكبيرة ، في عالم اليوم . ان تحدثنا عن آمال شعب الاردن وتطلعاته ، ومشاركتكم لنا التفكير بالقضايا التي هي موضوع هذه المشاورات ، يفي بالغرض الذي من اجله اقيم هذا اللقاء .

لقد بذلت جهود مستمرة ، خلال السنوات الاخيرة ، في منابر داخل وخارج نظام الامم المتحدة ، من اجل حوار هادف بين الدول النامية والدول المتطورة . ونادرا ما شعر المجتمع الدولي ، في تاريخه المعاصر ، بحاجة ملحة لهذا الحوار كشعوره بذلك خلال السنوات القليلة الاخيرة . وان بناء منظمة العمل الدولي ، الثلاثي التكوين ، يساعد ، وبطريقة مثلى على تطوير مثل هذا الحوار .

وفي مقالة بعنوان « الحاجة الى الشك السياسي » قال برتراند رسل - وما زال قوله هذا صحيحا اليوم : « . . . . اذا ما تخطى كل من العمل الدولي والتمويل الدولي ، انعدام الثقة بينهما ، فيمكنهما الآن ان يتفقا على برنامج قد يستغرق برلمانات وطنية سنين عديدة للاتفاق عليه ، وقد يحسن العالم بصورة كبيرة » .

وقد اختتم مقالته قائلا : « ان المعرفة موجودة ، وكذلك حسن النية موجود ، ولكنهما يبقيان عقيمين حتى تتوفر لهما الاجهزة المناسبة لاسماع صوتهما » .

السيد الرئيس ،

اعتقد انه بالرغم من أن الازمنة قد تطورت ، وان البيئة قد اختلفت ، الا ان منظمة العمل الدولية ما زالت تتمتع بالاهلية لان تكون احد تلك الاجهزة . وانني متأكد ان ما سيقال هنا في هذا المؤتمر سيلقى اذنا صاغية اذا ما مثّل الاجماع الدولي النية لتحسين نصيب الانسان في هذه الحياة .

ان سجل منظمة العمل الدولية خلال اكثر من نصف قرن مضى سجل بارز . وقد كانت هذه المنظمة رائدة في تقديم المساعدات الفنية المتعددة وذلك لكونها باشرت اعمالها حتى قبل عصبة

الامم. وفي الواقع ان اصطلاح «المساعدة الفنية» قد ظهر في تقرير لهذه المنظمة عام ١٩٢٠، وعلى حد علمي فان السيد البرت توماس نفسه هو الذي ادخل هذا الاصطلاح في التقرير. ولقد حدثت تغيرات كثيرة في السياسة الدولية منذ تلك الايام الا ان ما يحزن، ان معظم المشاكل الانسانية، كالفقر والجوع والبطالة، بقيت في عصرنا هذا كما كانت عليه.

وفي مؤتمر عمل دولي مماثل عقد قبل اكثر من ٣٠ عاما في فيلادلفيا، اعلن المجتمع الدولي كله، ان «الفقر في اي مكان يعتبر خطرا على الازدهار في كل مكان». ونحن نشعر اليوم، اكثر من اي وقت مضى، بالحقيقة المرة التي تتضمنها هذه العبارة حيث اننا اصبحنا اكثر وعيا لمخاطر الصراع بين الازدهار والفقر، ولشفافية وضعف الحوار بين الجنوب والشمال.

ويبدو سهلا ان يقع الانسان ضحية التشاؤم في عالم يعج بصراعات المصالح المتضاربة. ولذلك فهناك حاجة كبيرة الى تقوية ايماننا بأهمية المنظمات الدولية كمنظمة العمل الدولية. ولا يمكن لأية دولة، مهما كان حجمها، ان تعامل هذه المؤسسات على انها غير ذات اهمية مباشرة لمصالحها الحيوية، او ان تتجاهلها على اعتبار انها قد لا تقدم مساعدة نافعة لسياساتها الوطنية. ان النظرة العالمية الشاملة فيما يتعلق بالعضوية والدعم المالي أو السياسي هي ضرورة اساسية لأية مؤسسة دولية كي تصبح فعالة وقادرة على تحقيق رسالتها على الوجه المرضي. ويجب الا يفسح المجال للصراعات الداخلية او الخلافات الدولية ان تؤثر عكسيا على هذه المزية العالمية. وانني آمل، وكذلك فانني واثق، من ان منظمة العمل الدولية سوف تستمر بالتمتع بالدعم العالمي الذي تستحقه وتحتاجه.

السيد الرئيس،

لقد ركزت على اهمية الدور الذي تلعبه منظمة العمل الدولية لاننا في الاردن ومن خلال خبرتنا، قد تعلمنا ان نقدّر جهود هذه المنظمة كمشارك ثمين لنا في جهودنا التنموية. لقد قدمت هذه المنظمة المشورة النافعة لنا وانني اود ان اسجل هنا عميق شكرنا لها. ونحن نبذل بمساعدة هذه المنظمة جهودا من اجل تطوير متكامل لضمان اجتماعي يهدف الى مزيد من تحسين رفاه الانسان على جميع مستويات الشعب. فهناك تشريع جديد وصل الى مرحلة متقدمة من التحضير يتعلق بجميع جوانب التأمين الاجتماعي. وسيُمكّن هذا التشريع، فور الانتهاء منه، الاردن من الاقتراب من عدد من اعراف منظمة العمل الدولية، وبذلك فهو سيقربنا في مجالات عديدة من المقاييس العالمية. ونحن نمارس، والى اكبر حد ممكن، المبدأ الثلاثي المنوه عنه، وبهذا فنحن نتبع منهاج هذه المنظمة. وقد اصبح مألوفا ان يجتمع ممثلو العمال واصحاب العمل والحكومة لحل مشاكلهم المشتركة. وبالمثل، فان مشاكل الصناعة لم تعد متروكة كلية لان تحل من قبل الصناعيين وحدهم، كذلك فان احتكار عملية اتخاذ القرارات قد كسر باشراك العمال المباشر في كل القضايا التي تخصهم.

وجهت منظمة العمل الدولية عملها نحو بعض اهم القطاعات الاساسية والحيوية ضمن «النظام الاقتصادي الدولي الجديد»، والذي تسعى جميع الدول، صغيرة وكبيرة لتطويره اليوم. وانني واثق انني لا اتحدث باسم العالم العربي فقط، وانما - باسم جميع اعضاء المنظمة عندما اقول ان الجهود المبذولة تحت اشراف هذه المنظمة في هذا المجال ليست ضرورية فقط وانما لا يمكن الاستغناء عنها لغرض تحسين الوضع العام لعالمنا المضطرب. وان اهم جانب من جوانب عمل هذه المنظمة هو انه موجه بكليته لخدمة الانسان وليس لخدمة الآلة. ولا يستطيع اليوم اي مخطط اقتصادي جاد ان يهمل المكانة الاساسية للمصادر البشرية في اي خطة اقتصادية. وقد أكد جلالة الملك الحسين وباستمرار في سياق الخطط الاقتصادية الاردنية على ان «الانسان هو مركز الثقل في جهودنا التنموية فهو عامل التنمية وهو المنتفع منها».

واعتقد ان ما يمكن تطبيقه على بلدي، في مجال اقتصاديات النمو، ينطبق والى حد كبير على الدول النامية الاخرى. وان ما يدعم اهمية مؤتمر كهذا، هو اتاحة الفرصة لتبادل الآراء والخبرات مع الآخرين. ولذلك، فانني اود ان اصف باختصار، المشاكل التي نواجهها في الاردن والطموحات التي ننميها.

يتمتع الاردن بمكانة فريدة جغرافيا وسياسيا وكذلك في بنيته الاجتماعية والاقتصادية. ولم يكن لدينا وقت أبداً كي نضع انفسنا وانجازاتنا الاجتماعية تحت شعار محدد. وربما يعود ذلك ايضا الى موقعنا المركزي ضمن الاضطرابات السكانية الناجمة عن حروب الشرق الاوسط الثلاث والذي جعل دورنا ومساهمتنا السياسية امرا يتطلب منا الكثير. ونحن ندرك انه اذا اردنا البقاء فيجب علينا ان نعادل بصورة اكثر واقعية بين مصادرنا وبين الدور المتوقع منا. ولقد كانت صدمة نفسية قاسية للمخططين والاقتصاديين اندلاع حرب حزيران عام ١٩٦٧، وما تبعها من آثار عكسية، في الوقت الذي وصلت نسبة النمو الحقيقية لاقتصادنا ٧٪ والتي كانت من افضل النسب دوليا.

وربما يكون من السهل الافتراض ان الازدهار الاقتصادي يعقب بشكل طبيعي السلام والذي غاب عن منطقتنا طويلا. وقد ادركنا على مر السنين وفي ظلال مناخ من عدم الاستقرار والطمأنينة، ان الازدهار من خلال التنمية الاقتصادية لا يعقب حلول السلام، وانما يجدر ان يسبقه. ولما كانت الحرب تنشأ، في عقول البشر، فاننا وجهنا جهودنا نحو منح شعبنا من خلال الرفاه الاجتماعي والتنمية الاقتصادية راحة البال التي يتوقعها المجتمع الدولي من شعوب منطقتنا لدى دعوته لهم لحل مشاكلهم الاقليمية. وكان هذا الحافز هو الذي حدا بنا الى ان نحدث في الاردن موازاة لعقد التنمية الدولي اجتذبت استثمارات جمة خلال خطة التنمية الثلاثية ١٩٧٣ - ١٩٧٥ وكانت تلك الخطة اساسا لخطتنا الخمسية الحالية.

انني لا ارغب في ان اقلل من اهمية مظاهر الموقف السياسي السائدة في المنطقة اذ ان

هناك مظاهر معينة ذات صلة مباشرة بنشاطات منظمة العمل الدولية تستحق التنويه عنها باختصار . ونحن في الاردن مهتمون كثيرا ، كغيرنا من اغلبية الدول الممثلة هنا ، باوضاع العمل والعمال في الاراضي المحتلة . واننا ندرك الصعوبة وعدم الرغبة في تحقيق حلول سلمية جزئية ، ونشعر ايضا ان حل المشاكل العمالية في الاراضي المحتلة يكمن اولا وآخرا في تسوية عادلة ودائمة للصراع العربي الاسرائيلي . لقد أكد جلالة الملك الحسين ، مرارا وتكرارا ، كغيره من زعماء الدول العربية ، اننا نسعى نحو تسوية سلمية لمشكلة الشرق الاوسط مبنية على اساس انسحاب اسرائيلي شامل من الاراضي المحتلة واستعادة الحقوق الشرعية لشعب فلسطين .

استطاع الاردن ، ان يندفع بخطواته التنموية بالرغم من المعوقات السياسية والسكانية التي يعلمها الجميع ولا حاجة لي هنا ان اسهب في الحديث عنها ، ويسعدني ان اقول ان الاردن قد استطاع ان يضاعف دخله الفردي بالاسعار الجارية منذ بداية خطة التنمية الاقتصادية السابقة . ولسوء الحظ ، فان هذا التقدم قد جلب معه مشاكله الخاصة به ، فبينما قلل من جهة اهليتنا للحصول على تمويل سهل من مؤسسات ، كالبنك الدولي ، أبطلت منافعه حقيقيا بمفعول التضخم من جهة اخرى . ومن الواضح ان الوضع غير المريح ، المتمثل في « الركض السريع من اجل البقاء في نفس المكان » والذي هو مصير كثير من الدول النامية يحتاج الى اصلاح من قبل القادرين على ذلك .

ان التأثيرات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية غير السليمة للتضخم معروفة جيدا وليس لدي رغبة ان ادخل في تفصيلها فيما عدا ان اذكر ما يخص التأثيرات الحاصلة في سوق العمل . فمن الواضح ان الضغوط التضخمية قد خفضت الاجور الحقيقية الى ما دون مستواها الاسمي . وكانت مقدرتنا على تعويض خسارة عمالنا هذه مقيدة بمواردنا المحدودة . وتحت التأثير المتعاظم لارتفاع تكاليف المعيشة تم امتصاص قوانا العاملة الى الخارج بفعل الرواتب العالية هناك . وقد استمر العمال المهرة وشبه المهرة بمغادرة البلاد غير قادرين على مقاومة الاغراءات . وعكس نزيف القوى العاملة هذا الصورة التقليدية لفائض العمل في الاردن وأدى الى ظهور حاجة ماسة لقوى عاملة . وكان لهذا النقص في القوى العاملة الماهرة اثره على قدرتنا لتنفيذ خطتنا التنموية . ولتوضيح مدى الهجرة من الاردن ، أستطيع ان اقول ان ما يقارب ثلث القوى العاملة الاردنية يعمل خارج المملكة .

ويضاف الى ذلك ان الآثار العكسية لنقص القوى العاملة لا تقتصر على ازدياد الاجور ، فهي قد سببت حركة هجرة داخلية كبيرة من الريف الى المدن . وان تباين الدخل والخدمات بين هذين القطاعين يفرغ قرانا ومناطقنا الريفية ويعمل على ازدحام مدننا . فمنطقة عمان الكبرى تستوعب الآن اكثر من ٥٠٪ من سكان الاردن . وكما هو معروف ، فان توزيعا سكانيا كهذا يسبب تقلصا في الانتاج الزراعي ويفرض قيودا اجتماعية وقيودا في مجال الخدمات في المدن الكبيرة . ومثل هذه الظروف تضر باهدافنا التنموية الرئيسية .

وقد اخذت جميع هذه المتغيرات بعين الاعتبار عند تحضير خطة التنمية الخمسية ١٩٧٦ - ١٩٨٠ . فبينما خططنا للوصول الى نسبة حقيقية سنوية معدلها ١٢٪ ، سعينا في الخطة الى تحقيق توزيع اكثر عدالة للدخل والخدمات على المستوى الفردي والجغرافي . وأدى هذا الى مواجهة معضلة ذات شقين تتواجد غالبا في معظم البلدان النامية الصغيرة . فاذا ما اعطينا الاولوية للقطاعات الانتاجية المباشرة فلربما تعرض توازننا الاجتماعي للخطر . ومن ناحية اخرى ، اذا ما ركزنا على الاستجابة للمشاكل الاجتماعية البارزة فسوف يبقى لنا القليل من المصادر المتاحة لتحسين وسائل انتاجنا . وقد يبني النظريون الاقتصاديون نماذج انيقة تعكس حلولا غير عملية ، او ربما يدخلون في مجادلات غير ذات قيمة عملية حول الاختيار بين النمو المتوازن او غير المتوازن . ان حقائق الامور قد لا تتطابق مع كل تلك النظريات . اننا نحاول ان نحسن طاقاتنا الانتاجية ونحافظ على صورة عادلة لتوزيع الدخل . ولا يمكن لهذين الهدفين ان يتعارضا في مجال التخطيط والتنفيذ عندنا . ولا يعني هذا بطلان وجود درجة من التبادل بينهما ، ونحن لم يتوقف بحثنا عن التوفيق الامثل بينهما . ولغاية الوصول الى هذه النقطة المرضية فاننا نستغل اثمن عامل من عوامل التنمية الا وهو الانسان .

ولم يبرر هذا النهج بدوافع خيرية فقط وانما بحقائق الحياة في اقتصادنا . وبالاضافة الى الدور الاساسي للمصادر البشرية في داخل الاردن وخارجه والى تواجد ثلث قواه العاملة في خارجه فهناك اكثر من ٣٥,٠٠٠ طالب اردني يتلقون علومهم الجامعية خارج الاردن بالاضافة الى ٧,٠٠٠ طالب جامعي داخل الاردن . وهناك تأكيد على دور المرأة الاردنية في الحقول غير التقليدية . كما يساهم مواطنونا المهرة ومثقفونا بنشاط في تنمية الدول العربية المجاورة .

ومن الواجب ان نذكر عند هذا المفترق ان تقديرنا لجهود الانسان ينبعث من تراثنا الديني . والاسلام كطريقة حياة ، أدخل توازنا جديدا في المجتمع . وهو ظهر في عصر كانت فيه كرامة الانسان في مركز متدن فجاء ليرفع الانسان الى مرتبة تليق بانسانيته . ودعا الرسول محمد ﷺ قبل اربعة عشر قرنا من الزمن الى حقوق الانسان وابغض العنصرية بين بني الانسان . وكان هو نفسه الذي اصر على دفع اجور حقيقية معادلة للجهد المبذول ، وأكد على خلق العمل . وادخل الاسلام مفهوم الضمان الاجتماعي وطوره ، وبذلك فقد اضاف بُعدا مهما للتنمية المتناسقة للمجتمع .

وانطلاقا من اعتقادنا الراسخ بترابط عاملي رفاه الانسان وانجازه ، فنحن في الاردن نسعى الى رفع مستوى رفاه شعبنا . وبالطبع فما زال هناك تباين بين اهدافنا ومنجزاتنا الحقيقية ولكننا برغم ذلك نأمل ان نتخطى هذا التباين من خلال الجهود الهادفة ، وخاصة اذا ما قدم لنا المجتمع الدولي الدعم الضروري . فنحن لا نسأل صدقة ولكن مساعدات هادفة لدعم دورنا الايجابي كقوة توازن على المستويين الاقليمي والعالمي .

ان الاردن ، كغيره من الدول الممثلة هنا ، فقير بمصادره الطبيعية غني بمصادره البشرية . وباعتبار ان العنصر الانساني هو المصدر الاساسي في بلدي فمن الطبيعي ان مخططينا قد اعطوا اهمية كبرى لهذا العامل في جهدنا الوطني للتنمية . ونحن نشعر في الاردن انه لا بد من تبني مجموعة من القواعد على المستوى الدولي لضمان عدم حصول تدن اكثر في معادلات التبادل بين رأس المال والعمل لصالح رأس المال . ويجب عدم تشجيع هذا الوضع غير المتوازن في معادلات العائدات والا فان الفجوة بين الدول الغنية والفقيرة سوف تتسع وربما تصل الى حدود غير مقبولة في المستقبل القريب .

ولا ارى حاجة لي هنا ان اؤكد حقيقة ان العمل ، كعامل من عوامل الانتاج ، له اهمية مماثلة على الاقل لاهمية رأس المال . لقد اصبح واضحا للمخططين في العالم اكثر من اي وقت مضى ، ان الانسان هو العامل الاساسي للتنمية وان رأس المال يحتل مركزا ثانويا . ان هذا الرأي يعزز اذا ما قارنا بين تكلفة وتهيئة عناصر انسانية قادرة وتكلفة تنمية رأس المال . لقد اصبح الانسان المدرب جيدا في كثير من الدول النامية عنصرا نادرا . لذا يجب ان ترجح الاوضاع الاقتصادية سعر التبادل بين العمل ورأس المال لصالح العمل . ولا زال العالم يميز بالمعادلة بين صادرات رأس المال والعمل . وقد حان الوقت لاعطاء صادرات العمل الاهمية والاعتبار اللذين كانا يمنحان في العادة لتحويلات رأس المال . ولتنفيذ ذلك فهناك حاجة لعقد اتفاقية دولية بخصوص حركة العمل يتم خلالها حسن المعاملة والمكافأة . ويرتبط هذا بشكل مناسب بالاهتمام العالمي الجاري بموضوع حقوق الانسان ، وكذلك فهو يلزمنا بدعم المبادىء الاساسية التي حددتها منظمة العمل الدولية وطورتها . ويمكن من خلال اتفاقية كهذه تنظيم تدفق العمل بصورة تضمن مصالح البلدان المقدمة والمستغلة . كما يمكن لهذه الاتفاقية ان تنص على حد ادنى من المعادلة الحسنة والاجور والضمان . وطبيعي ان ينطبق ما قلته الآن ، وبشكل مماثل ، على تدفق القوى العاملة الماهرة الى الخارج . فيجب كبح جماح ظاهرة هجرة العقول هذه وتنظيمها وضبطها اذا ما اردنا للدول النامية الا تصاب بفقر في مواردها الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والفكرية .

وأود هنا ان اقترح انشاء « نظام تعويض عمالي دولي » الذي يمكن وضعه على غرار صندوق التسهيلات التعويضية لصندوق النقد الدولي . ويمكن لهذا النظام المقترح ان يعتمد على المصادر المقدمة من الدول المستوردة للقوى العاملة . وكمبادرة ودية يمكن ايضا لبقية اعضاء منظمة العمل الدولية ان تساهم فيه . وتحول المصادر المالية المتراكمة الى تنمية البلدان المصدرة للعمال بمقادير متناسبة مع تكلفة الخسارة المقدرة نتيجة فقدانها للقوى العاملة . فاذا ما توفرت الارادة لتنفيذ مثل هذا الاقتراح فانا متأكد بانه يمكن ايجاد قاعدة عملية لتسهيل تنفيذه . واعتقد ان هناك حاجة ماسة الى اسلوب واقعي لمعالجة مشكلة القلق الاجتماعي الناجمة عن عدم التوازن في العلاقة بين رأس المال والعمل والتي يتوقع من هذا الاقتراح ان يعمل على حلها .

وبالمثل ، يبدو لي ان من المفيد اجراء دراسة تحت اشراف منظمة العمل الدولية ، حول الظروف الحياتية والعملية الحالية للعمال المهاجرين ، وانني واثق ان دراسة كهذه لن تكون مفيدة للدول المصدرة والمستوردة للعمل فقط ، وانما ستساعد ايضا على تصميم وتنفيذ سياسات ومقاييس شاملة بهذا الخصوص . فهل لي ، بناء على ذلك ان اقترح ان يقوم هذا المؤتمر بالنظر في امكانية متابعة هذا الامر .

السيد الرئيس ،

ومن المعروف ان التنمية المادية تفقد قيمتها اذا ما انجزت بكلفة اجتماعية عالية . وكذلك فلا حاجة لنا لوصف ظروف الحياة المتدنية في البلدان النامية سواء في ضواحي المدن او في المناطق الريفية ، اذ انها معروفة ايضا .

لقد قدمت منظمة العمل الدولية عبر السنين جهودا قيمة في تطوير الوسائل والطرق لتخفيف الاختلال الاجتماعي للدول النامية وفي الالحاح على المخططين فيها للعناية بالمظاهر الاجتماعية الاساسية للتنمية مميزة عن المظاهر ذات الصبغة الاقتصادية البحتة . وقد اولى « المؤتمر العالمي للاستخدام » ، الذي عقد في العام الماضي ، اهمية كبرى لهذه المشكلة ، كما هو واضح في كل من « وثيقة المبادىء » و « وبرنامج العمل » المقترح اللذين صدرا عن هذا المؤتمر .

وقد بدأ المخططون في البلدان النامية يشعرون ، بشكل متزايد ، بالحاجة الملحة لتوفير الخدمات الاجتماعية الاساسية . ولكن تحت الظروف الحالية لتقييد الائتمان ، فان مشاريعا ذات ارتباط مباشر بالتنمية الاجتماعية لا تتلقى التمويل اللازم لتنفيذها . وكلما تقدمنا بطلب تمويل لتنفيذ مثل هذه المشاريع فانه يطلب منا باستمرار تقديم اثباتات لجدواها . وكما هو معروف فان المشاريع الاجتماعية لا تخضع لاعتبار الربحية البحتة .

وبالرغم من ان اهمية هذه المشاريع لا تغيب عن اهتمام الممولين ، فغالبا ما نجدهم يترددون في تمويلها بحجة انها لا تضمن لهم اعادة رأسمالهم . ومن الواضح انه لا يمكن رفع مستوى المعيشة بدون تنفيذ هذه المشاريع الاجتماعية . ويجب في هذا المجال المناداة باحداث تغيير في نظرة مصدري رأس المال . وأود ان اذكر هنا انه رغم ان الدول النامية تستفيد من تصديرها لفائض العمال فيها على شكل حوالات نقدية ، الا ان هذه الحوالات غالبا ما تستعمل لتمويل الطلب الزائد على السلع الاستهلاكية المستوردة من الدول الصناعية بدلا من السلع الرأسمالية .

وقد لمسنا في الاردن ، منذ بداية خططنا التنموية بان دينارا واحدا ينفق على الخدمات الاجتماعية يكون له مردود اجتماعي اعلى من مثيله الذي ينفق على مشاريع ذات جدوى اقتصادية . وبحكم ارتباطي الوثيق بعملية التنمية في الاردن ، فقد ادهشني احيانا كيف ان مبالغ

زهيدة نسبيا تنفق بصورة سليمة على مشاريع اجتماعية يمكن لها ان تحسن الاوضاع بصورة عامة . لذا فانني اقترح ان يخصص قسم من موارد « نظام التعويض العالمي الدولي » المقترح لتقديم قروض سهلة للدول النامية المشتركة بغرض تمويل مشاريع اجتماعية ، وتكمن فائدة هذه المشاريع في كثير من الدول النامية ، في تحسين الاحوال المعيشية وفي تضييق الفجوة بين الريف والمدن وبالتالي ازالة احد الاسباب الرئيسية للهجرة الداخلية .

السيد الرئيس ،

ان التوسع المضطرد لدور منظمة العمل الدولية في حقل التعاون الفني ، وان نجاح « المؤتمر العالمي للاستخدام » الذي نجم عنه « وثيقة المبادىء » و « برنامج العمل » اللذان اقرا بالاجماع ، وان تحديد « الحاجات الاساسية » وتطوير وسائل وطرق اشباعها ، ووضع استراتيجيات لازالة الفقر والبطالة الجماعية - كل هذه العناصر تبين ميلا في تطور منظمة العمل الدولية كمؤسسة نرحب بها وندعمها . ويصلح التركيب الثلاثي لمنظمة العمل الدولية ، بصورة خاصة للخوض البنّاء في بعض المشاكل الرئيسية التي تواجه العالم في بحثه عن « نظام اقتصادي دولي جديد » . ان النتائج التي توصل اليها المجتمع الدولي من خلال الدورات الخاصة للجمعية العمومية ، يتم تمحيصها في اجتماعات مختلفة داخل نطاق الامم المتحدة وخارجه بغرض تطبيقها عمليا . وعلى اية حال فان على منظمة العمل الدولية ان تلعب دورا مهما في بحثنا عن حلول مرضية وسريعة لمشاكل عاجلة متعددة ، وانني واثق باننا لن نبدو مقصرين في دعمنا لجهود هذه المنظمة .

وفي اطار التعاون الفني تبدو مسألة نقل التكنولوجيا انها ذات اهمية خاصة لغالبية البلدان الممثلة في هذا المؤتمر . واسمحوا لي ان اقول هنا ، انه بالرغم من ان مسألة نقل التكنولوجيا كانت ولا تزال تعتبر الموضوع الاساسي في مداولات مؤتمرات اخرى مماثلة ، فاننا نحيي جهود منظمة العمل الدولية في بلورة مشكلة « الاختيار والابتكار التكنولوجي » في الدول النامية ، وكذلك في تطوير مسألة تحديد « التكنولوجيا المناسبة » لهذه الدول . ويُطورّ الاردن حاليا ، وبنشاط ، خطة قومية للعلوم تهدف الى تضييق الفجوة بين اولئك الذين يسعون للحصول على المعرفة التكنولوجية وبين من هم قادرون على تقديمها . ويعد احتكار المعرفة تحت اي تبرير انتهاكا مباشرا للعلاقات الانسانية السليمة . ونحن ندرك ان هناك حاجة لجهود مدبرة وواعية ، ويسرنا توفر موارد منظمة العمل الدولية لنا لاستخدامها في انجاح هذه الجهود.

دعا القرار رقم 3362 (S-VII) المتخذ في الدورة الخاصة السابعة للجمعية العمومية الى « ايجاد تكنولوجيا محلية مناسبة » ، والى « انشاء مركز دولي لتبادل المعلومات التكنولوجية » يهدف المشاركة في نتاج البحوث ذات العلاقة بالدول النامية ، وكذلك الى « اقامة بنك معلومات

تكنولوجية صناعية ». ونود ان نرى منظمة العمل الدولية بالتعاون مع مؤتمر الامم المتحدة للتجارة والتنمية « UNCTAD » ومنظمة الامم المتحدة للتنمية الصناعية « UNIDO » وغيرها من اجهزة الامم المتحدة ذات العلاقة ، تعمل على تشجيع ترجمة الافكار التي ارستها الجمعية العمومية الى واقع ملموس وان الاردن على استعداد ان يقدم الدعم الفعال لأي مبادرة قد تنشأ في هذا المجال .

السيد الرئيس ،

اننا نؤمن بالقيمة الحقيقية لتمازج الافكار الذي يجري في مؤتمرات كهذا المؤتمر وهذا ما دفعني ، حتى مع مخاطرتي بارهاقكم الى ان اشارككم خبراتنا وتفكيرنا في مجالات ذات علاقة مباشرة باهتمام منظمة العمل الدولية . وقد ساهمت هذه المنظمة باستمرار وعلى مر السنين ، بالمساعدة على تلطيف البيئة الاقتصادية والاجتماعية التي نحيا فيها . ولا يساورني اي شك باستمرار هذه المنظمة بالقيام بذلك الدور في ظل قيادة مديرها العام . ونحن في الاردن لنا اهتمام راسخ بمنظمة عمل دولية قوية كهذه والتي اثبتت انها شريك يمكن الاعتماد عليه في جهودنا التنموية . وبشعور عميق من الامتنان والاخلاص فانني اشكركم على اتاحة الفرصة لي بالتحدث اليكم واقدم لكم تمنياتي بالنجاح في مداولاتكم وفي جهود منظمتكم في المستقبل .

وشكـــرا

خطاب

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

في

المؤتمر الاقليمي للمرأة العربية

٢٩ أيار – ٤ حزيران ١٩٧٨

أيها الحفل الكريم ،

يطيب لي في هذا اللقاء للمؤتمر الاقليمي للمرأة العربية أن أزجي اليكم اجمل التحيات ، وأن ارحب بكم في الأردن ، مجتمع الجهاد المستمر أمام التحديات ، المناضل ابدا من اجل القيام برسالته المقدسة بكل ما لديه من طاقات . وانني لسعيد أن أرى نخبة من نساء العالم ، المعروفات بجدهن ومثابرتهن ، وبعقلهن النير الوقاد يشاركهن نخبة من خبراء التنمية الحديثة في هذه المنطقة ليعمل الجميع يدا واحدة كشركاء في التنمية . وأود أن اعبر عن صادق امتناني للجهود والدعم المستمر الذي تلقيناه من منظمة الامم المتحدة ، ومن الهيئة الاقتصادية لغرب آسيا (اكوا) ، في اطار السعي الدائم لتصويب الربط بين التخطيط الاقتصادي والبشري الذي يجب أن نضمنه تطلعاتنا لمستقبل المنطقة ، راجيا لكم طيب المقام ونجاح المسعى .

أحييكم في هذا البلد الذي واجه منذ نشأته الفتية الكثير من التحديات التي فرضت عليه ، والتي يصعب حصرها في اطار واحد . فمنها تحديات عسكرية تمثلت في عدوان مستمر سلب الارض ، وشرّد الاهل ، وأثقل العبء في كلفة الرعاية وكلفة الاستعداد ، ومنها تحديات طبيعية تجسدت في نقص الموارد وندرتها النسبية ، وشح في المطر الذي لا يكاد في بعض السنين يكفي للشرب . ومع هذا ، فقد واجهنا كل ذلك بعزم ومضاء ، مصممين على كسر طوق الصعاب وتحقيق الغايات الانسانية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية التي نصبو اليها .

واذا كانت معدلات النمو تقاس بالزيادات السنوية في الدخل ، فقد حققنا في ذلك قدرا من النجاح شهدت له تقارير المحافل الدولية كالأمم المتحدة والبنك الدولي للانشاء والتعمير . ولكن هذا المؤشر لا يعكس كامل صورة النمو ، والمعاناة التي تصاحبه ، اذ أنه يخفي كأي معدل الكثير من حقائق الحياة . ويحضرني في هذا المجال تعريف ظريف لكلمة « معدل » وضعها أحد الاحصائيين فقال : ان رأس أحدهم قد يكون مغموسا في الثلج ، وقدميه فوق صفيح ملتهب ، ولكن معدل درجته ٣٧ ، أي معدل حرارة جسم الانسان الطبيعي .

صحيح أننا نفخر بما أنجزناه ولكن التحديات مع هذا النجاح تكبر هي الاخرى ، وتلقي بعض الظلال على المستقبل .

ولعل أولى المصاعب في هذا المجال هي مشكلة التمويل . فأنتم تعلمون تمام العلم أن فرص التمويل آخذة في الانحسار التدريجي . فالمنظمات الدولية باتت تتشدد في اعطاء المساعدات خاصة للدول التي تبدي احصائياتها القومية تقدما ملحوظا في مداخيلها . وعلى سبيل المثال ، يعتبر الأردن الآن أهلا للقروض ، ولكن ليس أهلا للمساعدات . وحتى في حالة القروض ، فاننا نجد

أنفسنا مضطرين في كثير من الاحيان للجوء الى اسواق الائتمان العالمية التي تلح على تمويل المشاريع ذات الجدوى الاقتصادية الواضحة والمردود اليقين مما يفقد كثيرا من المشاريع الاجتماعية القدرة على تأمين التمويل اللازم لتنفيذها . ولكنكم تعلمون كل العلم أن المشاريع الاجتماعية ذات المردود غير المباشر وصعب القياس لا تقل أهمية عن المشاريع الاقتصادية . بل ان الحاجة لمثل هذه المشاريع تنمو بشكل مضطرد ، وبدرجة من الالحاح بحيث بات عدم تنفيذها يهدد المشاريع الاقتصادية ذاتها .

ويبدو هذا بشكل واضح وجلي في حالة الاردن . ان توزيع السكان والنشاطات الاقتصادية والمرافق الحيوية منحاز نحو منطقة عمان التي تشكل اكثر من ٥٦٪ من عدد سكان الضفة الشرقية ، وعلى اكثر من ٨٥٪ من المشاريع والمرافق الاقتصادية . ومثل هذا الحال لا يمكن الا أن يؤثر بشكل سلبي على احتمالات النمو . وحتى يصبح بالامكان اعادة توزيع السكان والمرافق الاقتصادية توزيعا جغرافيا أفضل ، فلا بد من تأمين الحاجات والمرافق الاجتماعية في مناطق الاردن الاخرى . ولا يمكن تنفيذ مثل هذه المشاريع بدون تمويل كاف ومريح .

وكذلك ، لا بد لي وأن أنوه هنا بأن استمرار العدوان يكبدنا الكثير من الانفاق العسكري ، خاصة اذا ما قيس هذا الانفاق الى الموارد المتاحة لنا وعلى ضوء الدور الملقى على عاتقنا في الصمود والتصدي للمخطط التوسعي الاسرائيلي مما كاد ينفي نتائج النمو التي حققناها . زد على ذلك انه منذ بداية عام ١٩٧٣ ، بدأت معدلات التضخم في الأردن تزيد عن النسب المئوية ذات الرقمين . وقد تضافرت آنذاك مجموعتان من القوى ، احداهما داخلية والاخرى خارجية ، في احداث هذا الخلل الاقتصادي وفي الابعاد الاجتماعية والاقتصادية . ففي الداخل ، ركزنا على التنمية العضوية المنصبة على اقامة البنيان الاساسي من جسور وطرق وخطوط مواصلات ومبان دون ان نعطي تصورا واضحا للابعاد الاجتماعية والانسانية التي قد تنطوي على الاسراف فيها . وكذلك لم نعط المردود الاجتماعي والوظيفي الماثل في هذه المشاريع حقه من الرعاية والعناية . ولكن هذا الخلل لم تظهر آثاره حتى بدأنا نشعر بالضغوط التضخمية القادمة من الخارج . ففي عام ١٩٧٣ ، شهد العالم العربي معركة ثالثة بين العرب واسرائيل . وتلا تلك الحرب الارتفاع المعروف في أسعار النفط العالمية . وصار الاردن ذو الموارد المحدودة جارا لدول عربية شقيقة تتمتع بالوفرة في الدخل والثروة . ونشطت هذه الدول لكي تستفيد من فرصتها السانحة ، فتبنت مشاريع تنموية طموحة . ولمّا حل عام ١٩٧٦ ، كانت هذه الدول قد وضعت مثلنا خططا تنموية خمسية تصل في مجموع انفاقها خلال الفترة ١٩٧٦ - ١٩٨٠ الى اكثر من ١٧٠ بليون دولار . وبالرغم من أننا بدأنا نشعر بالحر اللافح يسري في عروق اقتصادنا ليقلب كثيرا من المقومات الثابتة ، ويأتينا بمتغيرات جديدة لم نعرفها من قبل أدركنا أن ثمن النمو يتأثر بعوامل ومحاذير أساسية . ففي سوق العمل مثلا بدأ الطلب يتزايد على الايدي العاملة الاردنية

بشكل كبير استنزف منا تدريبها واعدادها الخير الكثير. وانتقلنا من مجتمع يعاني من بطالة الى مجتمع يعاني من الندرة في الايدي العاملة على كافة المستويات. ولعل السبب الجوهري الذي أزّم من حدة الطلب وفائضه على الايدي العاملة هو الزخم التنموي في الداخل والذي دفعت قواه خطتا التنمية الثلاثية والخمسية الحالية. أما المتغير الجديد الثاني، فهو ذلك الارتفاع الحاد في الاسعار والذي أتانا بفعل التضخم العالمي المستورد، وبفعل ازدياد الحركة الاقتصادية في الداخل.

ولم نعان في الأردن في بادىء الأمر، بالرغم من ندرة مواردنا النسبية، من ظاهرة الكساد التضخمي، ذلك التطور الذي يزاوج بين هبوط الاستثمار والعمالة، وارتفاع الاسعار. لقد اقتصرت معاناتنا على ارتفاع الاسعار المصحوب بزيادة ملحوظة في السيولة النقدية، وعلى فائض كبير في الطلب على الايدي العاملة بسبب انتقال منحنى الاستثمار في الداخل وفي الجارات العربيات الى مستويات لم يكن أحد يتوقعها.. وبالرغم من هذا كله، استطعنا ان نحقق معدلات حقيقية في النمو بلغت ٦٪ عامي ١٩٧٦ و ١٩٧٧ بالمقارنة مع ١,٥٪ في الدول النامية و ٢,٥ - ٣,٥٪ في الدول المتقدمة.

ولعل السؤال الذي يطرح نفسه على بساط البحث: كيف يمكننا أن نستمر في تحقيق التنمية واضطراد التقدم؟

انني أرى أن السبب الجوهري يكمن في توفر الانسان المتعلم الواعي المنتج بصورة عامة وعلى وجه التحديد في الربط بين التدريب المهني وفرص العمل الحقيقية. فالانسان هو مصدر فخارنا وحجر الرحى في تقدمنا، والغاية القصوى في تخطيطنا. هذه حقيقة ادركها جلالة الملك الحسين المعظم، قائد هذا البلد ورائد نهضته. وقد أكد جلالته على ضرورة العناية بالانسان في كل مكان ومحفل. ولعل القيادة الحكيمة الممزوجة بوعي المواطن حققت للفرد طمأنينة عزّت على كثيرين في دول العالم الاخرى، وجعلت الفرد الاردني يشعر أينما حل وعمل بالانتماء والمشاركة. ولا أقول هذا مفاخرا، بل ان الانسان هو عنصرنا الاساسي الذي يتمتع بوفرة نسبية بالقياس الى الموارد الاخرى. ويحضرني في هذا المجال النتائج التي حصل عليها «كوزنتز»، الاقتصادي الفائز بجائزة نوبل، حيث اثبت ان التعليم والتدريب والاستثمار في العنصر البشري تفسر أكثر من ٧٠٪ من النمو على المدى الطويل. ولن نجد لهذه النتيجة واقعا يؤيدها أكثر مما هو الحال في الاردن.

ولكن استمرار التنمية لن يكتسب صفة الاستمرارية والاضطراد ما لم ننهض الى التحدي الذي يواجهنا في الوقت الحاضر. فقد انتقلنا بسبب العوامل التي أثرتها آنفا من مجتمع يفيض بالطاقة البشرية الى مجتمع يعاني من ندرتها النسبية، ومن المزيد من الهجرة البشرية الى الخارج.

وتأكيدا لهذا ، فان الاحصائيات المتوفرة تشير الى ان عدد الاردنيين العاملين في الخارج قد بلغ ٣٠٥ ألف أكثر من ٩٥٪ منهم من الذكور . وتشير الاحصائيات أيضا الى ان معدل هجرة الاردنيين الى الخارج خلال عام ١٩٧٧ والاشهر الاربعة الاولى من عام ١٩٧٨ يقدر بحوالي ٢٥٠٠ شخصا في الشهر ، أي ما يساوي ٨٣ شخصا في اليوم الواحد معظمهم من العقول والايدي العاملة المدربة . ولا ينطبق هذا على الاردن وحده ، بل على كثير من الدول العربية ، حتى تلك التي يعتقد بأنها تعاني من فائض كبير في السكان . وقد أشارت دراسة أجرتها (اكوا) الى وجود اكثر من ١٦٠ ألف خريج جامعي من الاردن وسورية ولبنان واليمن يعملون في دول الخليج النفطية ، اكثر من ٣٠٪ منهم من الاردن وحده . ولهذا ، لم تعد مشكلة تسرب الايدي العاملة محصورة على جهة عربية واحدة ، فغالبية الدول العربية سواء في هذا الميدان .

ولا يقتصر الامر في الأردن عند هذا الحد . فالأردن بلد يعاني من ارتفاع نسبة المواليد (٤٥ في الالف) ووضع كهذا يجعل حوالي ٥٠,٦٪ من عدد السكان دون سن العمل المقدر بـ ١٥ سنة . ولكن ارتفاع نسبة التعليم بين الذكور والإناث على مستوى الثانوية العامة والجامعي يؤخر دخول نسبة كبيرة أخرى الى سوق العمل . وتقدر نسبة المشاركة في القوى العاملة بحوالى ٢١٪ من عدد السكان في الاردن . والسبب الرئيسي في دنو هذه النسبة يكمن في ان مشاركة المرأة في سوق العمل ما تزال رغم تزايدها المستمر ضئيلة جدا لا تتجاوز ١٠٪ من مجموع الإناث في سن العمل .

وقد أدركنا أن الحل لازمة العمل في الأردن ، والتي باتت تؤثر بشكل سلبي على قدراتنا التنموية ، لن يتم عن طريق تحديد التسرب الى الخارج ، اذ أننا بلد يفخر بحرية الحركة التي يتمتع بها افراده ، وبحرية اختيار مكان العمل الذي يرغبون فيه . ولذلك بات اهتمامنا منصبا في أساسه على دعم جانب العرض ، وهذا يعني بالطبع دمج المرأة في فعاليات التنمية بشكل أوسع وأعمق . وهذا قرار له مبرراته حين نتذكر بأن نسبة التسرب بين العاملات الى الخارج أقل بكثير من تسرب الرجال . والمرأة العاملة المتزوجة قد توفر في دخلها وايراداتها زوجا كان يود الهجرة لو لم تعمل زوجته ، وتشاركه اعباء الحياة المتزايدة .

ولو قارنا بين معدلات النمو في دخل الفرد في بلدان العالم وبين نسبة مشاركة المرأة في العمل لوجدنا أن عامل الارتباط مرتفع جدا . ولكن هذه النتيجة يجب ألا نبالغ في تفسيرها حتى لا نقع في خطأ تفسير النمو على أساس انه نابع أساسا من مشاركة المرأة في العمل . ان العلاقة بين مشاركة المرأة في العمل وبين معدلات النمو تسير من المتغير الثاني الى المتغير الأول ، أي أن نسبة مشاركة المرأة تعتمد الى حد كبير على مستوى الدخل والتطور الحاصل في البلد ، هذا على الاقل في بداية مرحلة النماء . أما بعد قليل فلن يكون هنالك متغير وآخر مستقل ، بل تفاعل كبير . فالنمو المضطرد يوسع حجم السوق ويفتح أبوابا جديدة للعمل أمام المرأة ، ومثل هذا الانفتاح يساهم في دعم عجلة النمو ويمدها بيد العون . ولو أجرينا مقارنة قطاعية في الاردن لرأينا أن

مشاركة النساء عند البدو وفي الريف في الحياة الاقتصادية أكبر من مشاركة المرأة في المدن، ويفسر هذا الواقع الى حد كبير تدني نسبة مشاركة المرأة العاملة في الاردن. اذ أن عملية التحضير المستمرة والمصحوبة بتدفق مستمر من الهجرة الى المدن قد ساهم في اضعاف مساهمة المرأة في سوق العمل. ولكن هذا الواقع يتغير تدريجيا أمام اتساع دائرة الفعاليات الاقتصادية وما ينجم عنها من توسيع في حجم السوق وتوفر لفرص أكبر وأكثر تنوعا للنساء وللرجال على حد سواء.

وأود ان الفت النظر هنا الى أن كثيرين من المطلعين على أوضاع العالم العربي بشكل عام، والأردن بشكل خاص، يسيئون فهم وضع المرأة وحالتها الاجتماعية. ويظن الكثير منهم أن تعاليم الدين الاسلامي لم تنصف المرأة ولم تعطها حقها. ولكن هذا غير صحيح. فالاسلام قد حضّ على اكرام المرأة كأم أكثر من الأب، وحث على تعليمها بشكل خاص، وسمح لها بأن تكون وريثة وصاحبة عمل وصاحبة ملك. وأتاح لها منذ اربعة عشر قرنا حرية مجالسة الرجال ومناقشتهم. وقد نبغ من النساء العربيات المسلمات الشاعرات والمحدثات والاديبات في وقت عزّ على اخواتهن في معظم دول العالم الاخرى حتى معرفة القراءة.

هذا، ولن نجد في أي من تراثنا أو حاضرنا ما يمنع من دخول المرأة الى سوق العمل من أوسع أبوابه، كي تقف مع الرجل جنبا الى جنب.

وحتى لا يقال بأننا ننظر الى المرأة نظرة اقتصادية بحتة، فاننا لا نقصر مشاركة المرأة في عملية التنمية على دورها كعاملة أو موظفة، بل نتعداه الى أبعد من ذلك. فللمرأة في الاردن حق المشاركة في الحياة العامة حيث منحها القانون حق التصويت والترشيح. وعندما تمّ تأسيس المجلس الاستشاري الوطني مؤخرا دخلته ثلاث نساء لاول مرة في تاريخ الاردن، وان كان هذا الرقم لا يفي حتى هذه اللحظة بتطلعاتنا، الا أنه خطوة جيدة على بداية الطريق.

وكذلك، فتحنا أبواب التعليم أمام الفتاة الأردنية دون تمييز. وما زالت تقل نسب الفتيات عن نسب الشباب في المدارس، الا أن الفارق صغير جدا لا يكاد يتعدى ما هو مألوف حتى في الدول الصناعية المتطورة.

وبدأت المرأة تدخل مجالات لم تكن تطرقها من قبل. ومثال ذلك ان عددا من الفتيات العاملات قد تم اختيارهن في مجالس النقابات العمالية في عام ١٩٧٨، وكذلك، أثبتت تجربة دخول المرأة الى صفوف الأمن العام والقوات المسلحة نجاحا باهرا باعتراف الدول العربية المجاورة، ورأينا كذلك زيادة ملحوظة في عدد النساء العاملات لحسابهن، وتنوعا في التخصصات الدراسية المهنية.

وقد أدركنا في عام ١٩٧٥ ما يعنيه دخول المرأة الى سوق العمل من محاسن اجتماعية

واقتصادية . وجرت تحت اشرافي في بداية عام ١٩٧٦ ندوة للقوى البشرية في بحث مشاركة المرأة في التنمية . وقد شارك في تلك الندوة العدد الكبير من المختصين الذين قدموا عدة أوراق علمية تناولت كافة الجوانب ذات العلاقة بدور المرأة في التنمية من التقييم الاقتصادي لهذه المشاركة الى بحث الخدمات الواجب توفيرها تسهيلا لدخول المرأة سوق العمل ، الى بحث العمل الريفي والصناعات البيتية ، الى العمل الجزئي ، الى التعليم . . الخ . . وقد خرجت الندوة تلك بتوصيات جيدة أهمها انشاء دائرة لشؤون المرأة في وزارة العمل .

وقد بدأت الدائرة مهامها في مطلع عام ١٩٧٧ . واستطاعت خلال تلك الفترة أن تضع خطة شاملة متكاملة مستوحاة من الخطط والمناهج التي حددها مؤتمر عام ١٩٧٦ . وأجرت الدائرة اتصالات مكثفة على المستوى الدولي من أجل خلق وسائل للتعاون معها ونجحت في ذلك الى قدر كبير . ولم تأل الدائرة جهدا في ترسيخ علاقاتها مع الوزارات والدوائر الرسمية المتخصصة والمنظمات النسائية المحلية والعربية والدولية حتى ترسي دعائم مشاركة المرأة على أسس علمية موضوعية . ولعل أوضح ثمار هذه الدائرة ، هو هذا المؤتمر القيم الذي نشارك فيه الآن .

ان التحديات المفروضة على هذا البلد تملي علينا جميعا أن نكون يدا واحدة ، وجبهة متماسكة متعاضدة ، لا تمييز بين فرد وفرد ، ولا تفضيل لأحد على آخر الا بالجهد المثمر الايجابي . والمرأة في بلدنا واعية متعلمة مدركة لواجباتها ومهامها ، عالمة بمسؤولياتها وامكانياتها . ونحن اذ نخطط لمستقبلنا لنعلم أنه جزء لا يتجزأ من مستقبل الأمة العربية كلها ، بل ومستقبل العالم برمته . ولذا ، فاننا نؤمن بأن التعاون مع الاخوة العرب والأسرة الدولية شرط أسبقي لنجاحنا . بهذه الروح الايجابية ، وبالشعور المخلص العميق ، نتطلع الى التعاون معكم ، راجيا لمؤتمركم هذا كل نجاح وتوفيق . . .

وشكـــرا . . .

كلمة

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

في

مؤتمر الامم المتحدة للتعاون الفني بين الدول النامية

٣٠ آب/اغسطس – ١٢ أيلول/سبتمبر ١٩٧٨

بيونس آيرس – الارجنتين

سمي التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية بانه «بعد جديد للتعاون الدولي من اجل التنمية». ويبدو لي انه من حيث الفكرة ليس «جديدا» كما انه ليس مجرد «بعد».

ليس جديدا لانه عندما شارك العرب قبل قرون خلت الشرق والغرب معلوماتهم العلمية والتكنولوجية كان ذلك في الحقيقة تعاونا فنيا بين الدول النامية، لكن دون استعمال المصطلح المعاصر. وبالطبع فقد تغيرت الامور منذ ذلك الحين في الوطن العربي وفي الغرب على السواء. لكن التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية استمر ليربط بين الاميريكيتين الوسطى والجنوبية، ويمتد من الصين والهند الى العالم الاسلامي، وعبر افريقيا والبحر الابيض المتوسط الى اوروبا، الى ان كانت الانجازات التكنولوجية الاخيرة فشطرت الكرة الارضية الى منطقة شمالية واخرى جنوبية لتوسع الهوة بين الذين يملكون والذين لا يملكون.

ان التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية كمفهوم ليس جديدا، انما الجديد هو المصطلحات المستعملة لترويجه، وجاء في مذكرة مقدمة للمؤتمر من أمين عام المؤتمر انه «وراء المصطلحات كـ «تقوية المؤسسات» و «تزويد المعلومات وتبادلها» و «اعادة توجيه الامكانات»، وراء هذه المصطلحات تكمن على وجه التحديد تلك العمليات التي وفرت الشرايين والقنوات الحيوية للتقدم الانساني باسره في كل مكان وفي كل زمان عبر العصور».

ان التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية ليس مجرد بعد ولكنه حركة قائمة بذاتها اصبحت ضرورتها الحتمية في الفترة الاخيرة اكثر وضوحا للعالم النامي بسبب الصعوبات التي تواجهها العلاقات بين الشمال والجنوب. وتكمل هذه الحركة بشكل كبير الجهود لاقامة نظام اقتصادي عالمي جديد. ولم تؤد المحاولات نحو ايجاد حوار ذي معنى بين الشمال والجنوب حتى الآن الا الى سلسلة من الاحاديث الفردية من جانب واحد «تتسم بالصخب العارم دون ان تدل على شيء». وقد ادت هذه الحالة، وبصورة حتمية الى ادراك اكبر في العالم النامي للحاجة الى الاعتماد على النفس قوميا وجماعيا. وضمن هذا الاطار يمكن تفهم اعلان الكويت في الخامس من حزيران من عام ١٩٧٧ عندما وصف التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية بانه «حتمية تاريخية ولدتها الحاجة الى نظام عالمي جديد». ولقد اصاب هذا الاعلان الحقيقة عند ما سمى التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية «عملية واعية منظمة ذات دوافع سياسية طورت من اجل ايجاد اطار من الروابط المتعددة الاطراف بين الدول النامية».

ان هذه الروابط متعددة الاطراف ضرورية ليس فقط للتعبير عن الآراء المتباينة ضمن العالم النامي وللاعراب عن موقف اكثر تجانسا ضمن اطار علاقات ذلك العالم مع العالم المتقدم ولكن ايضا، وقبل كل شيء، لاستنباط طرق ووسائل جديدة لتحسين عملية التنمية نفسها وتسريعها، وهذا أمر اساسي، لانه رغم التقدم الكبير الذي احرز على المستوى العالمي خلال

العقدين الاخيرين لا تزال فئات هائلة من سكان العالم محرومة من ثمار التقدم. فبينما نما ثراء الدول المتقدمة بشكل عام لا زالت الدول النامية «تلهث بتسارع لتبقى في نفس المكان». وفي الحقيقة اصبح بعض تلك الدول اشد فقرا نتيجة عوامل محلية وعالمية مختلفة.

ولقد جاء في التقرير عن التقدم العالمي الذي نشره البنك الدولي قبل بضعة ايام ان ٨٠٠ مليون انسان لا يزالون يعيشون في حالة من «الفقر الكامل» الذي وصفه رئيس ذلك البنك بانه «نمط حياتي يتسم بسوء التغذية، والامية، والمرض، والبيئة البائسة، والنسبة العالية في وفيات الاطفال، والمعدل المنخفض للعمر، وذلك الى درجة تقل بكثير عن اي تعريف معقول للكرامة الانسانية».

ورغم الاهداف النبيلة التي تكمن وراء عقود التنمية ورغم الاستراتيجيات المختلفة التي تم تبنيها لمعالجة التباين الكبير في الوضع الاقتصادي العالمي بشكل عام، تبقى الحقيقة اليوم ان سكان الدول المتقدمة، وهم اقل من ثلث سكان العالم، يحققون ويتمتعون بثلثي الانتاج الاجمالي للعالم باسره، أما الدول النامية فهي توفر ثلث صادرات العالم من السلع الاساسية، باستثناء الوقود مقارنة بعشر واحد فقط من السلع المصنعة، وبينما تزداد الافواه التي تحتاج الى الطعام في الدول النامية فلم يؤد التضخم المصحوب بالركود الاقتصادي العالمي الا الى زيادة اضعاف مقدرة هذه الدول على مواجهة تحدي التقدم الاقتصادي.

لقد عرف الفقر بانه «حالة اقتصادية تمنع المرء من التوجه الى اي مكان سوى الى الدين» وان عبء الديون الخارجية القائمة للدول النامية يسارع بالوصول الى نسب لا يمكن تحملها. ويقدر الآن أن ما يقرب من ١٧٪ من عوائد التصدير التي تحققها الدول النامية الاشد فقرا وغير المصدرة للنفط ينفق على مواجهة التزامات الديون. ورغم الخطوات الايجابية التي اتخذتها بعض الدول المتقدمة في سبيل التخفيف من هذه المشكلة الا انه يترتب القيام بالمزيد من الجهود اذا ما اريد للدول النامية ان تكون قادرة على الاستفادة القصوى من مواردها المحدودة.

لا اود ان اثقل عليكم بالحقائق والارقام عن الاوضاع البائسة في العالم النامي. لكني اود ان اؤكد ان حالة عدم التوازن في الوضع الاقتصادي العالمي واستمرار اتساع الهوة بين الدول المتقدمة والدول النامية لن تكون ضارة بمستقبل العالم من الناحية الاقتصادية والسياسية فحسب بل انها لا تتفق والقيم الانسانية الاساسية.

منذ سنوات عديدة خلت، قال سياسي بريطاني ان العالم تملكه «الاقلية بل الاقلية القليلة». وقد لا يزال هذا القول صحيحا في يومنا هذا. الا ان الوعي يتزايد بان مستقبل العالم مرهون الى حد كبير بما يمكن للانسانية مجتمعة ان تقوم به نحو الفقراء والفقراء جدا الذين يشكلون الاغلبية الساحقة من سكان المعمورة. ولم يسبق في التاريخ ان كان مصير «الاقلية بل الاقلية القليلة» مرتبطا ذلك الرباط الوثيق بمصير «الفقراء والفقراء جدا».

يوجد داخل العالم النامي الذي يسمى احيانا العالم الثالث ما يمكن أن يسمى «العالم الرابع» – عالم الاقل نموا – المأهول باولئك الذين يفوق عوزهم بنسبة اكبر مقدرتهم على التغلب على ذلك العوز. ورغم ان مصيرهم ينال اهتماما متزايدا منذ بضع سنين، الا ان الكثير يبقى ليبذل من اجلهم، ويستطيع التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية ان يلعب دورا كبيرا في الجهد الدولي الذي يبذل في سبيلهم.

وبالاضافة الى مجموعة الدول الاقل نموا داخل العالم النامي، هناك اتجاه في الوقت الحاضر الى تشكيل مجموعات او نواد بهدف الترويج للمصالح المشتركة الخاصة او الدفاع عنها مما يؤدي الى تكاثر الاجهزة او الميكانيكيات الجماعية التي تميل احيانا بطبيعة وظائفها الى عرقلة عملية التنمية الاقليمية والدولية. فهناك مثلا البلدان المنتجة للنفط والبلدان المحاطة بحرا، والبلدان المحاطة برا، والبلدان المتجمعة على اساس من السلع المشتركة... الخ. والحق يقال ان المشكلات الخاصة تحتاج الى عناية خاصة. لكن هذا التشرذم في العالم النامي يجب ان لا يؤدي الى تشرذم اهداف العالم النامي واضعاف مكانته العامة، فهناك بلدان كبلدي الاردن، ليست جزرا، وليست مغلقة برا، كما انها ليست منتجة للنفط ... الخ. ومثل هذه البلدان تشكل الاغلبية في العالم النامي. ويجب ان لا تعتبر مصالحها سطحية وتهمل مشكلاتها بسبب أن مثل هذه البلدان لم تشكل او تنخرط في ناد بعد.

كذلك دعوني اؤكد ان الجهود الفردية للدول يجب ان تبقى مقياسا هاما للمساعدة الفنية. فالانجاز الجيد في جهود التنمية يجب ان يكافأ لا ان يعاقب، كما يجب ان لا تحرم الدول التي تحقق معدلات نماء مشجعة الفرص للحصول على القروض السهلة وما شابهها من العاملة المميزة حتى تحقق مستوى كريما من التنمية. ومثل هذه الدول التي تحرم فجأة في الوقت الحاضر من بعض الامتيازات وتصاب في نفس الوقت بتضخم داخلي وركود خارجي، تفقد الحافز وتثبط عزيمتها وتبدأ بالتراجع في جهدها التنموي، وهكذا يجب كسر الحلقة المفرغة المتسببة عن ذلك بواسطة اعادة النظر في مقاييس التأهيل التي يتطلبها العون للدول النامية.

ان مصطلح «الاعتماد المتبادل» الكثير الاستعمال والذي كثر سوء استعماله يجب ان ينظر اليه نظرة مختلفة. ومن المؤمل ان يساعد هذا المؤتمر على زيادة ادراك الحاجة الى ايجاد اعتماد متبادل يحل محل العلاقة «الهرمية» القائمة بين الشمال والجنوب. وعلى اية حال، فبالاضافة الى مساعدة الدول النامية على التفاوض بفعالية اكبر ضمن اطار نظام اقتصادي عالمي جديد، فان للتعاون الفني بين الدول النامية اهدافا ذاتية مساوية من حيث الاهمية. ولكن دعوني أؤكد قبل الخوض في تلك الاهداف ان التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية لا يقصد منه ان يحل محل العلاقة القائمة بين الشمال والجنوب كما لا يقصد منه ان يستعمل كحجة ضد استمرارية التدفقات الفنية من الشمال الى الجنوب. وفي الحقيقة فان تعاونا اكثر تلاحما وفعالية بين الدول النامية سيحتاج

ويستدعي دعما فنيا مقابلا من الشمال ، اذ انه سيزيد مقدرة الدول النامية على استيعاب المستوردات الفنية وغيرها من الدول المتقدمة .

ان الاهداف الرئيسية للتعاون الفني بين الدول النامية هي تعزيز الاعتماد على النفس قوميا وجماعيا وتقوية فعالية التعاون الفني الدولي . ولكن قبل احراز تقدم باتجاه تحقيق هذه الاهداف ، علينا نحن في البلدان النامية ان نتغلب على ما يسمى بـ « العوائق النابعة من الاتجاهات او المواقف » . علينا ان نعمق ثقتنا في قدرة البلدان النامية الاخرى وان نؤمن بمبدأ العون المشترك من اجل النفع المشترك . وعلى الكثير منا تعديل الاستراتيجيات التنموية التقليدية الموجهة نحو النماء وبذل اهتمام اكبر بآثارها من الناحية التوزيعية . وكذلك يجب على كثير من مخططينا ، الذين تدربوا في التخطيط التقليدي واكتسبوا خبراتهم فيه ، ان يعيدوا تنظيم افكارهم من اجل الوصول الى انطلاقة جديدة . ان اهتماما اكبر يجب ان يوجه نحو القيم والظروف المحلية في عملية التخطيط . واضافة الى ذلك ، فان المخططين المثقلين دائما ، وعلى نحو مفرط بالتراث القومي والتاريخي والسياسي يميلون الى تحليل نواقص الماضي اكثر من ميلهم الى تحليل امكانات المستقبل . وهكذا يظهر الميل الى لوم الآخرين على الفشل ، والاختباء وراء الشعارات وبالتالي عدم وضوح رؤيا الواقع والحقيقة .

وبالطبع فبالاضافة الى الضعف الذي قد يكون عليه المخططون وواضعو السياسات ، هناك مشكلات حقيقية تعيق التنمية عن طريق التعاون الفني ، مثال ذلك : عدم توفر البنية التحتية القومية المناسبة ، والتطعيم المتكلف بالتكنولوجيا المعقدة ، والتكييف السياسي الداخلي المؤدي الى البحث عن فوائد قصيرة المدى بدل التخطيط طويل المدى ، والتعقيدات الاجتماعية والتقليدية التي تقف عوائق في وجه التكنولوجيا الحديثة ، وعدم توفر الانظمة التعليمية والتسهيلات التدريبية الموجهة نحو تدعيم عملية التخطيط المناسب . . الخ . ومن المتوقع ان يساعد التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية هذه الدول على مقارنة ملاحظاتها على هذه المشكلات والاستفادة من خبرات بعضها البعض في سبيل المنفعة المشتركة للجميع . ويمكن لهذا المؤتمر ان يضع البداية لتفحص ذاتي ناقد مصحوب بالايمان بان فهم المشكلة هو اول خطوة على طريق حلها . نحن في الدول النامية بحاجة الى العون . ولكن هل نعمل ما فيه الكفاية لمساعدة انفسنا؟ من المؤمل ان تجيب مداولاتكم في الايام القادمة على هذا السؤال وغيره من الاسئلة .

انني أؤمن بقوة بانه اذا ما توفرت الارادة السياسية لدى اولئك الذين يتحملون مسؤولية ادارة امور التجمعات السكانية الضخمة في الاقطار النامية فانه يمكن تذليل العقبات التي بدت حتى الآن مستحيلة . ويجب ان يؤخذ بالاعتبار انه لفترة طويلة امتدت عبر عدة قرون لم تكن الحضارات القديمة التي ترعرعت فيما يسمى اليوم بالاقطار النامية ، والتي استمدت منها البشرية جمعاء اولى ابتكاراتها الفكرية العلمية والتكنولوجية الهامة ، لم تكن تلك الحضارات بعيدة عن

بعضها البعض فحسب بل كانت غير قادرة على الاستمرار في اغناء الافكار والمهارات لديها وفي ما بينها عن طريق التبادل. ان هذا التجزؤ في مخزون المعرفة البشرية قد ادى من جهة الى نوع من الركود بين عدد كبير من سكان العالم والى ظهور عدد صغير نسبيا من الدول استأثرت بقوة هائلة من جهة اخرى. ورغم ان هذه الدول قد امدت الدول النامية بالعون الكثير الا ان ذلك العون لم يكن كافياً كماً او نوعا. وهكذا نجم عدم التوازن القائم بين الشمال والجنوب.

ان التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية يطرح تحديا للتخلص من قنوات التفاعل الضيقة التي كانت قائمة بين الامم في الماضي كي يكرس العالم كله كمصدر لمساعدة الدول النامية على حل مشكلات من الضخامة لم يسبق مجابهتها بصورة منظمة من قبل في فترة قصيرة من الوقت وبمثل هذه المصادر المالية المحدودة.

انني من منطقة تتواجد فيها مجموعة فريدة من الدول النامية تتفاوت من الاقل نموا الى اخرى تنعم بمصادر مالية هائلة ولكن ببنية تكنولوجية غير ملائمة. وهي منطقة تعاني من مشكلات سياسية معقدة ويعتمد على استقرارها والى درجة كبيرة، سلام العالم وامنه، وبالنسبة للتنمية الاقتصادية من خلال التعاون الفني فان هذه المنطقة تتمتع بامكانيات ضخمة. فهناك في الوقت الحاضر بعض اقطار تتمتع بمصادر مالية ضخمة لكنها تفتقر الى القوى البشرية، بينما بعضها الآخر يتمتع بوفرة في المصادر البشرية لكنه يفتقر الى المصادر المالية.

ان التجربة المحدودة في التعاون الفني على المستوى الاقليمي ودون الاقليمي التي اكتسبتها حتى الآن دول منطقة غرب آسيا تظهر بوضوح المجال الواسع للتكامل. وانني على يقين بان هذا المؤتمر والحركة العالمية لتدعيم التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية سيوفران مزيدا من التشجيع لتحديد المشاريع وتنفيذها على المستوى الاقليمي بشكل يقضي على الازدواجية ويوفر على الاقطار المعنية الجهود الانفرادية المكلفة، ويعوض عن ذلك بالجهود الجماعية المؤدية الى النفع المتبادل.

لقد قامت اللجنة الاقتصادية لغرب آسيا بالكثير من اعمال البحث الاساسي حول هذا الموضوع. وقد تطرقت احدى دراساتها الحديثة الى جدوى اقامة مركز عربي اقليمي لنقل التكنولوجيا وتطويرها. ان بلدي يقدم دعمه الكامل لهذه الفكرة نظرا للحاجة الماسة الى مثل هذا المركز وللفوائد الجمة التي يمكن ان يقدمها في الحال وعلى المدى الطويل. ونحن نشعر بان مثل هذا المركز يجب الا يؤدي الى انشاء بيروقراطية محظية، بل يجب ان يكون مركزا فنيا للتحليل والتقييم يعمل لمساعدة كل قطر في المنطقة على استغلال طاقته الكامنة والاستفادة مما تقدمه الاقطار الاخرى في المنطقة، وذلك على اكمل وجه. وكذلك يجب ان يساعد هذا المركز على تحديد «التكنولوجيا المناسبة» وتسهيل مهمة تجميع مصادر المنطقة بهدف تنمية مثل هذه التكنولوجيا.

ان غرب آسيا منطقة تتمتع بمزيج زخم من المصادر المالية والطبيعية والبشرية ، لكن هذه المصادر لم تستغل بكاملها بعد . فهنالك على سبيل المثال امكانية عقد اتفاقيات على المستوى الاقليمي ودون الاقليمي للقيام ببرامج مشاركة صناعية حيث تكمل الاطراف المتعاقدة مصادر بعضها البعض ليتخصص كل بلد في حقل مكمل من الصناعة المختارة وبالتالي تتمتع منتوجات تلك الصناعة بافضلية السوق الاقليمي باسره . وقد علمت ان رابطة شعوب جنوب شرق آسيا قد عقدت مثل هذه الاتفاقية بنجاح في حقل الصناعات الزراعية ، وهو حقل بقي مهملا لمدة طويلة في منطقتنا .

وضمن منطقة غرب آسيا فان تجربة بلدي في التنمية الاقتصادية تجربة فريدة . فبالرغم من كونه مسرحا للصراعات المسلحة ثلاث مرات خلال عقد واحد ، وتعرضه لهجرات سكانية كبيرة بالاضافة الى كافة المشكلات السياسية التي تخلفها الحروب ، ومعاناته نتيجة لذلك من مشكلات اجتماعية اقتصادية خطيرة ، فقد سار الاردن قدما بخططه التنموية بحدوه الايمان بان التفاؤل هو السياسة العملية مهما حدث في المنطقة . ومنذ فترة خطة التنمية الثلاثية الاولى عام ١٩٧٣ واثناء خطة التنمية الخمسية الحالية ، ضاعفنا تقريبا دخلنا الفردي بالاسعار الحالية . ولكن لهذا التقدم معضلاته ، مثال ذلك ان امكانية الاردن على الحصول على تمويل سهل من مؤسسات كالبنك الدولي قد تناقصت بينما ثمار التنمية قد تلاشت الى حد كبير بفعل الضغوط التضخمية التي يواجهها الاردن .

وضمن ذلك السياق فان انماط توزيع فوائد النمو تشغل تفكيرنا ايضا . فنحن كمعظم الدول النامية ماضون في البحث عن طرق ووسائل في القطاعين العام والخاص لتحقيق توزيع افضل . وفي حالتنا تكمن احدى الطرق الممكنة لتحقيق ذلك في الاستفادة الامثل من نظامنا المصرفي ، وخاصة مؤسسات الاقراض المتخصصة ، لتمويل مشاريعنا التنموية ذات الصبغة الاجتماعية . ويمكن في حالة الدول المصدرة للقوى العاملة استخدام هذه المؤسسات ايضا لاستغلال تحويلات العمال من الخارج بشكل افضل ، وفي الوقت الحاضر فان هذا المصدر المالي الغني يستعمل لشراء سلع كمالية استهلاكية لا تعيق التنمية فحسب بل وتشجع التضخم . وان تفاهما دوليا حول استعمال افضل للاموال عن طريق تنظيم هجرات العمال مصحوباً بحوافز للاستثمارات ذات المحتوى الاجتماعي القوي داخل البلدان المصدرة للعمال سيساعد كثيرا في مواجهة تحدي التنمية المتزنة ككل .

ان الاردن بلد فقير نسبيا في مصادره الطبيعية لكنه غني في مصادره البشرية ، وفي تخطيطنا التنموي اولينا ولا نزال اهمية خاصة للناحية الاجتماعية والانسانية . وكما يقول جلالة الملك الحسين دائما « الانسان هو مركز الثقل في جهودنا التنموية » . ونحن نولي ضمن جهودنا لتنمية مصادرنا البشرية ، اهتماما خاصا بدور المرأة ، وهو دور يجب ادراك اهميته بشكل افضل على المستوى الاقليمي والمستوى الدولي في نطاق التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية .

لقد مارسنا التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية لعدة عقود من الزمن ، وذلك على شكل تزويد الدول النامية الاخرى في المنطقة بالعمال المهرة وشبه المهرة . ويعمل الآن اكثر من ثلث القوى الاردنية العاملة في الخارج وبشكل رئيسي في بلدان المنطقة كالبحرين والكويت وقطر والمملكة العربية السعودية ودولة الامارات العربية المتحدة . ان ٦٦٪ من مهندسينا و ٤٨٪ من مهندسينا الزراعيين و ٣٤٪ من اطبائنا و ٢٤٪ من صيادلتنا يعملون في الخارج ، وبالمشابه فقد وقعنا ضمن اطار التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية اتفاقيات للمساعدات الفنية مع اقطار نامية اخرى في المنطقة كمصر والعراق وسوريا . وان تقريرنا الوطني المقدم الى هذا المؤتمر يتضمن تفاصيل مختلف النواحي التي نمارس فيها التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية ، لذلك فاني لا اود ان آخذ وقتكم في توضيح مدى التزام الاردن وايمانه العميق بالتعاون الفني بين الدول النامية .

لكن اسمحوا لي ان اركز على ناحية واحدة ستكون موضوع مداولاتكم في البند رقم ٨ من جدول الاعمال . ان من الواضح فيما يتعلق بتزويد المصادر البشرية وبهجرة العقول والخبرات ان العالم بصورة عامة لا يزال يميز في المعاملة بين صادرات رأس المال وصادرات العمال . هناك حاجة لتعويض البلدان المصدرة للعمال عن فقدانها للمهارات اللازمة في عملية التنمية الوطنية وقد سنحت لي الفرصة في الاجتماع الثالث والستين لمؤتمر العمل الدولي في جنيف ان اقترح انشاء صندوق دولي للتعويضات العمالية . وقد اقرت الجمعية العمومية للامم المتحدة وبالاجماع في دورتها الثانية والثلاثين قرارا يتعلق بهذا الموضوع . وقد بدأت منظمة العمل الدولية وكذلك مؤتمر الامم المتحدة للتجارة والتنمية العمل من اجل ترجمة هذه الفكرة الى واقع . وانني ارجو دعم هذا المؤتمر لهذا الاقتراح وذلك للسير قدما بتلك الفكرة التي نالت تأييد ودعم البلدان ذات العلاقة المباشرة ، والتي ستؤدي الى اتفاقية دولية مرضية لتنظيم تدفق العمال بطريقة تنسجم مع المصالح والجهود التنموية للبلدان المصدرة والبلدان المستوردة للعمال .

ان الاردن ملتزم التزاما قويا باهداف الامم المتحدة ومبادئها وهو كذلك مؤيد مخلص لنظامها التنمويّ ، ونحن نقدر هذا النظام ومدينون للمساعدة القيمة التي نتلقاها منه . وايمانا منا بالتزامنا نحو النظام التنموي للامم المتحدة ودون الرغبة في ان نقف موقف الناقدين ، أود ان أورد بعض الملاحظات حول هذا النظام . نحن نرحب بالاقتراحات البناءة الواردة في مسودة التوصيات المتعلقة بذلك النظام ، ولكن من الواضح ان النظام الحالي يحتاج ، فيما يتعلق باطار المساعدة الفنية ، الى تنظيم وتكييف اكبر بالنسبة لمتطلبات التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية . وبصراحة فان الدول النامية تحتاج الى جهود اكثر وتقارير أقل . ان ما نحتاج اليه ليس المزيد من الافكار بل الوسائل لترجمة تلك الافكار الى حقائق . ان خبيرا للامم المتحدة يقدم المساعدة في مركز فني في بلد نام لهو اكثر فائدة من رهط الخبراء في المقر الرئيسي يقومون بتحليل الاتجاهات الاقتصادية لذلك البلد مهما كان ذلك التحليل هاما . وربما تحتاج مهام اللجان الاقتصادية الاقليمية الى مراجعة ضمن هذا الاعتبار .

لقد شاركنا في الجهود لاعادة تنظيم القطاعات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية في الامم المتحدة وتابعنا باهتمام الاجراءات التي اتخذت لتطبيق قرار الجمعية العمومية بهذا الخصوص ، واننا نرحب باجراء اسرع في هذا المضمار على المستويين الاقليمي والميداني .

وعودة الى الاجراءات العملية التي اتخذت في نطاق التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية ، دعوني اعرب عن ترحيبنا الشديد بنظام توجيه المعلومات الذي انشىء حديثا . وكم اصابتني الدهشة خلال رحلاتي الى بلدان نامية عديدة لعدم توفر المعلومات عما يستطيع كل جانب ان يقدمه للآخر في مجال التعاون الفني . ولذلك فاني في غنى عن التأكيد على فائدة نظام توجيه المعلومات هذا في تسهيل عملية التعاون الفني بين الدول النامية ، وآمل زيادة على ذلك ان يكون انشاء تجميع للمعلومات مواز على المستوى الاقليمي ، وربما من خلال اللجان الاقتصادية الاقليمية ، الخطوة الاولى نحو تشجيع المشاريع ذات النطاق الاقليمي والتي تعمل على تجميع المصادر . ويمكن ان يؤدي هذا بالنتيجة الى تخطيط اقليمي مركزي وفي النهاية الى مرحلة تقوم فيها البدان النامية ذات المصالح المشتركة ومن خلال تقارب مصالحها بتخطي الاعتبارات الضيقة للسيادة والمصالح المحلية وبتجميع المصادر بهدف تنمية كامل الاقليم او المنطقة ككل . قد تبدو هذه الافكار الآن خيالية بعيدة المنال ، ولكني أؤمن بانه لأمر بنّاء ان يبقى المرء متفائلا يحدوه الأمل شرط الا يفقد الصلة بالواقع .

ولقد تأثرت كثيرا بشعار هذا المؤتمر . انه يعبر عن « جسر عبر الجنوب » ودعوني اجازف فاقول انه جسر فوق مياه مضطربة ، وقد بني على ركائز لا تزال هشة . وعلى اية حال ، فان العالم النامي قد وصل بهذا المؤتمر في بيونس آيرس الى الجسر ويجب الآن عبوره . دعونا نأمل ان على الجانب الآخر للجسر تقع ارض الوفرة يحميها مستقبل من السلام والازدهار . واسمحوا لي في النهاية ان اتمنى لكم جميعا التوفيق في عبور الجسر .

«العلاقات الاردنية الاوروبية»

خطاب

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

الى

المجموعة الاوروبية الاطلسية

في

مجلس العموم

لندن بتاريخ ٢٣ آذار ١٩٨١

سيدي الرئيس ، أصحاب السعادة ، أيها اللوردات ، أيها السيدات والسادة ،

أود مع عميق التقدير أن أشكركم على دعوتي لمخاطبة المجموعة الاوروبية الاطلسية هذه الليلة . وانني ، وقد جئت من العالم العربي ، أجد في ذلك فرصة ممتازة لتبادل الآراء في الوقت المناسب حول الوضع الراهن وتوقعات المستقبل للعلاقات ما بين المجموعتين الاوروبية والعربية التي نرى بها أنفسنا .

وان الحديث في موضوع العلاقات الاوروبية / الاردنية ، وبالضرورة الاوروبية العربية ، يشكل تحديا يبعث بالنسبة لي بكلمات توماس سذرن عندما سأل في « الأخ الموالي » :

« ماذا يعني أن يكون الشخص أميرا ؟
أن يكون أكثر ادراكا لسوء طالعنا ،
وهذا هو كل ما لنا من مكسب بائس . »

وانني آمل أن أكون أكثر حظا من ذلك .

في اعتقادنا أنه يمكن النظر الى الارتباط التاريخي الطويل بين أوروبا والعرب نظرة ايجابية رغم انه منذ مطلع القرن كانت أصول المصالح الاوروبية في كثير من الاحيان في صراع مع طموحات العرب السياسية الديناميكية . ان عمق وتنوع أبعاد العلاقات الاوروبية العربية يمكن أن يساهم في بناء قاعدة متينة للتعاون في مختلف مجالات النشاط الانساني ، ليس في الروابط السياسية والاقتصادية فحسب ، ولكن في العلاقات الثقافية ذات القيمة : النسبة للعالم المتحضر أيضا . ويمكن لمثل هذا التعاون ، اذا ما بني على الاحترام المتبادل والاهتمام برفاهية الطرفين وأمنهما ، أن يخدم بالاضافة الى المصلحة الذاتية للمشتركين مصالح البشرية في الاستقرار والتقدم .

ومن الجدير بالذكر أن توافق الدافع السياسي والمبرر الاقتصادي للحوار في نفس الوقت عند الطرفين أدى الى انشاء أول منتدى ما بين أوروبا والعالم العربي في أعقاب الحرب العربية / الاسرائيلية عام ١٩٧٣ . ومن الطبيعي أنه كان لكل من الطرفين وجهة نظر حول أولوية المواضيع التي سيجرى بحثها والمجالات التي سيتم التركيز عليها ، وبذلك عكسا حاجات مختلفة ، حيث رأى الاوروبيون المبادأة نحو الحوار العربي الاوروبي كتعاون مع العرب في البحث عن نظام اقتصادي عالمي . أما العرب فهم يؤكدون الحاجة الى اتفاقية سياسية ، قبل الحوار ، تتعلق باحتلال الاراضي العربية ، بما في ذلك تقرير المصير للفلسطينيين . وفي الحقيقة ، ان البترول غدا نقطة اهتمام مركزية في الحقل الاقتصادي . وقد أصبح هذا الامر عند كثير منا مسألة ذات توجه

سياسي . وأضافت محورة المنافسات الدولية صعوبات جديدة فيما يتعلق بمنطقة الشرق الادنى والاوسط المهددة بأعباء البترول والمسائل ذات العلاقة والتي سأحاول تفصيلها .

وحسّن الطرفان ، في خطوة الى الامام ضمن الحوار العربي الاوروبي ومن خلال مذكرة القاهرة عام ١٩٧٥ ، تعريفها للمصالح المتبادلة . وقال العرب والاوروبيون ان الغرض من وراء الحوار العربي الاوروبي هو اعادة اكتشاف الحلقات التي تؤثر على تلك المناطق المجاورة وتجديد هذه الحلقات وانعاشها ، وذلك لازالة عدم التفاهم الذي أدى الى ظهور صعوبات في الماضي ، ولارساء القاعدة لتعاون مستقبلي يضم العناصر المختلفة من أجل المنفعة المتبادلة لجميع الاطراف المعنيين .

في اعتقادي أن هدف اعادة اكتشاف الحلقات التي تربطنا ببعضنا وتجديدها وانعاشها هو أساس ملائم لتحديد نمط الحوار العربي الاوروبي . وقد تحققت بعض الانجازات الايجابية الا أن الكثير لا يزال ممكن التحقيق ، بالرغم من الاختلافات التي ستظهر حول التوجه الاساسي للحوار وحول ما اذا كان يجب أن يركز على القضايا الاقتصادية أو السياسية . واضافة الى ذلك ، فقد يكون هناك تأثيرات خارج الحوار تفضل أن ترى المنتدى العربي الاوروبي خاليا من القضايا السياسية ، واذا تناولها فليكن ذلك ، وعلى أحسن الوجوه ، بشكل هامشي . ومن الملاحظ أنه بينما أخذ الحوار يتقدم ببطء بذلت جهود موازية باتجاه عقد اتفاقيات بين بعض دول « أوبيك » وفي الحقيقة بعض أعضاء المجموعة الاوروبية الاطلسية بهدف الوصول الى تفاهم قصير المدى . وقد أضعف ذلك من الحاح الوصول الى اتفاق ضمن سياق الحوار كما أدى في الواقع ، الى اختيار بعض المكاسب قصيرة الامد على حساب التفاهم طويل الامد الذي يمكن أن يكون ذا منفعة متبادلة لنا جميعا .

لقد كان توقيع اتفاقية المشرق ما بين المجموعة الاوروبية ، وكل من سوريا ومصر والاردن من الجانب العربي معلما هاما في التعاون الاقتصادي ما بين منطقتينا . وتغطي هذه الاتفاقية ، التي وضعت موضع التنفيذ عام ١٩٧٨ ، تحويلات مالية وفنية ، بالاضافة الى دخول تدريجي الى أسواق المجموعة الاقتصادية الاوروبية على أساس تفضيلي . ويمثل عامنا هذا العام الاخير في فترة اتفاقية المشرق ، وقد قام الاردن باجراء الاتصالات الاولية بهدف اعادة التفاوض حول اتفاقية جديدة .

واذا سألنا أنفسنا حول انجازات الاتفاقية فسيكون التقييم الموضوعي أن تلك الانجازات كانت أقل من الآمال التي ربطت بها حين توقيعها . وقد يرجع ذلك الى أن توقعاتنا كانت كبيرة جدا وأن تطورات متعددة لم يحسب حسابها حينئذ قد طرأت على المستويين الاقليمي والدولي . ولكن الصحيح أيضا أن بعض أطراف الاتفاقية لم تتابعها بكل حماسها . كما تم تناولها في كثير من

الاحيان على أساس مجزّأ ومؤقت ابتعد عن هدف استخدامها كاطار لبناء علاقة شاملة مبنية على الاعتماد المتبادل.

سيدي الرئيس،

هناك عاملان أثرا على التطور الاقتصادي والسياسي في المنطقة العربية خلال العقد الماضي. أولها، أن اتفاقيات كامب ديفيد تركت أثرها السلبي على العلاقات ما بين العرب وعلى الاستقرار في المنطقة. وثانيها، ان زخم النشاط الاقتصادي في اقليم المشرق أدى الى نمو في الصادرات الى الدول المنتجة للبترول.. وكتوضيح لذلك، فقد ازدادت صادرات الاردن الى الدول العربية المجاورة مؤخرا بمعدل سنوي تجاوز ٥٠٪، والطلب على صادرات الاردن في هذه الدول كبير ولا توجد حواجز جمركية أو غير جمركية على صادراتنا.

وبالاضافة الى ذلك، ان الضغوط التضخمية تؤثر بشكل كبير على مستقبل الدول المصدرة للقوى البشرية كبلدي الذي يقع على محاذاة القوة الشرائية للبترول. كما ان التعاون في المجالات العلمية والتكنولوجية الذي تصورته الاتفاقية بطيء، ويذكر بتعليق القنصل الانجليزي في القسطنطينية عام ١٨٠٠ الذي قال عن الامبراطورية العثمانية «.... يحبون أن يتاجروا مع أولئك الذين يأتونهم بالمواد المفيدة القيمة دون عناء التصنيع».

ان ما يبحث بلدي، بقواه البشرية النوعية، عنه فيما يتعلق بنقل التكنولوجيا ليس استيراد الاشكال «الجاهزة» من الصناعة التكنولوجية بل العمل مع نظرائنا الاوروبيين باتجاه عقد ابداع وخلق.

ان نظرتي تدعو الى ازالة القيود المتواجدة على الحوار الراهن وادخال منظورات حيوية أخرى. وأعتقد أن هذا الحوار يجب أن لا يتناول القضايا الاقتصادية ذات الاصداء السياسية فحسب، بل يجب عليه أن يضم أيضا المسائل الثقافية والمؤسسية بالاضافة الى السياسية. وبما أن توفير الرخاء للجميع أمر يدعو الى الثناء، فمن الحكمة أن نتذكر أن الانسان لا يعيش بالبترول وحده. وأود، مع ذلك، أن أؤكد أن محاولة المحافظة على اقتصاد فعال وتأمين موارد طاقة بأسعار معقولة هو أمر منطقي.

هناك عوامل عديدة مرتبطة باستقرار الجنوب / الجنوب تدعو الى بذل جهد جاد لتجنب الانشغال الشامل بمسألة البترول في الحوار العربي الاوروبي. ولكني أود أن أبين أن الكلمتين «بترول» و «عربي» ليستا مترادفتين، وأن كل محاولة لمساواتها ببعضها هي محاولة مضللة وليست عادلة. ليست جميع البلدان العربية منتجة للبترول. فالاردن بلد عربي يستورد جميع متطلباته من الطاقة بكلفة فاقت في العام الماضي مجموع صادراتنا.

يجب أن لا تثنينا الصعوبات التي واجهتنا عن التطلع الى المستقبل بسعة أفق وواقعية. ان ما نحتاجه هو التوصل الى فهم أولويات كل منا ووضع برامج التعاون في مختلف الميادين. ويتطلب ذلك ايجاد ميكانيكية فعالة للحوار العربي الاوروبي لتنفيذ البرامج المتفق عليها ومتابعتها. وأود هنا أن أطرح بعض الافكار حول مجالات التعاون الممكنة في الميادين الاقتصادية والثقافية والمؤسسية والسياسية.

هناك فرص رحبة واضحة في الميدان الاقتصادي لتطوير القطاعات المختلفة. ففي الصناعة، يجب أن يؤدي التعاون الى تصنيع محلي لموارد العالم العربي الاولية. وينطبق ذلك بشكل خاص على الصناعات البتروكيماوية وصناعة الاسمدة. ومع ذلك، فقد تحتاج مجالات أخرى كثيرة الى موارد منطقتينا البشرية والتكنولوجية والمالية مما سيكون له نفع متبادل على المدى الطويل.

وفي القطاع الزراعي، فان الامكانية لتنمية انتاج الغذاء في العالم العربي وتحسين التغذية هي القضية الهامة للعقود القادمة. وقد أصبح الوضع كذلك لأن منطقتنا تستورد قدرا كبيرا من متطلباتها الغذائية مع اعتماد متزايد على الآخرين وعدم استقرار محتم.

وفي قطاع التجارة، يأمل الكثيرون منا نحن العرب أن تتحرر التجارة مع أوروبا بزوال الحواجز الوقائية، سواء الجمركية منها أو غير الجمركية، تدريجيا.

ان تحرر التجارة المنظم ما بين منطقتينا سيؤدي الى تقسيم دولي أفضل للعمل، والى استخدام أحسن لموارد المنطقتين. واذا ما تم ذلك بروح التعاون والتفاهم فسيؤدي الى فوائد كبيرة لكلا الطرفين.

ان جميع القطاعات التي ورد ذكرها أعلاه هي قطاعات مترابطة، كما يرتبط القطاع المالي، بشكل خاص، ارتباطا وثيقا بكل منها وبالحيوية الاقتصادية المحلية والدولية. ومن المعروف أن الفوائض المالية التي تجمعت من بعض الدول العربية في المؤسسات المالية الغربية لم تجن أحيانا عائدا عادلا. وفي الحقيقة أن بعض هذه الفوائض جنت عائدا سلبيا من ناحية المردود الفعلي مما أدى بها الى فقدان قيمها الحقيقية. ولما كان بعض منتجي البترول العرب ينتجونه بحد يفوق حاجاتهم التنموية الحالية بسبب اهتمامهم برفاهية الآخرين، فمن العدل أن يتوقع المرء أن تبدأ البلدان المتقدمة المستهلكة للبترول باظهار فهم واقعي وواضح للطموحات العربية باعطاء شروط مالية معقولة. ويجب أن تترجم الفوائض الى عوائد عادلة ضمن سياقي الشمال / الجنوب والجنوب / الجنوب.

وأعتقد أن علينا أن نعمل بسرعة وانسجام لايجاد طريقة مقبولة للتعامل مع هذا الوضع. فعدم الاستقرار المالي ليس في مصلحة أي طرف منا.

سيدي الرئيس ،

ان الصدع الذي يمثله البحر الابيض المتوسط من الناحية السياسية الطبيعية لم يلتئم بعد عن طريق الحوار الثقافي . ان التبادلات الهادفة ما بين المناطق المكونة من شعوب كثيرة ذات خلفيات ثقافية مختلفة يجب أن يكون غرضها التوصل الى تفاهم على المستويين العلني والضمني .

وبالرغم من عدم التوصل الى اتفاقية حول دور الوسائل الاعلامية في اجتماع اليونسكو في بلغراد ، فيجب ايجاد قنوات ضمن السياق العربي الاوروبي تهدف الى تبديد التحامل القديم والتصورات التقليدية من قبل البعض عن البعض الآخر . كما يجب التركيز على تعريض الطلاب والعلماء الى التراث الثقافي الغني لمنطقتنا لأن « العزلة هي الموت الفكري » . وان تبني صورة موضوعية عن العرب سيكون له أثر كبير في ايجاد الثقة المتبادلة وبناء لبنة هامة في صرح تفاهمنا المتبادل .

ويمكن اضافة بعد آخر مفيد الى حوارنا ، وهو في الحقل المؤسسي . فاذا أردنا أن نستمد الفائدة من حوارنا المتبادل فيجب أن تتجاوز عملية الحوار المفهوم الحكومي الرسمي الذي لا زال مقيدا حتى الآن . ويجب أن يعمل الافراد المعنيون والمؤسسات المعنية من كلا الطرفين في سبيل بدء النقاش مع نظرائهم حول القضايا الهامة لكلا المنطقتين . وأعتقد أن الجامعات ومؤسسات البحث والجامعات البارزة ذات النظرة الدولية ، كالجامعة الاوروبية الاطلسية ، تستطيع أن تلعب دورا رائدا في مثل هذه العملية .

لقد أخذ الوعي بدور الحوار المؤسسي يتنامى في العالم العربي . وقد قامت في الاسبوع الماضي فقط مجموعة من المفكرين ومتخذي القرارات العرب من خلفيات علمية متداخلة في اجتماع لها في العقبة بالاردن باقرار تشكيل منتدى للفكر التنموي العربي . ومن بين أهداف هذا المنتدى مناقشة الافكار والسياسات ، خاصة في الحقول الاجتماعية الاقتصادية ، بعيدا عن الرسميات الحكومية ، ووضعها موضع اهتمام واضعي السياسة والاشخاص العاديين على السواء . وستكون مجالات تركيزها العلاقات ما بين العرب ، وحوار الجنوب / الجنوب ، بالاضافة الى العلاقات مع البلدان الصناعية .

سيدي الرئيس ،

ان قضايا الامن والسلام العادل ، والتي طالما أسيء فهمها على أنها في تناقض مع بعضها ، قد شوشت على الشرق الاوسط منذ الانتداب على فلسطين عام ١٩٢٢ . ومن الواجب في عام ١٩٨١ أن يحرز تقدم نحو سلام شامل دائم . ولقد انتهجت اسرائيل أسلوبا انتقائيا من حيث تفسيراتها لقرارات الامم المتحدة ، وعلى وجه الخصوص التمست الشرعية لاقامة دولة يهودية

متجاهلة حق الفلسطينيين المطلق في دولة على ترابهم الوطني . وأبطل مبدأ ولسون لتقرير المصير بما وصفه الرئيس ولسون كـ « التزاحم المثير للاشمئزاز على الشرق الاوسط » في مؤتمر سان ريمو عام ١٩٢٠ . وانني لآمل مخلصا أن لا يؤدي تزاحم مشابه للتأثير على المنطقة من زاوية امكانياتها البترولية الى خنق الاعتماد الذاتي المحلي . ولن يبقى في النهاية الا الدعم الايجابي لحيوية واستقلالية شعوب المنطقة . ويجب أن يصاحب هذا الدعم حل عادل لتلك العوامل التي تساهم في عدم الاستقرار . ويأتي في مقدمة هذه العوامل الاحتلال المستمر للاراضي العربية من قبل اسرائيل وانكارها لحق الفلسطينيين في تقرير مصيرهم .

ان مفارقات هذا الانكار تزيد ضخامة اذا علمنا أن ذلك الحق كان جزءا لا يتجزأ من الفلسفة الصهيونية . وقد أصر الصهيونيون الاوائل على تطبيق حق تقرير المصير في اقامة « وطن قومي » لليهود في فلسطين ونجحوا في ذلك . ومع ذلك فقد حدثت ، وفي منتصف هذا القرن ، عملية نقل دم رئيسية في فلسطين ، حيث حل دم يهودي جديد محل السكان العرب الاصليين الذين طردوا بمئات الآلاف ولا يزال ينكر عليهم حتى اليوم حقهم في العودة الى وطنهم وفي تقرير مصيرهم . وبينما ينكر على الفلسطينيين حقهم في العودة ، يتسم اليهود الاسرائيليون بالحركة الزائدة . ووفقا للخلاصة الاحصائية الاسرائيلية لعام ١٩٧٩ فقد غادر اسرائيل في الفترة الواقعة بين ١٩٥٩ و ١٩٧٨ ما مجموعه ٣,٢ مليون يهودي مقيم استقر منهم مليونان في الخارج على أساس نهائي . كما غادرها ١,٤ مليون يهودي في السنوات الخمس التي تلت حرب ١٩٧٣ ولا يتوقع أن يعود منهم الا ٤٠٠,٠٠٠ فقط خلال مدة أربع سنوات . ويمثل ذلك خسارة فادحة لاسرائيل ، ويعود السبب الى الاوضاع الاقتصادية المتدهورة فيها .

تواجه اسرائيل اليوم دينا قوميا يبلغ ١٨ بليون دولار وهي تسعى الآن لدى أصدقائها والمتبرعين التقليديين لها لمحو ذلك الدين . والسؤال الاخلاقي الذي يطرح نفسه هنا هو : الى أي مدى سيستمر أولئك الاصدقاء التقليديون لاسرائيل في دعمها ماليا بينما هي تحتل مناطق عربية خارجة عن حدودها . وتواجه اسرائيل صعوبات سكانية واقتصادية في احتلالها لأكثر من ١,٢ مليون عربي في الضفة الغربية وغزة ، بالاضافة الى ٦٠٠,٠٠٠ من العرب في الجليل . وانه لأمر يدعو الى الحزن ، في ضوء ما سبق ذكره ، أن تتساءل بعض الجهات الدولية حول مدى قابلية العيش والاستمرارية للشعب الفلسطيني الكادح والمفترى عليه كثيرا ، بينما تبرر الدعم المستمر لاسرائيل .

ويبدو أن السؤال هو مدى قابلية اسرائيل نفسها للعيش والاستمرارية ، وهو سؤال يجيب عليه الاسرائيليون بالاستخدام المستمر والمتنوع للقوة . ويجب أن تعرف أوروبا أن المستوطنات الاسرائيلية في الاراضي العربية وخروج الفلسطينيين الى الاردن وعبره الى العالم العربي لا زالت أمورا مستمرة ، وان هذه السياسة الاسرائيلية الانانية لا تساهم في الامن الاساسي للشرق الاوسط .

ويتضح لدى النظر الى الوضع في الضفة الغربية وغزة ومرتفعات الجولان المحتلة ، في أعقاب اتفاقيات كامب ديفيد ، أن الصهينة الديناميكية للاراضي العربية من خلال انشاء ما يزيد على ١٠٦ مستوطنات تحد من الوقت المتوفر لحل سياسي . ولقد صادرت اسرائيل أكثر من ثلث مساحة الضفة الغربية بحجة « الامن العسكري الراهن » ولكي تعزز « الامن السكاني » لمصلحتها . كما أن المنظمة الصهيونية العالمية ، وهي تعمل نحو ذلك الهدف ، تخطط لنقل حوالي ١٥٠,٠٠٠ شخص الى الضفة الغربية حتى عام ١٩٨٥ مشيرة الى العرب في الضفة الغربية كـ « أقليات » .

لقد كان موقف اسرائيل من جيرانها دائما موقفا مموها ، وذلك كما يتضح في حالة لبنان ، حيث تظهر اسرائيل بأنها تسعى الى خلق أنظمة شبه راديكالية بدلا من أنظمة مستقرة ، وهي تروج لقضية توطين الفلسطينيين خارج فلسطين عن طريق تصدير الفلسطينيين الراديكاليين الذين يشعرون بطبيعة الحال بالحنق والمرارة . وبذلك يبدو أن هدف اسرائيل هو تحويل البلدان المجاورة الى كيانات سياسية غير مستقرة تكون هدفا سائغا للعدوان .

واضافة الى ما سبق ، فليس لدينا أية أوهام حول ما يسمى بالخيار الاردني . فبالنسبة لنا ، ان تخطي الفلسطينيين ورفض اسرائيل التعامل مع منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ، الممثل الشرعي الوحيد لهم ، لا يمثل أي خيار بالمرة .

سيدي الرئيس ،

ان عدم الحركة لا يكون في الغالب الا عذرا للركود السياسي . وان لدى الدول الاوروبية خارج « النزاع المباشر » مصلحة وتبصرا سياسيين للمساهمة في مفاوضات من أجل عقد مؤتمر لحل شامل للنزاعات . ويجب أن تبعد النزاعات العربية الاسرائيلية الراهنة عن الاعتبارات الاوسع للسياسة الواقعية في الشرق الاوسط . وان المناخ لحل دولي شامل ليس سيئا تماما ، وقد تستحق المحاولة اذا ما كان الهدف التوصل الى حل شامل للنزاع .

لقد أجرى الاردن ، عبر السنوات ، حوارا مع قطاع عريض من الآراء السياسية الاوروبية ، مع السوق الاوروبية المشتركة ، ومع المجموعة الاسكندنافية ، بالاضافة الى البلدان التي تساير هدف الوفاق العالمي الذي لا يقبل التجزئة .

وبالنسبة للدور الهام للاتحاد السوفياتي ، فقد كان دوما مؤيدا فعالا لقرارات الامم المتحدة منذ قرار مجلس الامن رقم ٢٤٢ لعام ١٩٦٧ ، الذي شكل أساسا وقاعدة لمبادرات دولية متتابعة . ولقد كان الاتحاد السوفياتي شريكا في ورقة الولايات المتحدة حول السلام الشامل في الشرق الاوسط في بداية ادارة كارتر ، وحتى اتفاقيات كامب ديفيد لم تغفل الحاجة الى مصادقة

الاتحاد السوفياتي على هذه العملية ، مع ان ذلك أصبح الآن غير محتمل . وفي نهاية المطاف ، فيتوجب على القوتين العظميين أن تكفلا مجتمعتين السلام في المنطقة .

سيدي الرئيس ،

ان المجموعة الدولية الآن تجابه طريقا مسدودا يمثل في حد ذاته تهديدا للسلام العالمي . وان قرار اسرائيل بالبقاء في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة ومرتفعات الجولان هو قرار سلطة محتلة معتدية ليس لها أية سيادة على هذه الاراضي .

لقد أصبح تقرير المصير للشعوب مبدأ أكثر من شرعي في القانون الدولي ، وكذلك أيضا مبدأ عدم جواز اكتساب الاراضي عن طريق القوة . ومثل هذا الاكتساب هو ببساطة احتلال عدواني يجب أن ينتهي عاجلا أم آجلا .

انه الشعب ، وفي هذه الحالة الشعب الفلسطيني وممثله الشرعي الوحيد ، منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ، هو الذي يجب أن يحدد مستقبله على ترابه الوطني ، وليس ، كما تصر اسرائيل ، أن الاراضي هي التي يجب أن تقرر مصير الشعب ضمن مفهوم مقزم للحكم الذاتي .

ان التحدي للوحدة العربية في البحث عن السلام والاستقرار في الشرق الاوسط أدى الى ضرورة تعزيز العمل نحو التطابق الفكري حول مثل هذه القضايا الاساسية . وقد أعادت بيانات مؤتمرات القمة العربية والاسلامية الاخيرة تأكيد التزامنا بالاستعادة الكاملة لحقوق الفلسطينيين على ترابهم الوطني ، بما في ذلك القدس العربية .

وبالنسبة الى الجيل الذي أنتمي اليه ، وبعد ثلاثة عقود من النزاع ، استذكر كلمات ثيودور روزفلت : « . . . . الشعب ، الفخور ذو المعنويات العالية ، يفضل أن يواجه جميع ويلات الحرب على ابتياع الازدهار الدنيء الذي يمكن أن يشترى على حساب الشرف الوطني » . وانه لمن الواضح أن النكبة في انتظارنا اذا لم تخاطب السياسة الواقعية آمال وطموحات شعب المنطقة .

سيدي الرئيس ،

في الختام ، وبالنسبة للاردن ولاصدقائه في أوروبا ، فان « عالما متعدد الاقطاب ذا موقف ودي من أمريكا وروسيا ، ولكن ليس تحت سيطرة أي منهما . . . . . » كما قال انتوني ودجود بن ، هو هدف نهائي مناسب لأولئك الذين يبحثون عن الحرية والحياة الافضل لشعوبهم . لكن الوقت ليس الى جانبنا .

وشكرا ، يا سيدي الرئيس .

افاق العمل العربي المشترك
نماء وانتماء

خطاب

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

في
الموسم الثقافي الاول
جامعة الدول العربية

تونس

٥ رجب سنة ١٤٠١ هـ
٨ أيار سنة ١٩٨١

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أيها الاخــوة ،

يسرني والاعتزاز يملؤني ، أن أتحدث اليوم اليكم في موضوع يشغل بال كل مواطن عربي يحرص على صالح هذه الامة ، ألا وهو « آفاق العمل العربي المشترك » في ضوء قرارات مؤتمر القمة العربي الحادي عشر . ويحدوني كذلك الامتنان لان أشترك في الموسم الثقافي لجامعة الدول العربية . وباستعراض سريع لمواضيع المحاضرات التي تلقى في هذا الموسم ، فان المرء ليلمس الاهتمام العميق ، والتفكير الجاد لمتابعة موضوع العمل الاقتصادي العربي المشترك من جوانبه كافة . وانا لعلى يقين بأن هذا الموسم سيساهم مساهمة فاعلة في بلورة بعض المفاهيم والافكار التي ستنظم مسار المستقبل ، وتجلي الغموض الذي يكتنف الرؤية فيه .

ويأتي هذا الموسم تكملة للجهود المشكورة التي بذلتها جامعة الدول العربية وامانتها العامة ، والمنظمات والمفكرون العرب في مؤتمر قمة عمان الحادي عشر ، والذي قفز بالعمل العربي المشترك قفزة نوعية للأمام على طريق طموحات الأمة العربية .

ومما يزيد من رونق وبهاء هذه المناسبة ، أنها أتاحت لي الفرصة لأكون في تونس الشقيق ، بلد الضيافة والحضارة العربية الأصيلة ، ومقر الجامعة العربية . ولقد كان اختيار تونس كمكان انعقاد لهذا الموسم الثقافي مناسبا ومعترفا بالجهد الموصول الذي يبذله ابناؤها في خدمة القضايا العربية ، والتي توجت في مؤتمر القمة العربي العاشر .

أيها الاخـوة ،

ان نظرة استطلاعية عابرة على العالم العربي تكشف عمق المشاكل والتحديات التي تواجهه ، ويمكن تلخيصها كلها في أن العرب يواجهون الآن تحدّيا مصيريا يتشعب في المجالات السياسية والعسكرية والثقافية والاقتصادية ، ويهدد كيانها المتميز بالانفراط والضياع . ويقف المواطن العربي أمام هذا الخطر المحدق وقفة الحائر المتردد بين ماض عريق مجيد تقف له الدنيا كلها احتراما وتقديرا ، وبين مستقبل مليء بالطموحات والأماني الكبار . فمنذ قرون خلت تبوأ أجداده كراسي المجد والعزة ، وملأوا الدنيا بفكرهم وعلمهم ، وهو يعتز بها ويفخر ، ولكنه يقارنه بالحاضر ، فينهزم الحاضر ، ومقارنة كهذه تحبط همته وتسبب له التوتر والقنوط . وينظر للمستقبل بالأمل القائم على إمكانات الحاضر الهائلة ، ويعز عليه ، وهو يقاسي من تحدّياته العصرية ، الا يرى تلك الامكانات مجنّدة في خدمة الهدف الأكبر ومواجهة الخطر الداهم .

ان الماضي والمستقبل موصولان بالمجد لولا الحاضر الغامض الذي يفصل بينهما ، وان مواطننا العربي تواق لتجسير تلك الفجوة . وبالرغم من مصاعب هذا الوقت ، فان الأمل ما يزال يدفعني للتفاؤل . ولكن التفاؤل لا يكون سلعة العاقل ان لم يدرك بالتحليل والدراسة ما يعانيه الحاضر من قصور ، لا ايمانا في رثاء الذات ، بل من أجل تشخيص الداء ووصف العلاج .

وقد برزت خلال الماضي في السبعينات ، سمتان بارزتان للعالم العربي ، أولاهما : تزايد أهميته النسبية في المحيط الدولي ، ونمو مصالحه مع العالم الخارجي بشكل متشابك ومعقد ، وثانيتهما : اتساع الفجوة في الدخل والثروة بين أقطار الدول العربية . وحتى يكون العمل العربي أقوى وأصلب عودا تولدت القناعة الفكرية بأن تضييق الفجوة خلال فترة زمنية معقولة بات أمرا في غاية الالحاح والخطورة ، واننا اذ نقف على أعتاب العقد الحالي - عقد الثمانينات - لا بد أن نسعى سعياً جادّا ومخلصا من أجل ترسيخ العمل العربي المشترك بشكل يخدم المصالح المتبادلة ، والمصلحة الكلية للوطن العربي ، وهذه هي الروح التي اهتدى مؤتمر قمة عمان بها عندما صاغ استراتيجية وميثاق العمل العربي المشترك ، وهي لا شك خطوة هامّة على النهج القويم .

ومن الواجب أن أحذّر هنا ، من أن العمل العربي المشترك ، يجب أن يخرج من اطار الرفاهية الفكرية ، فالوقت ليس طويلا والتحدّي المطبق لن ينتظر كثيرا ، وأنتم لا شك توافقون معي على أن الوقت قد أزف لنضم الأيدي معا ، وخاصة أن الجهد والتضحية المطلوبتين ستعودان بالنفع على الجميع ، وبمقادير كبيرة تتعدى كل اعتبارات الكلفة والتضحية .

ليس هنالك أدنى شك بأن العمل العربي المشترك هو السبيل الانجع لتحقيق الطموحات بفاعلية وكفاءة ، ليس على المستوى القطري وحده ، بل على المستوى القومي كله . وهذا العمل لا بد وأن يرقى الى مستوى التنفيذ على شكل برامج محددة ومعرفة مبنية على دراسات شاملة ودقيقة . ولننظر مثلا الى العجز الغذائي الذي نعاني منه في العالم العربي . انه عجز متنام يوما بعد يوم ، لا بسبب ازدياد الطلب وتفتح الشهية فحسب بل بسبب القصور الشامل في الانتاج ، ومثل هذا الوضع لا يعالج بالبرامج الفردية للاقطار ، بل بالجهد المتكاتف المتعاون ، الهادف الى سد النقص عن طريق زيادة الانتاج في الاقطار العربية ذات الامكانات الزراعية العالية مثل السودان والصومال وسورية والعراق وأقطار المغرب العربي كلها .

واذا لم نفعل ذلك ، ماذا سيكون البديل؟ البديل واضح بالطبع ، وهو زيادة الاعتماد على الاستيراد وما ينطوي عليه مثل هذا التطور من تهديد لأمننا الشامل من مساومة على حقوقنا المشروعة في السيادة التامة وعلى سعينا المستمر لتعظيم المردود من امكاناتنا الأخرى ، وأهمها النفط . ويتوفر لدينا الآن الكثير من الدراسات التي تبين مدى الحساسية الناجمة عن زيادة الاستهلاك وتراجع الانتاج ، خاصة وأن الكارتيلات الغذائية في العالم تكتسب مع الوقت منعة

وقوّة احتكارية قد تستغل لتنفيس المشاعر المضادة للعالم العربي كله بسبب التحويلات الناجمة عن بيع النفط .

ونظرة فاحصة على الوطن العربي بجمله ، تبدد الوهم الماثل في اذهان البعض عن مدى الغنى الطائل الذي يتمتع به ، فالحقائق الاقتصادية المتوفرة تقول بأن مجموع الانتاج المحلي للدول العربية كافة لا يعادل سوى ١٥٪ من الانتاج المحلي للولايات المتحدة ، وتؤكد هذه الحقائق أن معدل دخل الفرد في تسع دول عربية مصدرة للنفط في عام ١٩٧٩ قد بلغ (٤٧٢٧) دولارا ، أو ما يقارب معدل دخل الفرد في اسرائيل في العام ذاته (٤٤٧٠) دولارا .

ولو أضفنا الى هذا كله ان انتاج المواد الهيدروكربونية من باطن الارض لا يستخدم اكثر من (١٪) من مجموع القوى العاملة في الوطن العربي ، لاتضحت لنا الصورة الحقيقية لقدراتها الاقتصادية .

والبترول العربي كما لا شك تعلمون مهدد بالاستنزاف السريع ما لم تكتشف مصادر طاقة بديلة ، وما لم يقنن استخدامه في الدول المستهلكة . وتشير الارقام المتوفرة الى أن دول الاوابيك تحوي (٨٪) فقط من اجمالي احتياطي الطاقة في العالم في الوقت الذي تنتج فيه (١٦٪) من الطاقة المسوقة . وتعطي بعض الصور الموغلة في الحذر انذارا للمستقبل ، مفاده أن العالم العربي قد يتحول الى مستورد صاف للطاقة اذا ما استمر في استنزاف الطاقة بمعدلاتها الحالية . ولو حصل « لا سمح الله » تطور كهذا فان مصدرا اساسيا من مصادر القوة العربية سيتبدد ونصبح أمة اكثر ضعفا ونهبا للطامعين .

وأما البنية الاقتصادية العربية فتتصف بالازدواجية ، حيث يوجد قطاع رائد متطور وآخر متخلف فقير ، والأرياف في العالم العربي تعاني الأمرّين من البطالة المقنعة ، بينما تتوسع قطاعات الخدمات توسعا لا تبرره انتاجيته أو تؤهله الانماط الاستهلاكية الترفيه التي تصطحبه عادة .

لذا ففي الغالب نجد المواطن العربي وسط مجابهة اقتصادية بين واقع ريفي متخلّف وواقع استهلاكي ترفي يسد حاجاته اليومية بالاعتماد على مستوردات من سائر أنحاء العالم ويجاري آخر الأنماط الاستهلاكية في البلدان الصناعية . أما الصناعة ، وبالرغم مما حققته من نمو ، فما زالت مساهمتها ضئيلة لا تتعدى (١٠٪) من الانتاج القومي الاجمالي للدول العربية .

ومما يفت في عضد البناء الاقتصادي العربي ذلك التفاوت الملحوظ بين مستويات الدخل فيه . وقلما يجد الباحث في أي كتلة اقتصادية أخرى في العالم تفاوتا أكبر ، وتشير بعض الارقام المتيسرة الى أن معدل دخل الفرد في الدول العربية الميسورة يساوي خمسين ضعف مثيله في الدول الاقل نموا . وحال كهذا يجعل الوطن العربي أقل تجانسا . ويعوق قدراته على العمل المشترك الفعال .

وفي غمرة الحديث عن التحديات الاقتصادية لا بد وأن نعرج على الخطر الاشرس المتمثل في الاحتلال الصهيوني للاراضي العربية. وقد ترسمت القناعة لدى الجميع بأن هذا التحدي لا يجابهه ويرد كيده الا عمل موحد منسق. واننا في الاردن نتحمل قسطا كبيرا من العبء بصفتنا على أطول خط مواجهة مع العدو، ولا أريد الحديث عما نتكبده في هذا المجال من موارد وامكانيات مالية وبشرية، ولكننا نقدم كل ذلك، وبأقصى ما نستطيع من جهد، بالتعاون الوثيق مع أشقائنا العرب ومنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية دعما للاهل في المناطق المحتلة. ونقوم بمتابعة متواصلة ودراسات متعمقة للأوضاع الخطيرة هناك، والناجمة عن محاولات العدو المستمرة تفريغ الارض من أهلها والاستيلاء على مصادرها وتوجيهها لخدمة المستعمرات التي يقيمها العدو في الارض العربية المحتلة.

أيها الاخــوة،

لقد جاء انعقاد مؤتمر عمان والامة العربية تقف على مفرق طرق حاسم وفاصل، وقد تمت الموافقة فيه على قرارات مهمة تخضع كلها لمنطق أساسي وهو اعتماد مبدأ العمل العربي المشترك لمواجهة قضايا الامة العربية المصيرية. لقد أقر المؤتمر استراتيجية العمل الاقتصادي المشترك، وميثاق العمل الاقتصادي القومي، والاتفاقية الموحدة لاستثمار رؤوس الاموال في الدول العربية وعقد التنمية العربية المشتركة.

وتمثل منجزات هذا المؤتمر نقلة نوعية في العمل العربي، وقد اعتمدت قراراته على القناعة بأن حصيلة العمل المشترك تتجاوز الجمع الافرادي لمكوناته، ونقلت فكرة العمل العربي من مبدأ التعاون الى مبدأ التكامل الانمائي. كما دلّت على ادراك عميق للمشاكل التنموية التي نعانيها جميعا فاعتبر المؤتمر عقد الثمانينات عقد التنمية العربية المشتركة. وهنالك انجاز هام آخر هو الاقرار بضرورة تحييد العمل الاقتصادي العربي وتجنيبه مضار التقلبات السياسية. كل هذه القرارات تمثل في اعتقادي نقطة تحول في التفكير الاقتصادي العربي. وهي ان جاءت بأقل مما طمح اليه البعض، لكنها تبقى خطوة رائدة نحو مزيد من العمل المشترك الهادف.

لقد هيأ المؤتمر في قراراته فرصة نادرة للمفكرين وأصحاب الاختصاص العرب لكي يدلوا بدلوهم الكامل. وهذه أيضا بادرة تستحق الاعجاب والمباركة من قبل الزعماء العرب، فالمشاركة بالفكر النيّر المتبصر دعم حقيقي للعمل المشترك، ويدعم هذه المشاركة ويعمّقها ان تمتد لتصل الى كل مواطن عربي حيثما كان لتكسبه وعيا بما يجري من تخطيط وعمل، ولتدفعه الى التجاوب المتعاطف مع هذه القضايا المصيرية، لأن المواطن يبقى ابدا اداة المشاركة والعنصر المستفيد الأول من هذه الجهود.

أيها الاخوة ،

انني أضم صوتي هنا مع الذين ينادون بالتفريق بين النماء والتطور الاقتصادي والاجتماعي . ويجب أن يتقيد مفهوم التنمية في العالم العربي بمؤشرات جديدة ، بدلا من الخضوع لمنطق التأثيرات التقليدية التي تكتفي بقياس معدل الدخل الفردي أو نسبة الزيادة في الانتاج القومي كدلائل على التطور . ان التطور يعني تغييرا نوعيا شاملا تصل ثماره الى أكبر عدد ممكن من المواطنين . وترجمة هذا المبدأ الى عمل تقتضي بناء القدرة النوعية للانسان العربي ، واقامة المؤسسات والنظم المعلوماتية والتقنية الملائمة ، كل هذا بالطبع اضافة الى بناء المشاريع المنتجة ومشاريع البنية التحتية .

واذا كانت مرحلة ما بعد القمة ستشمل التغير الكمي والنوعي في عملية الانتاج العربي نفسها ، فان مكاسب هذه العملية يجب أن تنعكس على وطننا العربي ، ليس على شكل مزيد من النماء ، بل في تحقيق الانتماء أيضا .

ونتيجة لهذه القناعات ، وفي ضوء حجم العمل المطلوب ، وانسجاما مع قرارات مؤتمر عمان ، فانني أورد الملاحظات المبينة التالية : -

أولا :- بعد أن رسم مؤتمر قمة عمان ، على الورق ، آخر خطوط التعاون والتكامل الاقتصاديين بين اجزاء العالم العربي ، وبعد أن كاد يكتمل عقد المؤسسات الاقليمية العربية المشتركة ، سيكون عقد الثمانينات اختبارا نهائيا لامكانية أو عدم امكانية ترجمة خطط التعاون والتكامل الى واقع عملي . سيكون هذا العقد محكاً لجدوى هذا التعاون ، وذلك التكامل . وهذا تحد صعب . وسيكون على العالم العربي أن يبين ما اذا كان قادرا على الاستجابة للتحدي وصنع التاريخ .

ثانيا :- مع تقدم خطى التنمية الاقتصادية داخل كل قطر عربي ، ومع ازدياد درجة تلبية الحاجات الاقتصادية والثقافية ، سوف تطرح ، وعلى الأغلب بمبادرة من المواطن العربي ، مسألة العلاقة بينه وبين المؤسسات الحكومية في محاولة تشمل اقطار العالم العربي ، لاحداث تنمية اجتماعية ومؤسسية موازية بحيث تضيق الفجوة بين المواطن والمؤسسات الحكومية .

ثالثا :- عند الحديث عن التنمية الاقتصادية العربية ، من المرجح أن ينصب مزيد من الاهتمام على المسائل النوعية بعد ما كان حتى الآن من التركيز على القضايا الكمية . ان القيد الجوهري على التنمية لن يكون وقتها قيد رأس المال ، أي نقص الاموال المتاحة للاستثمار ولا القيد التجاري ، أي نقص العملات الصعبة اللازمة لتمويل المستوردات من السلع الرأسمالية والمواد الأولية ، بل القيد البشري النوعي ، ونعني به عنصر التنظيم أو العرض الكافي من طبقة المنظمين ، وهو نقص لن نستطيع أن نعوضه بالاستيراد لأن العالم كله يعاني من نقص المنظمين ، وسيكون على العالم العربي أن يوفر العرض المطلوب من موارده الذاتية .

رابعا :- من الواضح أن العالم العربي يعاني الآن من التباين الاقتصادي ومع التسليم الكامل بأن لهذه الظاهرة أسبابا موضوعية ، الا أنه لا يمكن التسليم بأنها ظاهرة صحية على المدى الطويل . ولن يكون من الممكن التغاضي عنها اذا كان ايجاد العالم العربي المتعافي الواحد ، على هذا الشكل أو ذاك ، هدفا قوميا كما نقول جميعا . يجب بكلمات أخرى تعزيز البعد الاقتصادي العربي عن طريق برامج تعاون واستثمارات تستلهم وتخدم المصالح المتبادلة للاقطار العربية على طرفي سلم الثراء . انه من الواجب على الاقطار العربية خلق مناخ استثماري مناسب على مستوى هذه الاقطار ككل مع التركيز على خلق وتدعيم الاطار المؤسسي الضروري لترعرع مثل هذا المناخ . فاذا ما أضيف الى ذلك استمرار دعم وتمويل الجهد الامني المطلوب للدفاع عن مصالح الامة العربية وحقوقها المشروعة نكون قد سعينا سوية الى تجسير التباين الاقتصادي والاجتماعي كظاهرة مخلة بتوازن منطقتنا وحفظنا أمننا القومي .

خامسا :- ان المشاكل التي سيثيرها والمسائل التي سيطرحها عهد ما بعد قمة عمان هي مشاكل ومسائل الربع الأخير من القرن العشرين ، ولا يمكن بالتالي مداراتها الا بأسلوب العصر ولغته اذا أراد العالم العربي ألاّ يظل قابعا على هامش العصر أو لاهثا خلف الاحداث ، ولغة العصر هي البحث العلمي المربوط بأحداث ومعضلات الحياة اليومية .

وقد آن لهذا البحث أن يظهر كبند مستقل ، في موازنات كل الدول العربية . واذا ما تم ذلك لن تعود الخطط التنموية ، القطرية منها والقومية مجرد تمنيات على ورق ، بل انعكاسات واقعية لارادة التغيير الايجابي وقفزة على الطريق الى حل المشكلة التكنولوجية .

سادسا :- وفي وقت أخذت تذوب فيه الفوارق والحدود التي تفصل بين النظم الاقتصادية على الصورة التي صاغتها فيها المدارس الفكرية المتناحرة ، في مثل هذا الوقت ، يكون من الأولى تذويب ما يطلق عليه شيوعا الفوارق الاقتصادية العقائدية التي تسود العالم العربي ، ويجب بالتالي الا يكون في هذه المنطقة من العالم الا تناقض واحد طرفاه الأمة العربية والكيان الصهيوني ، وهذا هو التناقض الجذري الوحيد . وسوى ذلك من التناقضات الاخرى ، ان وجدت ، تناقضات سلمية تشكل دليل العافية وليس آية الاعتلال وبالتالي فانها تسوى ، ويجب أن تسوى ، بالحوار العقلاني الهادي .

أيها الاخوة ،

ربما لا يكون هناك موضوع يثير حساسيات حول العرب وبينهم أكثر من موضوع تراكم الارصدة العربية البترولية في الدول الغربية . فاما الغربيون فيتساءلون عن خطر هذه الأرصدة على استقلالهم الاقتصادي وخطورة تحكم دول عربية بترولية بمصيرهم ، واما العرب في الدول غير

المنتجة للبترول فيتساءلون عن كيفية التوفيق بين حاجاتهم المتزايدة من الاستثمار الملائم والتي يلاقون مصاعب جمة في تلبيتها ، وبين تراكم الفوائض لدى الدول التي أنعم الله عليها بالبترول . وما يثير التساؤل أكثر هو انهم قد يلجأون الى اقتراض أموال عربية مودعة لدى مؤسسات غربية بوساطة هذه المؤسسات . وما أريد أن أعرضه هنا هو تصور مبدئي محتمل لتوجيه جزء متزايد من الفوائض العربية لاستثمارها في البلدان العربية .

تدل الخبرة في هذا المجال على أن الاستثمارات العربية قد لاقت صعوبات كبيرة في بعض البلدان العربية وانها حظيت بمعاملة تقل عما حصلت عليها الاستثمارات الاجنبية . ان صغر الاسواق المالية العربية بالاضافة الى قلة المشاريع المدروسة جيدا وضعف الكفاءات الادارية ، لهي عوامل تحد من تدفق رؤوس الاموال العربية فيما بين هذه الدول ، ولكننا بحاجة الى جهد جماعي والى دراسة مفصلة ومكثفة يشارك فيها ذوو الكفاءة والخبرة وتمثل المستثمرين والمستفيدين من هذه الاستثمارات . وتهدف هذه الدراسة الى معرفة المعوقات التي تعترض تدفق هذه الاستثمارات بين الدول العربية وسبل تفادي هذه المعوقات واقتراح الاجراءات الادارية والاقتصادية والمؤسسية اللازمة لتحقيق أكبر فائدة ممكنة للاقطار المستثمرة والمستفيدين منها على السواء . فمما لا شك فيه أن الحاجة للاستثمارات في الدول غير البترولية ستتزايد في الاعوام المقبلة ، كما أن حجم الفوائض البترولية قد يزداد بمعدلات عالية . ان مثل هذا الوضع يحتم ايجاد صيغة توفق بين المطالب المشروعة لأصحاب الأموال من ضمان وعائد مجز وقدر معقول من المشاركة في الادارة ، كما توفر المطالب العادلة للطرف الآخر من شروط استثمار معقولة تتناسب مع قدراتهم المالية وأولويات أوجه الاستثمار في أقطارهم . من هنا فان لنا كبير الأمل بأن يساهم النخبة من مفكري أمتنا ومؤسساتها وفي اطار قومي في اقتراح الاطار المؤسسي الكفؤ لتسهيل عملية الاستثمار ما بين الدول العربية وفي تبيين الوسائل الفعالة للربط ما بين الاطراف الممولة والمستقبلة لهذه الاستثمارات .

وقد يكون من المفيد أن تقوم محاولات رسمية على المستوى القطري بحيث تبين حكومة القطر المعني حاجتها من الاستثمار العربي ووسائله وطرق ضمانه والتسهيلات التي تقدمها الحكومة لذلك . كما أن على اخواننا في الدول ذات الفائض أن يزيدوا من مبادرتهم بالتعرف على احتياجات الاقطار العربية الاخرى وبتقديم عروض مرنة وعادلة لسد هذه الاحتياجات مع التركيز على الحالات الانتاجية التي تخلق الدخل وتطور البنية الاقتصادية بتقوية القطاعات الانتاجية بعيدا قدر الامكان عن مجالات المضاربة العقارية التي تزيد من حدة التضخم في بعض هذه البلدان .

كما أن المؤسسات المالية العربية ، الرسمية منها والخاصة ، مدعوة لتكثيف جهودها في اطار التمويل التنموي فيما بين الدول العربية ، وخاصة في مجال تمويل المشاريع ذات الاولوية القومية والقطرية .

أيها الأخــوة ،

لقد أقر مؤتمر عمان مبدأ التخطيط القومي للعالم العربي كما طالب بوضع خطة قومية طويلة المدى في ضوء استراتيجية التنمية القومية تكون الاطار العام للخطط المتوسطة المدى . وتحتاج ترجمة هذه القرارات الى تكاتف جهود كافة المخططين في الدول العربية والى تفهم المسؤولين فيها . فمن الواضح أن سياسة التنمية القطرية التي انتهجتها الدول العربية حتى الآن لم تشجع التكامل بين هذه الدول وانما تمت بمعزل عن التنمية في البلدان العربية حتى المجاورة منها ، بل انه ليمكن القول بان هذا التركيز القطري قد ولد اتجاهات مضادة لعملية التكامل الاقتصادي العربي ، فمثلا انشىء العديد من المصانع المتشابهة في الدول العربية منافسة بعضها بدلا من أن تستفيد من امكاناتها الادارية وحجم السوق المكمل لبعضها .

كذلك اتجهت الاقطار العربية الى دول العالم الصناعية للحصول على المعدات والمصانع منها وفي الاغلب بأسلوب تسليم المفتاح . وهكذا فان عملية التصنيع واكتساب المعرفة التكنولوجية اللازمة لم يتم توطينها ، فبدل أن تحقق هذه الاقطار قدرا اكبر من الاعتماد على النفس ازدادت تبعيتها للخارج وأصبحت تعتمد على الدول الصناعية .

لقد أدت التغيرات الاقتصادية التي شهدتها منطقتنا العربية الى تحويل جذري في نمط التجارة الخارجية العربية . فلقد هبطت نسبة تجارة الدول العربية فيما بينها الى مجموع تجارتها الخارجية . وتدل بعض الأرقام على أن نسبة صادرات الدول العربية فيما بينها الى مجموع صادراتها قد هبطت من ٢١٪ في عام ١٩٦٠ الى ٤٪ فقط في عام ١٩٧٧ . كما هبطت النسبة المماثلة للمستوردات من ٧٪ في عام ١٩٦٠ الى ٦٪ في عام ١٩٧٧ .

ان الارقام المتوفرة تشير الى أن معظم مستوردات الدول العربية تأتي من الدول الصناعية . ومما علينا أن نتذكره أن انماط الانتاج والاستهلاك والتجارة السائدة في تلك البلدان المتقدمة تؤثر تأثيرا مباشرا على الحالة الاقتصادية والاجتماعية في بلادنا العربية . واذا لم نتدارك الموقف ونتخذ الاجراءات التكاملية اللازمة فان تبعيتنا لهذه الدول ستزداد في كافة المجالات . ويعطي التأثير لهذه الدول صحة للقول بأنه اذا لم نخطط نحن لمستقبلنا فسيقوم الآخرون بتخطيطه لنا ، وبالطبع بما يتناسب مع أولوياتهم .

أيها الاخــوة ،

اننا نثق ثقة كاملة باستراتيجية الاعتماد على النفس وهي استراتيجية اصيلة ، ولكي يكون لها عمق وقوة استمرارية ، فانه لا بد أن تدعم في عالمنا العربي بثقة وايمان بسياسة الاعتماد على النفس الجماعية القومية . لقد طبق المحتوى الفكري لاستراتيجية الاعتماد على النفس القطرية

بمفهومها الضيق في بلدان مختلفة ، ولكن الظروف العملية جعلتها ناقصة ، ولا بد من اكمالها بربطها باستراتيجية الاعتماد على النفس القومية .

ان تعاظم التغيرات الدولية الاقتصادية منها والتقنية زادت من اعتماد العالم النامي ، وبالذات العالم العربي على اقتصاد الدول المتقدمة الصناعية . وكذلك فان ارتفاعات أثمان السلع الاساسية كالنفط والمواد الغذائية وارتفاع بدلات استخدام رأس المال ، قد يفقد بعض الدول العربية غير النفطية القدرة على الاستقلالية ويوقعها في حلقة التبعية الاقتصادية . ويدعو هذا بالطبع الى تكثيف عملية التكامل الاقتصادي العربي . واذا ما خلقت ظروف تساوت فيه بدلات التعامل الاقتصادي وأسعار رأس المال أو الاستثمار ما بين الدول العربية بعضها مع بعض وما بين دولة عربية والعالم الخارجي ، فان الاجدر ان تسود المعاملة التفضيلية ما بين الدول العربية بحيث يقوم الجانب العربي الاعلى قدرة بتسهيل وتيسير بدلات عوامل الانتاج .

ان وجودنا ضمن اطار العالم النامي يحتم علينا أن نقتسم خبراتنا وآمالنا بحيث نضيف بعداً آخر لنا من خلال تعاوننا مع الشعوب النامية التي تماثل معنا بالتفكير والمرحلة التنموية التي نمر بها . كما ان علينا ان نعمل على تضييق الفجوة بين مفكري أمتنا العربية وصانعي القرارات فيها لضمان وصول الافكار النيرة الى مرحلة التطبيق . وايمانا منا بهذا ، فاننا قد استجبنا لقناعة اخوان لنا من ذوي التفكير المرادف وقمنا سوية بتشكيل المنتدى الفكري العربي لتنطلق منه الآراء والافكار العربية والاسلامية بعيدا عن المحاور السياسية الضيقة . ونأمل أن يكون هذا المنتدى ذا أبعاد متعددة تغني وتلتقي مع الفكر العالمي اضافة الى البعد العربي الاساسي القائم على تقوية فاعلية الفكر العربي والاسلامي . وقد عقد مجلس أمناء المنتدى أولى جلساته في عمان قبل بضعة أيام لوضع برنامج عمل محدد يهدف الى نقل جزء من طموحاتنا الى واقع التنفيذ في المستقبل القريب .

أيها الاخـــوة ،

في الختام ، أود أن اقول بان علينا ألا ندع المصاعب تحط من همتنا أو تعوق مسيرتنا . فالمعوقات والتحديات التي تواجه أمتنا كبيرة ، ولكن طموحاتنا وامكاناتنا كبيرة أيضا ، وكل ما علينا هو أن نبذل أفضل ما عندنا من جهد . والله ولي التوفيق .

خطاب

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

في

الدورة السادسة والثلاثين

للجمعية العامة للامم المتحدة

★ ★ ★ ★

الاثنين ٢٨ أيلول ١٩٨١

نيويورك

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

السيد الرئيس ،

أود أولا أن أتقدم بالتهنئة لكم على انتخابكم لرئاسة الدورة الحالية السادسة والثلاثين للجمعية العامة للامم المتحدة . ان الثقة التي اولتها لكم هذه الجمعية الموقرة باسناد هذا المنصب الرفيع اليكم لهي تقدير لشخصكم ولما تتحلون به من مناقب ، كما تمثل اعترافا بالدور الهام الذي يقوم به بلدكم الشقيق في توثيق عرى التفاهم الدولي وارساء قواعد التعاون الصادق بين الامم . وانني لعلى ثقة بانكم ستسهمون ، بما عرف عنكم وما توافر لديكم من قدرات وخبرات ، في الوصول الى نتائج ايجابية للمواضيع المدرجة على جدول اعمال هذه الدورة . ولا يفوتني ان اسجل بالشكر والتقدير جهود سلفكم السفير فون فيخمار المندوب الدائم لجمهورية المانيا الاتحادية التي تربطها ببلدي الاردن عرى الصداقة والاحترام والتعاون المشترك المتنامي ، وقد ادار جلسات الدورة الخامسة والثلاثين باقتدار واسهمت جهوده في نشر جو من الحوار البناء ساد مداولات الدورة السابقة . ويسرني ان اشيد اشادة خاصة بجهود الدكتور كورت فالدهايم الامين العام للامم المتحدة ومساعيه المتواصلة لزيادة فرص احلال السلام وتخفيف عوامل التوتر التي تسود بقاعا شتى في العالم .

السيد الرئيس ،

ان القاء نظرة متفحصة على الوضع السائد في العالم تبين لنا بوضوح الفجوة التي لا تزال تفصل بين تطلعنا الى عالم يسوده السلام وترتكز العلاقات بين اعضائه على اسس من الحق والعدل وبين الواقع الفعلي القائم الذي تتحكم فيه مقاييس القوة وتسوده مساعي الهيمنة وسياسات فرض الامر الواقع .

السيد الرئيس ،

ان ما يساعد بعض الدول على سلوك هذا الاتجاه الى الاستحواذ على مناطق النفوذ واعتماد سياسة القوة لحل المشاكل هو غياب الوازع الاخلاقي في منحى تفكيرها بالاضافة الى ترسانة اسلحة هائلة متجددة متطورة باستمرار ، سعيا وراء سراب نظام امن مطلق يستحيل الوصول اليه ، اذ ان الامن المطلق لجهة ما يعني عدم الامن المطلق لجهة اخرى .

لقد أدى سباق التسلح وحجم الانفاق الهائل عليه البالغ معدله أربعمئة وخمسين بليون دولار في السنة الواحدة الى زيادة حدة التوتر في العالم واجبر ذلك الموقف العديد من الدول ولا سيما النامية منها على تخصيص قسم كبير من مواردها المحدودة لشؤون الدفاع على حساب متطلبات تقدمها ونموها الاقتصادي والاجتماعي .

ان نزع السلاح أمر جوهري وحيوي لأمن العالم وسلامه ، واننا نقدر جميع الجهود والقرارات التي عملت على تنفيذها الامم المتحدة في السنين الماضية ، وكلنا أمل في ان تسفر الدورة الثانية الخاصة بنزع السلاح والمقرر عقدها في العام القادم عن احراز تقدم جدي ملموس في هذا المضمار يحمي البشرية من الخطر الماثل ويحمي الدول النامية من الزج بها في خضم الصراعات ومتاهات التنافس على النفوذ التي اصبحت تهدد وجود هذه الدول وبقاءها .

السيد الرئيس ،

انني اود ضمن هذا الاطار ان اخص بالذكر الخطر الذي يهدد منطقتنا - منطقة الشرق الاوسط- بسبب القدرات العسكرية الاسرائيلية التقليدية والنووية . ففي البندين السادس والاربعين والسادس والخمسين من جدول اعمال هذه الدورة موضوعان : احدهما حول جعل منطقة الشرق الاوسط منطقة خالية من الاسلحة النووية والآخر يتعلق باخطار التسلح النووي الاسرائيلي . ان ادراج هذين الموضوعين يدل على ادراك حقيقي للابعاد الخطرة التي تهدد منطقة الشرق الاوسط من جراء التسلح النووي الذي تتبناه سياسة اسرائيل الرامية الى فرض الهيمنة ، والتوسع ، والعدوان في المنطقة والتي ترفض التوقيع على معاهدة الحد من انتشار الاسلحة الذرية وترفض السماح للمنظمات الدولية المتخصصة بالكشف والتفتيش على مرافقها النووية ، واننا في المنطقة نتطلع الى الامم المتحدة وميثاقها بصفتها الاطار الصحيح الذي يجب ان تتحدد من خلاله اية ترتيبات لجعل منطقة الشرق الاوسط منطقة خالية من الاسلحة النووية بحيث يؤدي ذلك الى ايقاف البرنامج النووي الاسرائيلي واهدافه الشريرة وتجنيب المنطقة ويلات هذه الاسلحة المدمرة .

السيد الرئيس :

ان الامر الثاني في الاهمية بالنسبة لحاضر عالمنا المعاصر ومستقبله هو ذلك الجهد الرامي الى اقامة نظام اقتصادي عالمي جديد يكون اكثر عدلا وانصافا وايفاء بتطلعات العديد من شعوب العالم لرفع مستوى معيشتها وحياتها . لقد وصلت العلاقات الاقتصادية الدولية - كما اشار الاردن في العام الماضي امام هذه الجمعية الموقرة - الى مرحلة خطرة حرجة بحيث يمكن معها

وصف التطلعات والمساعي لايجاد حلول لهذه الازمة بانها صراع في سبيل بقاء الجنس البشري واستمراره . وان نظرة موضوعية الى الواقع تبين بجلاء ان الفقر والجهل والمرض قد اطبقت على مجتمعات بأسرها ، كما اصبح الجفاف يهدد بشكل دوري ومنتظم حياة سكان دول عديدة في آسيا وافريقيا . وبالرغم من خطورة هذه المشكلة وابعادها الانسانية المؤلمة فانها قد فشلت في تحريك الارادات السياسية لدى الدول المقتدرة بما يتناسب وحجم التحديات كما اخفقت في وضع اسس لاخلاقيات جديدة تقوم على روح العدالة ، والانصاف والتضامن بين الشعوب .

ان وفد بلادي يرى ان للامم المتحدة دورا اساسيا في احداث تطور جذري في العلاقات الاقتصادية الدولية السائدة حاليا ، ووضع مقاييس لتنظيم العلاقات بين الدول على اسس من الانصاف ، وتكافؤ الفرص ، وازالة الغبن السائد في نمط التجارة الدولية ، ولا سيما انخفاض اسعار المواد الاولية التي تعتمد عليها الدول النامية ، اذا ما قارنا ذلك بالارتفاع المستمر لتكاليف المواد المصنعة التي تقوم باستيرادها هذه الدول النامية من الدول الصناعية . كما يقتضي الامر معالجة فورية ملحة لموضوع الطاقة وكلفها مؤملين ان يكون المؤتمر الذي تم عقده في نيروبي في شهر آب الماضي بداية لمعالجة هذا الموضوع الهام على اساس سليم ، بحيث يوفر مصادر الطاقة التي تحتاج اليها مشاريع التنمية في الدول النامية لتخفف الاعباء عن اقتصادياتها . كما ان الحاجة تدعو الى استغلال التقنية الحديثة لتوفير نظام غذاء عالمي متكامل يقضي على الجوع وعيش الكفاف ويمكن من التغلب على مشكلات انخفاض الانتاج الزراعي والتصحر ، ويعين على استصلاح الاراضي وتطوير مصادر المياه للري والشرب .

وان أية صيغة عملية تهدف الى توثيق عرى التعاون ما بين الدول المتقدمة والنامية لا بد ان تدخل في الحسبان اهمية تأسيس بنك للتكنولوجيا يتم من خلاله نقل التقنية بمختلف مجالاتها من الدول المتقدمة الى الدول النامية ويتيح الفرصة ايضا لتبادل الخبرات الفنية فيما بين الدول النامية نفسها . واننا نأمل في ان يسفر اجتماع القمة الذي سيعقد في المكسيك في الشهر القادم بين اثنتين وعشرين دولة نامية ومتقدمة في اطار حوار الشمال - الجنوب عن برنامج عمل مدروس يلتزم به الجميع للوصول الى الغايات المنشودة .

السيد الرئيس :

ان الموضوع الثالث الذي اود الاشارة اليه في سياق المواضيع المهمة المدرجة على جدول اعمال هذه الدورة يتعلق بسعي العديد من الشعوب لتقرير مصيرها ، وكفاحها لنيل استقلالها ، والخلاص من الهيمنة الاجنبية التي تقف عائقا يحول دون هذه الشعوب وتحقيق امانيها وتطلعاتها المشروعة . واننا في الاردن - انطلاقا من تراثنا العربي والاسلامي وايماننا بحق الشعوب المطلق في الحرية والاستقلال نؤيد كفاح شعب جنوب افريقيا وندعو الاسرة الدولية للضغط على تلك الدول

التي تقدم الدعم والمساندة لحكومة جنوب افريقيا العنصرية للتوقف عن ذلك واجبار ذلك النظام العنصري على الانصياع للارادة الدولية ، وايقاف ممارساته العنصرية البغيضة ، والامتناع الفوري عن شن الاعتداءات على الدول الافريقية المجاورة ، وانهاء احتلاله لناميبيا ، واحترام قرارات الامم المتحدة وخاصة قرار مجلس الامن رقم ٤٣٥ لعام ١٩٧٨ . والاسرة الدولية مدعوة الى الوقوف بحزم في وجه النزعة العدوانية المتمثلة في التعاون القائم ما بين جنوب افريقيا واسرائيل ، هذا التعاون الذي شمل المجالات السياسية والاقتصادية والعسكرية والثقافية واصبح امرا في غاية الخطورة بعد ان وصل الى الحقل النووي والتجارب النووية المشتركة ، فاصبح تهديدا مباشرا لشعوب افريقيا والامة العربية علاوة على تهديده للامن والسلم الدوليين .

ومن نفس المنطلق فان الاردن ينظر الى الاوضاع السائدة في كل من افغانستان واريتريا وناميبيا وجزيرة مايوت القمرية ويدعو الى تطبيق قرارات الامم المتحدة ومجلس الامن التي تدعو الى عدم التدخل في الشؤون الداخلية للدول وحق جميع الشعوب في تقرير مصيرها بارادة وطنية وحرية تامة . وكذلك فان الاردن يدعو الى حل مشكلة قبرص بالطرق السلمية ومن خلال جهود الامم المتحدة التي تقوم بها بين طرفي النزاع حتى يمكن الحفاظ على وحدة ذلك البلد واستقلاله وعدم انحيازه .

السيد الرئيس :

لقد تناولت فيما سبق ذكره بعض القضايا العامة التي يواجهها عالمنا المعاصر والتي تحمل في طياتها عناصر التهديد لمستقبل البشرية ان لم تجر معالجتها بنية خالصة وتوجه دولي صادق . ولكن هناك قضية اخرى مهمة توازي في خطرها ما سبق ان اشرت اليه واعني بها مشكلة الشرق الاوسط التي هي في حقيقتها قضية ومأساة شعب فلسطين وارضه .

ولا اريد ان استعرض هنا تفاصيل هذه القضية التي مضى على نشوئها ما يربو على ثلاثة وثلاثين عاما ، ففي خطابي جلالة الملك الحسين ملك المملكة الاردنية الهاشمية اللذين القاهما في الجمعية العامة للامم المتحدة عام ١٩٦٧ مباشرة بعد الاكتساح الاسرائيلي الغادر للضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة وسيناء والجولان ثم في عام ١٩٧٩ ، من التوضيح لجوانب هذه القضية وبيان ابعادها وذكر مراحل تطورها ، ما يغني عن اعادته هنا . وكان جلالته في خطابه عام ١٩٦٧ أول من نبه الى ضرورة ان يكون السلام المنشود سلاما متصفا بالعدل حتى يحقق الغاية المنشودة منه . وختم جلالته خطابه الثاني بقوله : « اذا كنت قد تحدثت طويلا حول القضية التي تسيطر على منطقتنا فلأنها قضية مصير ومستقبل وحياة بالنسبة لوطني ، ولأنها تمس السلام العالمي بشكل مباشر » .

وقد اصبحت قضية فلسطين قضية العالم بأسره واخذت من جهود المنظمة الدولية ما لم تأخذه قضية اخرى .

لقد استولت اسرائيل على القسم الاكبر من ارض فلسطين عام الف وتسعمائة وثمانية واربعين ، وشردت الشعب الفلسطيني من ارضه ، وطمست معالم هويته السياسية المتميزة ، واعقبت ذلك بالعدوان الذي شنته صبيحة الخامس من حزيران عام ١٩٦٧ فاحتلت ولا تزال تحتل حتى اليوم كامل ارض فلسطين واجزاء من اراض عربية اخرى . وان نظرة سريعة على خارطة المنطقة تبين لنا بوضوح الفارق الشاسع بين ما قبلت به المنظمة الدولية ليكون ما يسمى بحدود اسرائيل حسب القرار المائة والواحد والثمانين لسنة ١٩٤٧ وما هي عليه اسرائيل اليوم . وانه لمن نافلة القول التذكير بأن اسرائيل قد انتهكت بذلك ميثاق الامم المتحدة وقراراتها التي اشترطت لقبول اسرائيل في عضوية المنظمة الدولية التزام اسرائيل بتنفيذ القرارين رقم ١٨١ لسنة ١٩٤٧ والقرار رقم ١٩٤ لسنة ١٩٤٨ ، ولم تكتف اسرائيل باخراج الشعب الفلسطيني من ارضه وجعله مقسما ما بين مشرد ولاجيء ومضطهد وواقع تحت الاحتلال بل امعنت في مخططاتها الرامية الى تغيير معالم الارض - الفلسطينية والعربية التي احتلتها نتيجة لعدوان عام ١٩٦٧ وزرعتها بالمستوطنات واسكنت فيها المهاجرين الذين استقدمتهم من الخارج ، واستولت على الاملاك العربية العامة والخاصة وعلى مصادر المياه والموارد الطبيعية وسخرتها لخدمة هؤلاء المستوطنين . وقد تحدت اسرائيل القانون الدولي وبارادتها السياسية المستمرة الرامية لتهويد طابع مدينة القدس العربية وضمها ، وتمضي قدما حسبما تتوالى تصريحات واعمال قادتها في ضم كامل التراب الفلسطيني المحتل برفع شعار دعوى زائفة مستمدة من اساطير الماضي البعيد .

اما الشعب العربي الرازح تحت الاحتلال والذي يقاوم مقاومة بطولية المخططات الصهيونية لضم الاراضي العربية المحتلة وتغيير معالمها ، فقد تعرض لاقسى الممارسات التي تساوي ، في قساوتها وبشاعتها ، ما عرفته اقطار اوروبا على ايدي النازية . فقد فرض الاحتلال العسكري الاسرائيلي العقوبات الجماعية ونسف المنازل ونفى القيادات الوطنية وحاول تصفيتها جسديا ، وضيق سبل العيش على السكان ووصل الى حد قطع الدعم والمساعدات التي تتلقاها البلديات والمجالس القروية لتنمية وتطوير اوضاع المدن والقرى وتقديم الخدمات الاساسية للمواطنين . وكنتيجة لهذا التدبير الذي جمد نشاط مؤسسات الخدمات والمرافق ، فقد اصبح المواطنون الذين اسعفتهم بعض المعونات العربية لتدبير شؤونهم معزولين عن التمويل الاساسي المطلوب ، سواء من سلطات الاحتلال ذاتها او من اشقائهم العرب . كما عمل الاحتلال على ربط اقتصاد الاراضي العربية المحتلة بالاقتصاد الاسرائيلي في محاولة لاجبار السكان العرب على الخروج من ارضهم تمهيدا لاستقدام المزيد من المهاجرين وضم الاراضي العربية المحتلة للكيان الصهيوني .

السيد الرئيس :

لم يكن في مقدور اسرائيل الاستمرار والتوسع في عدوانها والمضي في تحدي الارادة

التي تقدم الدعم والمساندة لحكومة جنوب افريقيا العنصرية للتوقف عن ذلك واجبار ذلك النظام العنصري على الانصياع للارادة الدولية ، وايقاف ممارساته العنصرية البغيضة ، والامتناع الفوري عن شن الاعتداءات على الدول الافريقية المجاورة ، وانهاء احتلاله لناميبيا ، واحترام قرارات الامم المتحدة وخاصة قرار مجلس الامن رقم ٤٣٥ لعام ١٩٧٨ . والاسرة الدولية مدعوة الى الوقوف بحزم في وجه النزعة العدوانية المتمثلة في التعاون القائم ما بين جنوب افريقيا واسرائيل ، هذا التعاون الذي شمل المجالات السياسية والاقتصادية والعسكرية والثقافية واصبح امرا في غاية الخطورة بعد ان وصل الى الحقل النووي والتجارب النووية المشتركة ، فاصبح تهديدا مباشرا لشعوب افريقيا والامة العربية علاوة على تهديده للامن والسلم الدوليين .

ومن نفس المنطلق فان الاردن ينظر الى الاوضاع السائدة في كل من افغانستان واريتريا وناميبيا وجزيرة مايوت القمرية ويدعو الى تطبيق قرارات الامم المتحدة ومجلس الامن التي تدعو الى عدم التدخل في الشؤون الداخلية للدول وحق جميع الشعوب في تقرير مصيرها بارادة وطنية وحرية تامة . وكذلك فان الاردن يدعو الى حل مشكلة قبرص بالطرق السلمية ومن خلال جهود الامم المتحدة التي تقوم بها بين طرفي النزاع حتى يمكن الحفاظ على وحدة ذلك البلد واستقلاله وعدم انحيازه .

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ولا اريد ان استعرض هنا تفاصيل هذه القضية التي مضى على نشوئها ما يربو على ثلاثة وثلاثين عاما ، ففي خطابي جلالة الملك الحسين ملك المملكة الاردنية الهاشمية اللذين القاهما في الجمعية العامة للامم المتحدة عام ١٩٦٧ مباشرة بعد الاكتساح الاسرائيلي الغادر للضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة وسيناء والجولان ثم في عام ١٩٧٩ ، من التوضيح لجوانب هذه القضية وبيان ابعادها وذكر مراحل تطورها ، ما يغني عن اعادته هنا . وكان جلالته في خطابه عام ١٩٦٧ أول من نبه الى ضرورة ان يكون السلام المنشود سلاما متصفا بالعدل حتى يحقق الغاية المنشودة منه . وختم جلالته خطابه الثاني بقوله : « اذا كنت قد تحدثت طويلا حول القضية التي تسيطر على منطقتنا فلأنها قضية مصير ومستقبل وحياة بالنسبة لوطني ، ولأنها تمس السلام العالمي بشكل مباشر » .

وقد اصبحت قضية فلسطين قضية العالم بأسره واخذت من جهود المنظمة الدولية ما لم تأخذه قضية اخرى .

لقد استولت اسرائيل على القسم الاكبر من ارض فلسطين عام الف وتسعمائة وثمانية واربعين ، وشردت الشعب الفلسطيني من ارضه ، وطمست معالم هويته السياسية المتميزة ، واعقبت ذلك بالعدوان الذي شنته صبيحة الخامس من حزيران عام ١٩٦٧ فاحتلت ولا تزال تحتل حتى اليوم كامل ارض فلسطين واجزاء من اراض عربية اخرى . وان نظرة سريعة على خارطة المنطقة تبين لنا بوضوح الفارق الشاسع بين ما قبلت به المنظمة الدولية ليكون ما يسمى بحدود اسرائيل حسب القرار المائة والواحد والثمانين لسنة ١٩٤٧ وما هي عليه اسرائيل اليوم . وانه لمن نافلة القول التذكير بأن اسرائيل قد انتهكت بذلك ميثاق الامم المتحدة وقراراتها التي اشترطت لقبول اسرائيل في عضوية المنظمة الدولية التزام اسرائيل بتنفيذ القرارين رقم ١٨١ لسنة ١٩٤٧ والقرار رقم ١٩٤ لسنة ١٩٤٨ ، ولم تكتف اسرائيل باخراج الشعب الفلسطيني من ارضه وجعله مقسما ما بين مشرد ولاجيء ومضطهد وواقع تحت الاحتلال بل امعنت في مخططاتها الرامية الى تغيير معالم الارض - الفلسطينية والعربية التي احتلتها نتيجة لعدوان عام ١٩٦٧ وزرعتها بالمستوطنات واسكنت فيها المهاجرين الذين استقدمتهم من الخارج ، واستولت على الاملاك العربية العامة والخاصة وعلى مصادر المياه والموارد الطبيعية وسخرتها لخدمة هؤلاء المستوطنين . وقد تحدت اسرائيل القانون الدولي وبارادتها السياسية المستمرة الرامية لتهويد طابع مدينة القدس العربية وضمها ، وتمضي قدما حسبما تتوالى تصريحات واعمال قادتها في ضم كامل التراب الفلسطيني المحتل برفع شعار دعوى زائفة مستمدة من اساطير الماضي البعيد .

اما الشعب العربي الرازح تحت الاحتلال والذي يقاوم مقاومة بطولية المخططات الصهيونية لضم الاراضي العربية المحتلة وتغيير معالمها ، فقد تعرض لاقسى الممارسات التي تساوي ، في قساوتها وبشاعتها ، ما عرفته اقطار اوروبا على ايدي النازية . فقد فرض الاحتلال العسكري الاسرائيلي العقوبات الجماعية ونسف المنازل ونفى القيادات الوطنية وحاول تصفيتها جسديا ، وضيق سبل العيش على السكان ووصل الى حد قطع الدعم والمساعدات التي تتلقاها البلديات والمجالس القروية لتنمية وتطوير اوضاع المدن والقرى وتقديم الخدمات الاساسية للمواطنين . وكنتيجة لهذا التدبير الذي جمد نشاط مؤسسات الخدمات والمرافق ، فقد اصبح المواطنون الذين اسعفتهم بعض المعونات العربية لتدبير شؤونهم معزولين عن التمويل الاساسي المطلوب ، سواء من سلطات الاحتلال ذاتها او من اشقائهم العرب . كما عمل الاحتلال على ربط اقتصاد الاراضي العربية المحتلة بالاقتصاد الاسرائيلي في محاولة لاجبار السكان العرب على الخروج من ارضهم تمهيدا لاستقدام المزيد من المهاجرين وضم الاراضي العربية المحتلة للكيان الصهيوني .

السيد الرئيس :

لم يكن في مقدور اسرائيل الاستمرار والتوسع في عدوانها والمضي في تحدي الارادة

والشرعية الدولية لولا توافر الدعم السياسي ، والاقتصادي ، والعسكري المطلق الذي قدمته لها ولا تزال تقدمه بعض الدول وخاصة الولايات المتحدة الامريكية التي مكنت اسرائيل من الاستمرار في احتلالها للاراضي العربية وتحدي الارادة الدولية والتمرد على قرارات الامم المتحدة وشيوع حالة عدم الاستقرار وفقدان التوازن الامني في المنطقة .

ان دعم الولايات المتحدة المتواصل لاسرائيل انما يتم بدعوى التزام الولايات بأمن اسرائيل وهو شعار غامض فشل حتى الآن في تحديد معنى الالتزام وتعريف حدوده ، فأي اسرائيل تلتزم بها الولايات المتحدة الاميركية؟ هل هي اسرائيل تقسيم عام ١٩٤٧ أو اسرائيل خطوط الهدنة عام ١٩٤٨ أو اسرائيل وقف اطلاق النار لعام ١٩٦٧؟ ان الدعم الامريكي لاسرائيل في ظل هذا الشعار الغامض ، وفي ظل ممارسات اسرائيل لتغيير الواقع على الارض المحتلة لا يمكن ان يفهم منه الا ان الولايات المتحدة ملتزمة باسرائيل المتوسعة ابدا على حساب العرب .

السيد الرئيس :

ان تدفق ترسانة الاسلحة المتطورة على اسرائيل - بحكم الوهم الذي شاع في العالم الغربي بتحقيق الامن لاسرائيل قد أدى الى عكس النتيجة التي توخاها منفذو هذه السياسة واصبحت هذه الترسانة والقدرات النووية العسكرية الاسرائيلية مصدر تهديد مباشر لأمن المنطقة وسلامها ، ومبعث خطر مستمر على استقرار العالم بأسره . وان الاتفاق الاخير بين اسرائيل والولايات المتحدة الاميركية للتعاون والتكامل الاستراتيجي بين البلدين ليزيد من هذا الخطر ، ويسهم في سياسة التكتلات والمحاور الدولية ، ويدعو الى مزيد من شكوك الامة العربية ومخاوفها ، والى مزيد من تعريضها للمخاطر . ولقد ادى هذا الدعم المطلق المستمر الى ان توسع اسرائيل دائرة عدوانها في المنطقة بحيث اقدمت في خلال حقبة زمنية قصيرة على ما يلي : -

١ - ضم مدينة القدس العربية للكيان الصهيوني بالرغم من المعارضة الدولية والاستنكار العالمي الشامل لهذا العمل نظرا لما تتمتع به المدينة المقدسة من مكانة روحية وتاريخية لجميع المؤمنين بالله .

٢ - البدء بمشروع حفر قناة لوصل البحر الابيض المتوسط بالبحر الميت ، هذا المشروع الذي يمثل امتدادا للنزعة العدوانية والتوسعية الاسرائيلية من حيث قيامها بتنفيذه دون ان تدخل في الحسبان الاضرار البالغة التي سيحدثها هذا المشروع بالمنشآت الاقتصادية ، والمصالح الحيوية للمملكة الاردنية الهاشمية وسيادتها الوطنية . كما سيلحق هذا المشروع الضرر بالحقوق الوطنية الفلسطينية في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة . ان هذا المشروع الذي

تنوي اسرائيل تنفيذه هو مصدر تهديد مباشر لامن المنطقة وسلامها لما سيترتب عليه من جلب المستوطنين الجدد وانشاء المفاعلات النووية في طريق مسار المشروع بحيث يضيف المزيد من قدرات اسرائيل النووية في الوقت الحاضر.

ان القرار الذي اتخذه مؤتمر الامم المتحدة لمصادر الطاقة الجديدة والمتجددة الذي عقد في نيروبي في شهر آب الماضي والذي شجب المشروع الاسرائيلي لهو الخطوة الاولى التي نرجو من هذه الجمعية تبنيها وتطويرها بحيث تتضافر الجهود للوقوف بحزم في وجه هذا المشروع العدواني.

٣ - تدخلها المستمر في لبنان وزيادة معاناة ذلك البلد الشقيق والسعي لتقويض وحدته وكيانه واشاعة الفرقة والنزاع في ربوعه وبين فئات شعبه ومحاولة الاستيلاء على جنوبه ومصادر مياهه. وكلنا يذكر صور ضحايا هجمات اسرائيل الجوية البربرية على مخيمات اللاجئين الفلسطينيين في بيروت وجنوب لبنان في شهر تموز الماضي.

٤ - انتهاكها الذي لم يسبق له مثيل لجميع القوانين والاعراف الدولية بالاغارة على المنشآت النووية العراقية في شهر حزيران الماضي على الرغم من ان العراق الشقيق قد اعلن ان برنامجه النووي مخصص للاغراض السلمية، وقام بالتوقيع على معاهدة الحد من انتشار الاسلحة الذرية وفتح منشآته الذرية امام التفتيش الدوري المنتظم الذي تجريه وكالة الطاقة الذرية الدولية كما جاء في تقرير المدير العام لوكالة الطاقة الذرية الدولية امام مجلس الامن في شهر حزيران الماضي، هذا في الوقت الذي ترفض فيه اسرائيل اتخاذ اي من هذين الاجراءين.

السيد الرئيس:

يقابل هذا المنحى العدواني الاسرائيلي الساعي لفرض الهيمنة في منطقة الشرق الادنى توجه اردني وعربي صادق نحو السلام المستند الى العدل المؤدي الى احقاق الحقوق ونشر حالة الاستقرار في منطقة الشرق الاوسط باكملها. فالاردن الذي عاش الابعاد والظروف الكاملة لمأساة فلسطين وشعبها بشكل مباشر وتحمل بحكم انتمائه العربي والتزامه القومي تبعات هذه المشكلة التي اوجدتها الممارسات الدولية الظالمة قد أيد مع اشقائه العرب جميع الجهود الدولية الخاصة بقضية فلسطين ومشكلة الشرق الاوسط.... فقد كان تعاوننا كاملا وايجابيا مع مهمة السفير غونار يارنغ ومؤتمر جنيف الذي عقد في نهاية عام ١٩٧٣، ورحبنا بالبيان الامريكي السوفييتي المشترك الصادر في الاول من تشرين الاول ١٩٧٧ واعتبرنا اعلان الدول الاوروبية الصادر في الثالث عشر من حزيران ١٩٨٠ في البندقية خطوة ايجابية في الاتجاه الصحيح. وضمن هذا الاطار فقد رحبنا بالدعوة السوفييتية لعقد مؤتمر دولي لبحث القضية بمشاركة جميع الاطراف

المعنية بالنزاع بما فيها منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية على قدم المساواة مع الاطراف الاخرى بصفتها الممثل الشرعي الوحيد للشعب الفلسطيني .

السيد الرئيس :

ان موقف الاردن مستند الى المبادىء القومية التي اقرتها مؤتمرات القمة العربية في بغداد وتونس وعمان والتي اكدت ان العرب طلاب حق وعدالة وسلام ويبذلون كل جهد مستطاع لتحقيق السلام العادل الشامل الدائم في منطقة الشرق الاوسط وفق المبادىء الاساسية الواردة في قرارات الامم المتحدة ومجلس الامن التي تنص على جلاء قوات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي من كامل الاراضي العربية المحتلة عام ١٩٦٧ وفي مقدمتها مدينة القدس العربية وضمان الحقوق الوطنية المشروعة للشعب العربي الفلسطيني وحقه في تقرير مصيره ومستقبله وبناء دولته المستقلة على ارض وطنه وضمان امن دول المنطقة واستقرارها .

السيد الرئيس :

وانطلاقا من هذه النظرة الواضحة الايجابية التي تتعاون مع كل جهد مخلص يساهم في ايجاد حل عادل شامل لقضية فلسطين والشرق الاوسط فقد رفضنا كل جهد وسعي يهدف الى حلول جزئية أو الى تفرد دولة واحدة بمساعي الحل حتى تجيء الامور في مصلحة طرف واحد . ومن هنا كان رفضنا الصريح المستمر لنهج اتفاقيات كامب ديفيد التي تجاهلت جوهر القضية وتنكرت لابسط الحقوق الوطنية الثابتة للشعب الفلسطيني وقصرت عن تحقيق الحد الادنى من العناصر الاساسية اللازمة لاية تسوية شاملة عادلة بحيث جاءت هذه الاتفاقيات منسجمة مع اطماع اسرائيل وساعدتها على الاستمرار في تجاهل قرارات الجمعية العامة ومجلس الامن الذي يفترض ان تكون قراراته ملزمة للدول كافة .

السيد الرئيس :

وثمة موضوع آخر يتعلق بأمن المنطقة التي نعيش فيها واستقرارها ، واقصد بذلك الحرب الدائرة بين العراق وايران التي يشعر الاردن بالألم حيالها لوقوعها بين بلدين اسلاميين . وان الاردن انطلاقا من تمسكه بميثاق الامم المتحدة والقوانين والاعراف الدولية والتزامه القومي الواضح ، يقف مع العراق الشقيق في الدفاع عن ترابه الوطني وحقوقه الوطنية المشروعة في ارضه ومياهه ، كما يقف مع الحقوق العربية في منطقة الخليج . ويأمل في ان تتجاوب جمهورية ايران الاسلامية مع عروض العراق ، ومساعي الخير التي تقوم بها الجهات الاسلامية ، والدولية

وخاصة مبعوث الامين العام للامم المتحدة ، ومجموعة دول عدم الانحياز ، لايجاد تسوية عادلة تحقن الدماء ، وتوقف الدمار ، وتعطي كل ذي حق حقه ، وتبني سياسة حسن الجوار ، وترسي دعائم عدم التدخل في الشؤون الداخلية للدول على اساس الشرعية الدولية .

السيد الرئيس :

اننا نقدر حق القدر القرارات الايجابية التي اقرتها المجموعات الدولية المختلفة كمجموعة الدول الاسلامية ودول عدم الانحياز ومنظمة الوحدة الافريقية والدول الاخرى المحبة للسلام الاعضاء في هذه الجمعية سواء من خلال مؤتمراتها الاقليمية الخاصة او من خلال مواقفها في هذه الجمعية الموقرة ونعتبر ذلك سندا اساسيا لشرعية حقوقنا وعدالتها . اننا نرى في هذه المواقف ادانة صريحة لاسرائيل بانها الجهة التي تقيم العقبات في طريق تحقيق السلام .

سيدي الرئيس :

مما لا شك فيه ان امن العالم وسلامته باتا يعتمدان اعتمادا اساسيا على امن واستقرار منطقة الشرق الاوسط ، وان سمح لعدم الاستقرار فيها ان يستمر فانه دون مبالغة ، سوف يهدد الانسانية بالهلاك نظرا لتصارع القوى الكبرى للسيطرة على منطقتنا الحيوية ، واذا كان للانسانية ان تستحق وصفها بالمدنية والحضارة فلا بد للمبادىء الانسانية ان تكون حجر الزاوية لها . لذلك لا بد من « اعلان دولي لمبادىء انسانية » يحكم علاقات الدول والامم بعضها ببعض ، في السلم والحرب وينظم ما يترتب من واجبات على دول العالم في حل مشاكل اللاجئين والعبودية والفقر والارهاب والاغاثة وغيرها من الويلات التي تعتري مسيرة الانسانية نحو مستقبل آمن مزدهر .

أو ليس من المستطاع اذن تحقيق « نظام انساني عالمي » بصياغة اعلان يتضمن المبادىء الاساسية للتعامل الانساني بين شعوب العالم ودوله؟ فكما اصبح اعلان الامم المتحدة لحقوق الانسان لعام ١٩٤٨ مرتكزا لعدد من المبادىء القانونية والمواثيق الدولية فمن الممكن ان يصبح هذا الاعلان الشامل للمبادىء الانسانية اللبنة التي تفتقر اليها الاسس التي تتحكم بتعامل الدول وعلاقاتها .

ان الاردن يا سيدي الرئيس ، على اتم استعداد للتعاون معكم ومع الجمعية العامة للامم المتحدة في بلورة هذه الفكرة وابراز مثل هذا الاعلان الى حيز الوجود .

وشكرا لكم والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ،

كلمة

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

رئيس مجلس أمناء منتدى الفكر العربي

في الأجتماع الثاني لمجلس أمناء المنتدى

البحرين: ٢١ – ٢٢ تشرين الأول ١٩٨١

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سمو الشيخ حمد ، اخواني الزملاء الأكارم :

يسعدني أن أستهل الاجتماع الثاني لمجلس أمناء منتدى الفكر العربي بأن أتقدم باسمكم الى سمو أمير دولة البحرين الشيخ عيسى بن خليفة المعظم بخالص التحيّة وصادق الاجلال وعميق الشكر على رعاية البحرين الشقيق لهذا الاجتماع ، وتأتي هذه الرعاية الكريمة في اطار الجهد الخيّر الذي يبذله المسؤولون في هذا البلد ، بقيادة سمو الأمير ، حتى أصبح البحرين « ورشة » تنمية واعمار ، ومصباحا من مصابيح الفكر المضيئة في منطقتنا العربية .

وأود أيضا أن أتقدم الى سمو الشيخ حمد بالشكر والعرفان لدعوته في الاجتماع التأسيسي لمنتدى مجلس الأمناء كي يعقد اجتماعه الثاني في البحرين . ولهذه الدعوة الكريمة أكثر من مدلول ، يهمني أن استفرد منها حماسة الشيخ حمد للمنتدى وتأييده لأهدافه وايمانه بمستقبله . وقد تجلّى كل ذلك في الاعداد المحكم لهذا اللقاء وما يحاط به من الحفاوة البالغة وأجواء العمل المثمر والانتاج المجزي .

لقد انقضى على تأسيس المنتدى أكثر من نصف عام ، ويسعدني أن أرى البذرة التي غرست في العقبة تنمو وتورق وتمتد جذورها في الأرض ، فقد قطع المنتدى شوطا لا بأس به من حيث بلورة أهدافه وفي تجنيدكم واخوان لكم كمفكرين عرب ، لبحث قضايا أمتنا الملحة وتحدياتها الخطيرة .

وآمل أن ننتهي سريعا من اكمال البنيان الاداري للمنتدى من حيث اقرار لوائحه الداخلية وموازنته السنوية ومظاهر شخصيته المستقلة ، وأساليب حياته . ومن ثم نمضي في اداء الواجب الأهم ، وهو بحث برنامج عمله ، في المستقبل القريب ، لنضع المنتدى في موقع متميز على خارطة الفكر العربي والفكر الدولي معا .

لم أستغرب رد الفعل لتأسيس المنتدى الذي تلقيته من عديد المؤسسات الفكرية الأجنبية ، والصدى الايجابي الذي جاء من عديد المفكرين العرب في الخارج . ذلك أن هذه المؤسسات وهؤلاء المفكرين كانوا يشعرون بالفجوة القائمة بين الفكر العربي والفكر الانساني ، ويتطلعون الى منبر فكري عربي يتحاورون فيه ومعه دون حرج أو تعقيدات رسمية . وهكذا تلقيت الدعوات من مؤسسات أوروبية لعقد اللقاءات الفكرية حول موضوعات تتصدر اهتماماتنا ومشاغلنا . وربما كان اندفاعي لوضع المنتدى في جو العمل المنتج خلف الرد الأيجابي السريع على

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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هذه الدعوات . ويبقى الأمر كله منوطا بالقرارات التي سيتخذها مجلسكم الموقر عند بحثه لبرنامج العمل المقترح .

ولا بد من الاشارة هنا الى أمرين أساسيين : -

أولهما : أن منتدانا لن يعيش بمعزل عن التطورات المؤسسية والفكرية في عالمنا العربي ، وقد ظهرت فيه على المستوى القطري والاقليمي مؤسسات رسمية نقدرها حق قدرها ، وسنبني معها جسور التعاون الوثيق ، وسنعتمد على نتائج أعمالها ، ونضع تحت تصرفها خلاصة جهود المنتدى . ولعلّنا نتفق منذ البداية بأن منتدانا واحة فكرية تكمل هذه المؤسسات وتشكل جزءا لا يتجزأ منها .

وثانيهما :- أن الفكر العربي يجب ألاّ ينفصل عن « الوجه العربي » في الخارج . فقد حلا للبعض ، ولا سيما لأبواق الدعاية الصهيونية ، أن يرسموا للعرب وجها سماته الأساسية أسعار البترول المتزايدة ورؤوس الأموال الساخنة ، وتتناسى هذه الصورة المتحيّزة أن منطقتنا مهبط الوحي ومهد الحضارة والتشريعات الانسانية ، وأن في هذه المنطقة شعوبا توّاقة لممارسة حرّيتها وحقوقها الانسانية بأبسط صورها بما في ذلك حق تقرير المصير والسيادة الكاملة على مقدراتها وثرواتها . وما تزال هذه الأبواق تتناسى أن الدول الصناعية المتقدمة قد حققت ازدهارها ورخاءها ، بعد الحرب الكونية الثانية ، بالبترول العربي الرخيص . وأن مساهمة الدول العربية البترولية في تدفق رأس المال الى الدول النامية ، مباشرة أو من خلال المؤسسات المالية الدولية ، تفوق ، من حيث نسبتها الى الدخل القومي ، مساهمة هذه الدول الصناعية . وتتناسى أيضا أن سعي الدول العربية المعنية لانجاح حوار الشمال والجنوب ، والجنوب الجنوب ، سعي حثيث مخلص لتحقيق نظام اقتصادي دولي أكثر انسانية وأقرب الى العدالة . ان نقل « الوجه العربي » الصحيح الى العالم الخارجي يعتمد الى حد كبير على الفكر العربي الموضوعي الذي يثبت وجوده في جميع المحافل والمنابر العامة والخاصة . وآمل أن يمهد المنتدى لاداء هذه المهمة الجليلة .

ان منطقتنا العربية تمر بالتطورات والأحداث الجسام ، التي تنعكس آثارها على حياتنا ومستقبل أجيالنا . وقد ذر قرن الفرقة بين أنظمة الحكم في منطقتنا بحيث انشغلت هذه الأنظمة بالصراع فيما بينها عن الأخطار المحدقة بها . وأمست ردود الفعل فردية وانفعالية تفتقد فيها النظرة الشمولية العميقة والمصلحة العربية العليا . واذ تشيع هذه الأوضاع الأسى والحزن في نفوسنا ، لكنها لا يجب أن تشيع فيها اليأس والقنوط . ذلك أن اشتداد الأزمات وتزاحم الأخطار يبعثان في الأمم العريقة ، كأمتنا الماجدة ، قيمها الخالدة ، وقواها الكامنة ، وسائل دفاعها عن النفس . وأعتقد أن للفكر العربي دورا كبيرا في ايقاظ الضمائر ، وحفز الجهود ، وبناء حصون البقاء والنماء .

ويبدو لي أن أهم الأخطار المحدقة بأمتنا ، على سبيل المثال لا الحصر ، هي : -

- الاحتلال الاسرائيلي للأراضي العربية ، وامعان هذا الاحتلال في تحدّي الارادة الدولية والاعراف الانسانية ، والعمل على ابتلاع هذه الأراضي بما يستتبع ذلك من تحد عسكري وسياسي وعلمي واقتصادي لمقدساتنا وثقافتنا وحرّيتنا وأمننا . ومن واجب الفكر العربي أن يتعرّف الى هذه التحدّيات وأن يرسم السبيل السوي لمواجهتها . وقد أجري العديد من الدراسات حول هذا التحدي الكبير ، وكان لنا في الأردن جهد متواضع حول الجوانب الاقتصادية للعدوان الغاشم ، نأمل أن تتاح لنا فرصة عرضه على المنتدى ليرى فيه كبداية ما يشاء من حيث التركيز والتوسيع تمهيدا لرفعه الى صانعي القرارات العرب في اعلى المستويات .

٢ - الأمن الغذائي العربي من حيث تناقص الانتاج عن تلبية الطلب المحلي في جميع الدول العربية باستثناء السودان . وقد ارتفعت كلفة الاستيراد الغذائي الى (١٧) بليون دولار في أواخر السبعينات وستبلغ (٨٠) بليون دولار في أواخر التسعينات ، اذا استمرت معدلات الزيادة كما هي عليه الآن . ولا تتجلّى حقيقة هذا العجز الكبير في المواد الغذائية الأساسية بين قطاعات السكان . وفي ضوء هاتين الحقيقتين ، يخشى أن تتوقف الدول المصدرة للغذاء عن اطعامنا واطعام أجيالنا المقبلة الا باهدار استقلالنا السياسي وكرامتنا القومية ، كما يخشى أن يفضي سوء التوزيع الى الحقد الاجتماعي والارهاب السياسي ، وهكذا ، تحيط بمشكلة الغذاء في الوطن العربي جوانب متصلة بالتزويد والتوزيع من جهة وجوانب أخرى متصلة بالأمن السياسي والاجتماعي من جهة أخرى . وحري بالمنتدى أن يولي هذه المشكلة واسع اهتمامه ، وأن يبتدع بالتعاون مع الحكومات والمؤسسات العربية والضمير العربي بشكل عام وسائل زيادة الاعتماد الذاتي الجماعي العربي بما يكفل سد الحاجة وعدالة التوزيع . ويتصل بهذه الزيادة استغلال الموارد المائية استغلالا ناجعا ، ومكافأة المنتجين مكافأة مجزية .

٣ - وللعلم والتكنولوجيا دور كبير في الرقي بالانتاج النباتي والحيواني وحمايته وزيادته . وتتجاوز المسألة العلمية هذا المجال الى وضع الانسان العربي وجها لوجه أمام تحدّيات الطاقة النووية ، وما تضمره للعالم العربي ، والكون بأسره ، من شر مستطير اذا انطلقت من عقالها ، وقد رأينا حرص العدو الاسرائيلي على حرمان أي قطر عربي من السير في ركاب العلم حتى في أولى خطواته السلمية ، كما رأينا عناد الدول الصناعية في نقل التكنولوجيا الحديثة الى الدول النامية . وان في العالم العربي ذخيرة من العلماء والأجهزة والامكانات تعدنا بوضع السياسة العلمية العربية المشتركة بالأسود والأبيض ، والمضي في تطبيق هذه السياسة عمليا ، في المصانع والمزارع ودور البحث ، وبالتالي ، تسخير العلم في خدمة الانسان العربي والانسانية جمعاء .

هذه نماذج من قائمة المشكلات والتحديات الكبيرة التي تواجه أمتنا ، ولا بد أن تتوقع

مخاطرها أجيالنا والاجيال من بعدنا . ولا أود أن أطيل في سرد مفردات القائمة ، فكل منكم على علم بها وتيقن منها ، ولكل منكم أسلوبه الخاص في فهمها وتقدير أبعادها . وآمل أن نستطيع في هذا الاجتماع الوصول الى تعريف الأولويات والأسبقيات ليهتدي بها برنامج عمل المنتدى في المستقبل القريب . واذا أردتم أن يتبنى المنتدى شعار « الانتماء والانماء » بما يعني من الفخر بالانتماء لهذه الأمّة وتعزيز هذا الانتماء في نفس الانسان العربي واحاطته بكل أسباب التقدم والرخاء ، فليكن ذلك . لأن همنا الأجدى هو وعي الجوهر وتجويد الانجاز وخدمة الانسان العربي في كل مكان .

ولا أظنني أني هذا الاستهلال حقه ان لم أشر الى تقدم استراتيجية العمل العربي المشترك وعقد التنمية العربية منذ اتخذت قرارات القمة العربية في عمان بهذا الشأن وحتى هذه اللحظة . فقد أقر الملوك والرؤساء العرب خطة عربية مشتركة ، فاخر بها المشتركون في وضعها . ويمكن لذلك القول بأن هذه الخطة حظيت بمباركة جميع الدول العربية وتأييدها لأن هذه الخطة خير ما تفتق عنه الفكر العربي المشترك لتسريع التنمية الشاملة في الاقطار العربية كافّة . والسؤال الملح الذي يتحدّى الفكر العربي هو : لماذا مرّ عام طويل دون أن ترى الخطة نقلها الجادّ من حيّز الأمل الى حيّز العمل؟ ان الوقت الذي نستطيع العمل فيه محدود ، ويمر بنا بسرعة دوران الأرض حول الشمس ، فلماذا يضيع؟ ، أو لماذا نبدده؟ ، وهل هناك انفصام بين التخطيط العربي وتنفيذه في أوقاته المحددة؟ لا شك قطعا في قيمة التحدث عن المبادىء والأسس لتنظيم أي عمل عربي مشترك ، ولكنني أشك في هذه القيمة اذا أفضى التحدث الى تعطيل المشاريع المدروسة والمجدية والضرورية في أي بلد عربي ، غنيا كان أم فقيرا . ان مشروعات التنمية السعودية ، كما هي مشروعات التنمية التونسية ، خير للعرب أجمعين . وكل تقدم في أي قطر عربي يعكس آثاره الخيّرة على المواطنين العرب في كل مكان . وما دامت الارادة السياسية متوافرة ، والمخصصات مرصودة ، فان من الأفضل للأموال العربية أن تنفق في تنفيذ المشروعات الانمائية في الدول العربية النامية والأقل نموا . وكنت أود أن يكون تقديم مقترحات ايجابية لزيادة فعالية الاستراتيجية الاقتصادية العربية موضوعا لبحث ندوة مستعجلة يعقدها المنتدى ويرفدها الجهد العربي الفكري المتجانس وما زلت أعتقد أنكم ، كمفكرين عرب وذوي اطلاع واسع ، قادرون على ايلاء هذا الموضوع حقه من الدراسة وانارة الأذهان بشأنه .

سمو الشيخ ، أيها الزملاء الأكارم :

ان جو الأسرة العربية الفكرية الذي تحيطنا به سموكم وسلطات دولة البحرين الشقيق يطمعني في أن نضع في هذا الاجتماع القواعد الراسخة لبنيان منتدى الفكر العربي ، ونأمل أن يكون بنيانا قويا ومتراصّا وشامخا ، كما يطمعني أن نرسم السبيل السوي لعمل المنتدى ونشاطاته في المستقبل . ونأمل أن يكون هذا العمل ناجعا وأمينا ومثمرا . « ان يد الله مع الجماعة » ، وهو ولي التوفيق .

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ،،

كلمة

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

في ندوة المنتدى الانساني

التي عقدت في كلية الزراعة – الجامعة الاردنية

في الفترة ١١ – ١٢ تشرين الثاني ١٩٨١

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أيها الأصدقـاء ،

أرجو أن أبدأ معكم الحديث عن موضوع هذا اللقاء مباشرة .

وحتى لا يشدنا عنوان هذا اللقاء وهو «هل تعمل المادية على زيادة أو زوال حس الانتماء» الى حديث فلسفي بحت ، أرجو أن نناقش معا واقع مجتمعنا العربي وخاصة هنا في الأردن فيما يخص أثر (المادة) على سلوكنا الاجتماعي .

واذا جاز لي أن أقف هنا عند صدمة سياسية واجتماعية هزت المجتمع العربي في الخامس من حزيران عام ١٩٦٧ فانني أقول بان كثيرا من القيم والمبادىء التي سادت مجتمعنا طوال عقود من السنين عاشت في «أزمة» وان شعار «أن نكون أو لا نكون» مرّ في امتحان خاص وطويل اجتازه البعض وسقط فيه كثيرون .

لقد استطاع الأردن بقيادة جلالة الملك الحسين الذي نحتفل هذه الأيام بعيد ميلاده السعيد ، قبول التحدي واجتياز الامتحان واستطعنا النهوض من جديد ، وبناء الأردن الحديث واعادة ثقة الانسان الأردني بنفسه وبوطنه وبقيادته وبقضية أمته واعادة ثقة العالم بنا وبانساننا وتطلعاتنا الانسانية الحضارية .

منذ أن بدأت الدول النامية تأخذ الخطوات العملية نحو بناء اقتصادها واعادة صياغة مفاهيم مجتمعاتها خلال العقدين الماضيين وهي تحاول اعادة تقييم نظامها الاقتصادي . ولقد ورثت هذه الدول انظمة اقتصادية كانت اسيرة للدول الكبرى المستعمرة . والى أن نستطيع أن نغير هذا الواقع فستبقى هذه الدول معتمدة اقتصاديا على الدول الصناعية الكبرى بالرغم من استقلالها السياسي . وعملية اعادة التقييم هذه أصيبت مؤخرا بنكسة بسبب مشكلة التضخم التي ابتلينا بها من الدول الصناعية الكبرى وبسبب مشكلة الغذاء العالمية وبسبب الارتفاع الجنوني لأسعار الطاقة .

ونحن في الأردن كدولة نامية أخذنا نرسم خطط تطوير وتنمية لاستغلال ثروتنا الطبيعية في مختلف المجالات والمشاريع وكانت ثروتنا الاولى ولا تزال «الانسان» . وفي اعتقادي ان تجربتنا في المجالات الاقتصادية والتربوية قد نجحت الى حد ما بسبب اعتمادنا على عامل «الأنسان» والتي جعلتنا دولة مصدرة للقوى البشرية ، كما اتجهنا الى تطوير المجتمع على اعتبار ان «الانسان هو محور الجهد الاقتصادي» وليست المواد التي يستهلكها .

ومن هنا كان شعارنا لهذه المرحلة « الانتماء والانماء » لأنه بدون الالتصاق بهذا الوطن ، والايمان بهذه الأمة لا نستطيع التقدم والارتقاء وأخذ موقعنا تحت الشمس .

وهذا يقودني الى التساؤلات التالية :

(١) الى أي مدى نشعر بمسؤوليتنا نحو مظاهر الفقر والجوع والجهل والمرض المتفشية في العالم الثالث لا سيما في حزام الفقر الارضي ، الذي يعنون به تلك المناطق المتصلة مع بعضها البعض حيث يعيش الفقراء في معظم مناطق آسيا وأفريقيا واميركا الجنوبية .

(٢) مشكلة التضخم ، وينبثق عنها أحيانا في الأردن كبقية دول العالم واقع جديد أفرز شرائح اجتماعية همها الوحيد « المادة » وبالتالي خرجت عن المجتمع وزال حس الانتماء لديها ، وهذا يكشف واقع سلوك أفراد هذه الشرائح في المجتمع والتي تتمثل بالفساد والرشوة وحتى تشويه المبادىء والاخلاق تماما كالمدارس الفكرية التي ظهرت في المجتمع الياباني بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية والتي دعت للتوجه نحو الغرب واعتبار القيم والمبادىء السائدة في المجتمع بالية .

ان معدل الدخل الفردي في الاردن قد أظهر نموا ملحوظا خلال الاعوام الماضية . ومقارنة بدول العالم الاخرى ، فيجيء ترتيب معدل دخل الاردن في مرتبة السبعين من أصل ١٤٠ دولة وتسبقنا الدول الصناعية - والدول المصدرة للبترول وعدد من الدول النامية . ومن الظواهر الملحوظة للاقتصاد الاردني ارتفاع معدل الاستهلاك ، اذ بلغت نسبة الاستهلاك الخاص والعام الى الانتاج المحلي الاجمالي حوالى (١٢٣٪) في عام ١٩٨٠ ، أي أن الاردن يستهلك أكثر مما ينتج محليا . وتبلغ نسبة الاستهلاك الخاص وحده حوالى ٩٣٪ من الانتاج المحلي الاجمالي ، مقارنة بمعدل ٦٦٪ للدول النامية .
وهذا موضوع يجب أن ننتبه اليه ، وهو أن لا نصبح مجتمعا استهلاكيا فقط .

(٣) ما هو مفهوم الشاب والفتاة لقيمة العمل وقدسيته؟
هل العمل لغايات العمل فقط ، أم العمل من أجل المردود المادي ، أم العمل من أجل الابداع والمساهمة في بناء وتطوير المجتمع؟ وكذلك يثار التساؤل حول قيمة الوظيفة بالنسبة للموظف : هل هي مغنم أم مسؤولية .
ان الوظيفة هي مسؤولية وليست مغنما .

(٤) ما هو مفهوم الشاب والفتاة لخدمة العلم؟ وما هي نسبة المتقدمين طواعية للخدمة العسكرية؟ .

(٥) ما هو مفهوم أفراد مجتمعنا « لضريبة الدخل »؟ وما هي نسبة الملتزمين بتسديد الضرائب

المستحقة عليهم طواعية؟ اننا نعتقد أن الضريبة هي التزام واذعان من المواطن لما تقدمه الدولة له من فرص خدمات وأمن واستقرار.

(٦) ما هو المفهوم الحديث لدى الشباب عن العادات والتقاليد والتراث العربي الاسلامي في مجتمعنا وقد تكون «وثيقة السلط» مدخلا للمناقشة في هذا الموضوع.

(٧) العملية التربوية، التعليم والتربية معا. والمشاكل التي نعاني منها: ما هو مفهوم الشاب من التعليم وخصوصا التعليم الجامعي؟ بدأت في منطقتنا بعد حرب تشرين ١٩٧٣ والحظر البترولي الذي أدى الى ارتفاع اسعار النفط بشكل لا مثيل له ظاهرة «البترول والانشاء والاعمار» وأصبح الحاصل على شهادة الدكتوراه في الهندسة ملك الساحة وهذا يقودني الى سؤال - ماذا يريد الشاب من الشهادة الجامعية؟ هل هو اللقب الذي سيحصل عليه في نهاية الدراسة؟ أم هو العلم والمعرفة؟.

(٨) ما هي مقدرة شبابنا في استيعاب واستعمال اللغة العربية، استعمالها بطريقة خلاّقة سواء قراءة أم كتابة. وما هي نسبة الطلاب الذين يطالعون؟. هل نظرة طلابنا للمطالعة والدراسة هي فقط للنجاح في الامتحانات؟ وما هي نسبة الطلاب الذين يواظبون على المطالعة بعد التخرج من الجامعة؟ هذا وقد اعتبرت المساهمة عفوية اذا ما كانت مستندة الى واقع ملموس. وفي تقرير قرأته مؤخرا عن التعليم في الاردن يبين الضعف في النواحي اللغوية وجدت بعض النقاط الجديرة بالبحث وتتصل بما يلي: -

- عدم قدرة الطلبة على التعبير عن انفسهم وآرائهم.
- مستوى القراءة ضعيف. واعني المطالعة والرغبة بالقراءة وبناء الرصيد الفكري العلمي الديناميكي.
- عدم مقدرتهم على تطبيق ما تعلموه في الجامعة. اي ربط منهاج الجامعة مع منهاج الحياة.
- عدم مقدرتهم على فهم المدرّس.
- مستوى الكتابة ضعيف وكذلك الاملاء ضعيف.

هذا بعض ما يجول في نفسي عن العملية التربوية.

(٩) ما هو مفهومنا للتاريخ والتراث العربي الاسلامي؟ وهل هنالك اهتمام كاف بتاريخنا وتراثنا الحضاري فتقارير الزائرين للجامعات والمؤسسات التعليمية في الأردن تشير الى أن هنالك عدم اهتمام بين طلابنا بتاريخنا وتراثنا، تراثنا وحضارتنا التي نقل الغرب عنها الكثير والتي فتحت آفاق العلم والمعرفة أمام الغرب. والمعذرة اذا ما طرحت بعض الافكار وان كانت لا تعكس تصوري وانما هي صورة مطبوعة عن مجتمعنا في الغرب.

فيقول تقرير قرأته مؤخرا «بأن العرب يشعرون بالراحة عندما يغادرون دولهم الى الغرب لان بعض مجتمعاتهم ما زالت متزمتة وما زال فيها الكثير من المواضيع التي لا يستطيع الشاب التحدث فيها مثل - أمور العائلة والدين والحرية الشخصية. وعندما يذهب الشاب الى الغرب يشعر بانه يستطيع التحدث في هذه الامور بحرية وأنه يستطيع أن يفعل ما يريد - «وهذا يعكس عنده قيما مزدوجة» وعندما نقرأ عن شبابنا في الغرب، نسمع بابداعهم واعمالهم الخلاقة في الغرب ولكنهم ينطفأون في مجتمعاتهم بسبب بعض العادات المتزمتة والبالية. هذا لا يعني بالطبع أن نتخلى عن عاداتنا وقيمنا الجيدة وتراثنا لنتحلى بالعادات والتقاليد المستوردة ولكن علينا أن نقف لنفكر بهذه المشاكل التي تواجهنا.

(١٠) هل المفهوم المبسّط عند الشباب لمعنى الانتماء هو أخذ موقع بين النقيضين: - انكار الذات واشباع الرغبات بمعنى الالتزام بقضية من واقع الارتباط بالمصلحة العامة.

ان اشتراك شباب وفتيات اليوم في مناقشة هذه الأمور واتخاذ المواقف السليمة منها سيعيننا على بناء المستقبل الأفضل الذي نرتجيه لبلدنا. وذلك لأنهم سيكونون قادة هذا المستقبل، كما سيكونون من صانعيه. ولا شك ان حوارهم مع الشباب في الدول الأخرى سيوسع من آفاقهم. وعندما نحضّر الى عام ١٩٨٥ عام الشباب آمل أن يستطيع الشاب الاردني والشابة الأردنية أن يقدموا ما لديهم من مساهمة بناءة في التفكير الموضوعي لقضايا العصر والتعبير العلمي لتقاليد الأمة لكي نسير في منهجية العمل الحديث المطلوبة منا في أواخر القرن العشرين.

كلمة

سمو الامير حسن بن طلال

ولي العهد المعظم

في حفل

تخريج دورة القيادة والأركان الثانية والعشرين

المنعقدة في

كلية القيادة والأركان الملكية الاردنية

عمان ٢٥ تشرين ثاني ١٩٨١

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أيها الاخـوة الضباط

أيها الحفـل الكريـم

أحييكم تحية مباركة طيبة ، ويشرفني أن أقوم بتخريج هذه الدورة من دورات القيادة والاركان في هذه الكلية العليا ، نيابة عن صاحب الجلالة الحسين المعظم الموجود في فاس في مهمة قومية مع اخوانه الزعماء العرب . وأهنىء الأخوة الخريجين بما بذلوا من جهود ، وما حققوا من نجاح خلال هذه الدورة . وأعرب لهم ولمن قام بتعليمهم وأشرف على تدريبهم عن أعمق مشاعر تقديرنا واعتزازنا بهم جميعا ، وعن أملنا فيما سيقدمونه لبلادهم ولأمتهم العربية من أعمال البطولة والفداء ، وهم سياج الوطن ، وحماة أرضه ، المنافحون عنها ، المحررون لما اغتصبه منها العدو الغاشم .

وما هذا الفوج الا حلقة في سلسلة متلاحقة الايجاد تألفت حلقاتها من ضباط الجيش العربي الاردني وجنوده الذين ساروا على خطى الجيش العربي الهاشمي وواصلوا رسالته ، والذين كان لهم الدور البارز في تثبيت الحقوق العربية في الاستقلال ، وفي صيانة هذه البقعة من وطننا العربي ، وتماسك أركانها ، منذ سنة ألف وتسعمئة واثنتين وعشرين حتى اليوم . وهو دور لم يستوعب أبعاده تمام الاستيعاب كثير من رجال السياسة والفكر العسكري والاستراتيجي ، حتى من العرب أنفسهم ، ولم يقدروه حق قدره . وواجب الامانة والوفاء يقتضينا أن نعترف بالفضل لذويه .

لقد كان الجيش العربي الهاشمي ، خلال الفترة الحرجة من فترات اليقظة العربية (أي من سنة ألف وتسعمئة وثمانية الى سنة ألف وتسعمئة وثماني عشرة) بمثابة السلاح البتار في ايدي القوميين العرب ، والجمعيات والحركات القومية ، مثل « العهد » و « الفتاة » . ولقد كان التنسيق السياسي الذي أخذ مجراه في ظلال اتفاق دمشق (الذي أبرم سنة ألف وتسعمئة وخمس عشرة) هو الذي مكن للشريف الحسين بن علي طيّب الله ثراه ، وللقوميين العرب ، أن يحققوا عام ألف وتسعمئة وثمانية عشر استقلالا ، ما لبث أن اغتصبه الانجليز والفرنسيون ، وسلبوا العرب حقوقهم ، وتنكروا لما قطعوه لهم من عهود . وان هذا التنسيق المترابط ، في الميادين السياسية والعسكرية ، هو الذي مهّد الطريق أمام الجيوش العربية لتتقدم شمالا من الحجاز الى حلب .

وحين أسست امارة شرق الاردن على يدي المغفور له الامير عبد الله بن الحسين سنة ألف وتسعمئة واحدى وعشرين أسهم الجيش العربي الناشيء حينئذ اسهاما واضحا في تثبيت اركان الاستقرار ، ونشر الامن ، وترسيخ النظام والقانون ، خلال تلك الحقبة المضطربة التي أعقبت الحرب العالمية الاولى ، بالاضافة الى أنه أسهم ايضا في ابراز المعالم الواضحة للشخصية الاردنية ، والهوية الخاصة لهذه البقعة في اطار متكامل من الايمان بوحدة الامة العربية ووحدة وطنها . وقد استطاع هذا الموقف القوي الواضح أن يثبت امام الزمن ويتحدى العقبات . فاكتسب هذا الجيش الباسل بذلك احترام الناس وثقتهم ، وخاصة بما تميز به من نظام ونزاهة .

ورحم الله مؤسس هذه المملكة المغفور له عبد الله بن الحسين الذي وصف هذا الجيش أبلغ وصف بقوله :

« فأنت أيها الجيش حقا وريث الجيش المصطفوي ، وبقية المنافحين ، والخلف لذلك السلف : شجاعة ، ودربة وأخلاقا . ولولا الخلق الحسن ، والطاعة المغروسة في القلوب ، والانصراف الى حصر النفس في الجندية المحضة ، لما حاز أي جيش من الجيوش الظافرة مرماه ، ولا بلغ مناه . والجيش سياج المملكة ، وزين الامة ، ويد السلطة ، وفخر البلاد . والجيش هو الحصن الحصين ، والحرز المكين ، ما دام متصفا بصفات الرجولة والشجاعة والطاعة . »

واذا كان الدور الذي قام به الجيش العربي الاردني في الحروب العربية الاسرائيلية دورا متميزا وواضحا وضوحا يغني عن اعادة ذكره هنا ، والخوض في تفصيلاته ، فانه من الاهمية بحيث لا بد من استخلاص بعض العبر والدروس منه . ومن أمثلة ذلك :

ان نجاح الكتائب الاربع للجيش العربي في حرب ألف وتسعمئة وثمانية وأربعين يعود في أساسه الى حنكة القيادة الشخصية الاردنية والمقدرة الفنية في حين كانت المغالاة في الثقة بالنفس ، وضعف المقدرة الفنية سببا في بداية الهزيمة وضعف المعنويات لجيش الدفاع الاسرائيلي في حرب رمضان . وهذا يبرز أمامنا قيمة شخصية القيادة وما ترمز اليه من مثال وانموذج ، كما يبرز ضرورة أن يكون الجيش دائما على أهبة الاستعداد المهني والفني في جميع الظروف والاحوال ، دون تراخ .

وكذلك يبرز لنا أن تهاون الجيش - لا قدّر الله - في تحقيق ذلك - بعد أن أنفقت عليه أموال ضخمة لاعداده ، وتدريبه ، وتجهيزه - يؤدي الى الهزيمة واحتلال العدو للارض . وهنا تظهر ، على وجه خاص ، أهمية تكوين الأطر القيادية من الضباط لتحمل مسؤولياتهم نحو وطنهم وبني قومهم .

ان الاردن - بموقعه المتميز في القلب من دول المواجهة وعلى أطول خط من خطوطها - يقوم علاوة على ذلك ، ويقدم للامة العربية الشيء الكثير . من ذلك :

١ - أنه يمثل خط الدفاع الامامي للعراق الذي يقدم بدوره العمق الاستراتيجي لدول المواجهة العربية.

٢ - أنه يقدم الحماية للجناح السوري الجنوبي الذي يتمثل في مرتفعات الجولان، وهو جناح حساس معرض لطعنة نجلاء تقوم بها اسرائيل من خلال الجبهة الاردنية.

٣ - وكذلك يقدم الحماية للجبهة السعودية الشمالية الغربية (الحجاز والبحر الاحمر).

وهكذا ترون أن الاردن قد استعد لتحمل المسؤولية، بالرغم من غياب التنسيق بين الصفوف العربية، وغياب التنسيق العربي معضلة مزمنة لا بد من الاعتراف بها والتعايش معها، ولو الى حين.

ونستطيع أن نتصور المعالم الاساسية للدور الذي يتحتم القيام به خلال سنوات العقد الحالي، وهي سنوات حرجة، كما يلي:

١ - تقديم الدرع الواقي من أجل ضمان الوحدة السياسية، والمصلحة الاجتماعية الاقتصادية للشعب الاردني.

٢ - اتخاذ موقف الاستعداد والتهيؤ الكاملين، في جميع الظروف، وهو موقف يجب أن يلتزم به افراد الجيش العربي وتلتزم به ايضا الاستراتيجية العسكرية العربية بصورة عامة.

٣ - تقديم العون - عن رغبة وطواعية - للدول العربية، القريبة والبعيدة، التي تطلبه، سواء اتخذ ذلك العون صورة الدعم العسكري، أو المشورة الفنية، أو المساعدة في تدريب البعثات، أو غير ذلك.

ولا ريب أن القدرة على القيام بهذا الدور المتعدد الجوانب، والنجاح فيه، يعتمدان على ما يجب أن يتحلى به ضباط الجيش العربي الاردني من مقدرة فنية، ومزايا خلقية. وانكم لتحملون على عواتقكم - بصفتكم ضباط المستقبل وقادته - مسؤوليات ثقيلة، ولكنها مسؤوليات مشرفة، تتمثل في دفاعكم عن حمى وطنكم وعن قضيتكم العربية الشاملة.

لقد كانت الوحدة العربية دائما أولى أماني الثورة العربية، وان النظريات المجردة، البعيدة عن الواقع، والانتقادات الحماسية الوهمية، لا تحقق أية انجازات عملية، ولكن المثل الذي تضربونه ومقدرتكم المهنية والفنية، هما اللذان يحققان الانجاز على أرض الواقع. وأنتم مرجوون لتحمل أعباء القيادة، بالاضافة الى مسؤوليات التخطيط، والمثل الذي ستضربونه سيكون قدوة يحتذيها غيركم. وانني لعلى ثقة كاملة بانكم - أنتم يا ضباط الجيش العربي الاردني وقادته في المستقبل - لن تخيبوا الآمال العظيمة التي وضعتها بلادكم وأمتكم على أكتافكم.

واننا لنفتخر بكم فأنتم وأخوانكم أبناء القوات المسلحة بكافة قطاعاتها قرة العين للأمة ومدار الاعتزاز للوطن مترحمين على شهدائكم ومؤملين خير الآمال فيكم.

أكرر لكم التهنئة ولا سيما للاخوة أبناء الدول الشقيقة والصديقة، الذين شاركوا في هذه الدورة، وأفادوا بخبراتهم وتجاربهم زملاءهم فيها بقدر ما استفادوا أيضا منها، وأسأله تعالى أن يأخذ بيدكم جميعا ويحقق الرجاء المنوط بكم في ظل قيادتكم الحكيمة الشجاعة، قيادة الحسين، حفظه الله ورعاه.

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته،،

improving the picture that we have of each other. The need for this effort cannot be over-emphasized.

Secondly, a study of the future prospects for Africa, Europe and the Arab World, undertaken from the perspectives of these regions, jointly, is well justified. Futuristic studies of the world as a whole or of a specific region might exist. But we do need a joint study, with an effective participation of indigenous capabilities from our regions, of the choices and paths available to us from the economic, social and technological aspects. A possible time-frame could be to study the next twenty or thirty years. Hopefully this study will integrate the results of other efforts taken by the Encounter activities and at the same time demonstrate the feasibility of co-operation in an equitable manner.

Thirdly, I believe that the rapid scientific and technological change taking place necessitates that we take a common look at it, since it will change the existing social and economic structure in many ways. This rapid change can bring with it hope and progress, but sadly, if misused, it could lead to the opposite results. Furthermore, I believe that some specific areas of mutual interest, whether they be in the fields of energy, agriculture or the environment, could be studied on a joint basis, utilizing available human, technological and institutional resources existing in our regions. The exchange of this technical know-how would generate much goodwill and strengthen feelings of co-operation.

Mr. Chairman,

The importance we attach to cultural dialogue is not meant to belittle the contribution of other forms of dialogue, particularly in the political and economic fields. We view cultural dialogue as a process running in parallel with other forms of interaction.

In our search for a better future it is useful to keep in mind that the future is being made now. Our children will inherit a world with various structures, relations and institutions, mostly of the making of this or the previous generations. In this context it might be appropriate to quote from a report entitled 'The State of the Planet', prepared by the International Federation of Institutes for Advanced Study (IFIAS):-

> ''Success here probably depends less on the genius of scientists yet to be born, than on the wisdom of the people and their leaders in making a large series of wise decisions as to the type of world they wish to see and hence as to the directions of application of the new knowledge.''

It is my hope that we will succeed in making a start in formulating the important decisions to be taken.

Thank you.

In this regard, I would like to emphasize one cultural aspect, namely the image of the people of the Third World in general and Africans and Arabs in particular in the Western media. Distorted images and stereotypes are the rule rather than the exception. Mass media tactics and catchwords do not allow much for deep analysis, but through their consistent display of these stereotypes they implant false images deeply in the Western mind. Being irresponsible, lazy, unreliable are thus part of the cultural image of the people of the Third World. Individual acts of excess, whether of wealth or behaviour, are given undue attention while past and present achievements are in contrast overlooked. It is not surprising then that these popular attitudes are reflected, in a subtle way, in public policies towards the Third World. Calls for changing the 'inequitable international economic system' are dismissed in sophisticated reasoning and polite language, but the underlying theme could be 'Let them work harder and the situation will improve'; or even, 'They're asking to get something for nothing'. In fact, nothing could be further away from the truth than these themes.

It would be appropriate here to ponder on what Ibn Khaldoun, the Afro-Arab historian, who had close links with Europe while living in Spain, had written in his monumental book 'The Muqaddimah', or 'Introduction to History'.

> ''If the soul is infected with partisanship for a particular opinion or sect, it accepts without a moment's hesitation the information that is agreeable to it. Prejudice and partisanship obscure the critical faculty and preclude critical investigation. The result is that falsehoods are accepted and transmitted.''

Mr. Chairman,

If the diagnosis is a bit on the blunt side it is motivated by sincere feelings of trying to deal with the basic issues under consideration. And in these difficult times frankness and honest discussion built on mutual respect should be seen in a positive light particularly among people of intellect. I do not want to dwell on present and past conditions. My aim is to look for and to work for a better future, benefitting from the experience of the past in a concerted manner with our friends. In this regard, I believe that we should be working together towards achieving stronger and better links in the future.

I would like to emphasize the importance of three specific areas for potential joint activities which may well be under your consideration now.

First, I believe that the problem of cultural images should be studied by a multidisciplinary, multinational team as a basic stumbling block to true and meaningful co-operation. A comprehensive effort is needed by a dedicated team to analyze in-depth how these images are formed, their modes of transmission and how they can be corrected. I believe that participation as well as coverage should be comprehensive. Educators, mass media specialists, psychologists, sociologists and policy-makers might contribute to such a study. Hopefully, it would come out with specific recommendations aiming at

regard to the basic issues facing the Arab World, and its relations with the developing world as well as the international system. In an attempt to have the best that idealism and practicality can jointly offer, the Forum relies in its activities on both intellectuals and policy-makers.

A similar attempt at self-understanding has been going on in the Western side of the Arab World and in the North-Western tip of Africa, in Asilah, Morocco. A group of African intellectuals have decided to establish the Afro-Arab Forum to facilitate the exchange of ideas among African and Arab intellectuals and to intensify their awareness of each other's roots and to rediscover their past in an attempt to know their present and plan for their future. It was my privilege to have met with President Leopold Senghor and with some African intellectuals a few days ago in Amman. We both agreed, in response to the desire of the participants of the Second Meeting of the Afro-Arab Forum, to act as co-Presidents of the Founding Committee of the Forum. In our discussions there was a wide agreement on the need for the intensification of Afro-Arab cultural co-operation as a prerequisite for the success of the official Afro- Arab dialogue and for the political and economic survival of the countries in our region. We agreed that Afro-Arab co-operation cannot be reduced to the use of financing surpluses and mineral resources; rather, it is concerned with mental attitudes and exchanges of opinion towards a common assessment of global problems.

Mr. Chairman,

It was also agreed that Afro-Arab co-operation must be seen in a humanistic perspective, devoted to the building of peace and socio-economic development of peoples with due recognition of their freedom and dignity.

Hence, the Third Afro- Arab Forum meeting, which will be held in Asilah in August 1982, will deal with Afro-Arab co-operation and the New Humanitarian and Cultural World Orders. This reflects the calls by President Senghor for a new International Cultural Order based on mutual respect and exchanges between cultures, as well as my call for the establishment of a new International Humanitarian Order to govern relations between nations and peoples in time of peace.

I firmly believe that our efforts in the Afro-Arab context, towards a better understanding of ourselves, will in the end contribute positively to our relations with the North in general and Europe in particular. We do not view the countries of the North as adversaries; rather, we see our relation as one of partnership, albeit an unbalanced one. The results of this condition are present in all spheres of life. I would like to emphasize here that the most effective way to handle this situation is through a deep inspection of the cultural causes which brought about such an outcome. This is certainly a prerequisite to devising suitable policies and solutions. It is not a short-term process but it has to be followed with dedication and determination. We realize that cultural values and perceptions cannot be modified over-night. But the sooner we pay due attention to this important matter the better it will be for us all.

roots of Afro-Arab relations go back deep into history and they were evident through various periods only to be weakened through colonial rule. The historical links between East, West and Central Africa and the Arab World are well-known through the ancient and more recent periods. As a matter of fact our grandfathers knew more about Africa than we do.

The geographical links between Africa and the Arab World have also played an important role in shaping the destiny and close relations of our peoples.

The present time witnesses common interests and aspirations of our peoples. History and geography have combined to give a common set of experiences, hopes, constraints and worries. It is interesting to note the striking similarity in the worries expressed in the Arab World and Africa about their security. Each region is threatened by an alien entity emanating from the colonial past. Israel and South Africa are seen by the peoples as outposts transplanted from the West to protect its own interests without giving due regard to the rights and security of others. Existing and planned 'Bantustans' are a clear evidence of this condition. Furthermore, the division of both the Arab World and Africa, and the attempts at further balkanization, are seen as a direct outcome of Western supported actions aimed at dividing these vital regions.

Political independence has removed some forms of domination but by no means every form. The countries of the South have in general looked towards each other to strengthen co-operation and build bases for mutual self-reliance, not as a form of severing their links with the North but as a natural expression of their identities. Hence the feeling of mutual interests and unity of goals. Accordingly, one can look at the Arab World and Africa as one entity in the same vein as one would look at Europe. This by no means assumes a homogeneous cultural unit but it allows for differentiation and variety which spring from a basic common source. Even in Europe one finds varying cultural forms and attitudes, between Northern and Southern Europe or between Eastern and Western Europe.

The closeness of Africa and the Arab World is not meant to weaken their links with Europe. I have presented some aspects to show the commonality of goals and similarity of experience between Africa and the Arab World in an attempt to pinpoint basic facts which do not coincide with conventional wisdom. It is my belief that these factors, if duly recognized, would contribute to the success of this pioneering endeavour.

Mr. Chairman,

Many centuries ago it was said ''Know Thyself''. Today we find this saying to be of the utmost relevance both in the Arab and African contexts. It was out of an urgent need to know ourselves better, and hence the world around us, that the Arab Thought Forum was established in Jordan about a year ago. The 'Forum's objectives centre around developing contemporary Arab thought with

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Participants,

I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to present my views on a subject of importance to us all. Encounters Between the Cultural Communities of Africa, Europe and the Arab World is an appropriate title for an endeavour aimed at bringing the people of these regions closer together. I would also like to express my thanks and appreciation to the organizers of this meeting and to those who visualized this noble idea and helped to make a beginning in a new approach in cultural dialogue. I hope that this meeting will contribute in a tangible way towards increasing awareness of the aspirations and frustrations faced by each cultural group.

I think we should all make the best out of this opportunity to present our views, to express our hopes and to listen to the aspirations of others; to state the constraints we face and listen with empathy to each other's difficulties. However, our gain will be maximised if we do this in an atmosphere of frankness and goodwill.

In these times when one hears of economic motivations governing international affairs, I hope to express our idea about these encounters by first stating what they are not about. Co-operation between Europe, Africa and the Arab World should not be equated with the use of Arab surplus funds to finance projects to exploit African natural resources for European markets or companies. Rather, it should be a serious attempt to reach to the roots of human interaction and to try to uncover the bases on which our perceptions of each other are built. The picture we might find could be an unpleasant one but this in itself is a useful exercise. Whether we are aware of our perceptions or they are expressed subconsciously, they still motivate our actions in the political, social and economic fields.

The on-going attempts to achieve a meaningful dialogue in our divided world between the North and the South form the background against which we relate the various attempts at international and interregional dialogue. These attempts cannot be separated from the international context. I believe it is obvious now that the unbalanced international system is in need of big changes which cannot be brought about by time alone. The people of the Third World rightly feel that the present framework of the international system is not very conducive to their development. The attempts at North/South as well as South/South Dialogue and co-operation are manifestations of the strong desire to eliminate gross inequities through constructive means and to strengthen self-reliance among the countries of the South.

Mr. Chairman,

Africa and the Arab World are an integral part of the South and the links of the past, as well as the present, justify looking at them as a unit. In this context, this meeting on Europe, Africa and the Arab World in fact represents two entities rather than three. It is interesting to note that four out of every five Arabs are Africans. Further, over 30% of the land of Africa is inhabited by Arabs. The

SPEECH

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL

OF

THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

AT

THE SYMPOSIUM

ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN THE CULTURAL COMMUNITIES OF
AFRICA, EUROPE AND THE ARAB WORLD

ON

''TOWARDS A DIALOGUE OF CULTURES''

AVIGNON, FRANCE
MONDAY, 22 MARCH, 1982

need to make larger investments in both human and physical terms and to create the proper environment for conducting research. Similarly, incentives have to be instituted to attract Arab scientists working abroad. As regards Arab-European cooperation in this field, opportunities abound for both the private and public sectors. Cooperation in research and development to solve problems of interest to both sides could be undertaken on a joint basis.

The thoughts about the next two decades that I have presented to you reflect the deep convictions of the people in our area about their future needs. The Arab world looks to the next two decades as a period where it can achieve some of its ambitions for progress and security. It is no secret that amidst the exaggerated claims of Arab wealth, most Arabs feel that they own nominal, rather than real wealth--figures rather than funds. The task ahead is to cooperate effectively in order to achieve tangible progress for all the people in our region and beyond.

I believe that this gathering presents us with an opportunity for a better understanding of each other's concerns, interests and outlooks. At the conclusion of my remarks, I would like to extend my thanks and appreciation to the organisers of this Symposium and to say, ''Thank you indeed for allowing all of us the opportunity to know more about each other''.

During the next two decades, oil will continue to play a leading role on the world energy scene. However, it is hoped that by the end of the century, alternative energy sources will be making a palpable contribution to world energy supplies. This is a matter of significance to the Arab countries. For one thing, not all of them are oil-producers; Jordan, for example, imports all of its energy requirements. Another reason is that oil demand is rising rapidly within the Arab world itself, and alternative energy sources would contribute towards a balanced energy mix.

Industrialization will occupy a special role in the development of the Arab world in the next twenty years. Currently, the manufacturing sector contributes, on average, about 6% of the Gross Domestic Product of the Arab countries. This sector has a rather good growth potential. The market for manufactured goods is growing rapidly, the required labour force exists and the capital resources needed for the huge investments are available. The problem, as in other sectors, is that factors-like capital, exist in some countries; while other factors-like labour are abundant in others. A major effort is needed to direct part of the Arab surplus funds into manufacturing projects in the capital-short economies of the region.

The opportunity for cooperation in this sector is also present on the European side. This could take several forms-including joint ventures and the supply of technical and managerial know-how. The comparative interest of both sides should be taken into consideration in establishing projects to serve the markets of both Europe and the Arab world.

Human resources are the base on which all progress is built, and the development of Arab human resources will receive increasing emphasis. There is at present a shortage of skilled workers and technicians in most Arab countries, even those with a labour surplus. With the high rate of population growth, a comprehensive set of programmes and projects has to be devised in order to provide employment opportunities to millions of Arab workers who are expected to enter the labour market for the first time. Similarly, there is a need to upgrade the skills of the current labour force. The next two decades, therefore, will witness an emphasis on vocational and technical education. Moreover , there is a need to coordinate manpower policies among all Arab countries.

Scientific and technological progress is a high-priority requirement in the Arab world. Policy-makers in our region are well aware that, although we are consumers of the products of scientific and technological progress, we hardly contribute to this progress. It is estimated that about $5 billion are spent annually by the Arab world on technical studies for projects; yet, the local contribution with regard to conducting such studies is quite negligible.

The Arab world does not lack trained scientists and engineers capable of performing research and development work of an advanced calibre. However, largely due to the lack of opportunities, there has been a sizeable brain-drain, with several thousand highly trained scientists and engineers leaving for the Western countries. In order for us to tackle the technological challenge, we

Such a movement on both sides will be seen as a commitment to building a strong and enduring relationship. The industrialization of the Arab world should not be viewed as a hindrance or a threat to trade. Rather prosperity and development on both sides of the Mediterranean will be an added ingredient of stability for our two regions.

The accumulation of surplus funds by some oil-exporting Arab states, the increasing level of migration of Arab workers to the Gulf region and the widening income gaps among different countries have demonstrated that stop-gap measures and ad-hoc projects will not put an end to the imbalances and under-development which prevail in the Arab world. The joint Arab Economic Strategy and the Arab Development Decade adopted by the Arab Summit of Amman in 1980 offer a new and concerted approach to meeting these major economic problems as well as to developing the Arab economies in a more balanced fashion, both among countries and among sectors.

The Arab Strategy has outlined a broad framework of joint Arab action, including priorities and mechanisms. Arab development planners and policy makers have become aware of a common set of priorities, dictated by common constraints and ambitions. These priorities include food and agriculture, rural and urban development, industrialization, energy and manpower development.

Agriculture and food have received increasing attention in our region, as agricultural production has not kept up with demand. In some Arab countries, per capita food production in the past decade has actually decreased. Overall, the Arab countries have to import an increasing percentage of their food needs. This fact calls for serious concern, and there is a growing awareness that the food security of our region is threatened unless prompt measures are taken.

While climatic conditions are not very suitable for agricultural development, there exists sufficient resources to increase agricultural production and avert a serious food shortage. It is estimated that there are more than 80 million hectares of potentially arable land in the Arab world--mostly in the Sudan--which are not currently utilized. The development of these areas and of available water resources requires a large effort and a sizeable infusion of capital and know-how. We believe that this field in particular, offers a promising area for co-operation between the European and the Arab sides. The potential for joint ventures exists and the next two decades, we believe, will offer challenging and rewarding opportunities for those interested in agricultural and water-resource development in the Arab world.

Energy occupies a central position in the economies of the Arab countries and will continue to play a dominant role over the next two decades. The Arab oil producers have been pumping more oil than required for their own development. As a matter of fact, Saudi Arabia has increased her oil production to make up for production losses due to the war in the Gulf region. The OAPEC countries, as a whole, are providing about 16% of world primary energy needs even though they have only about 8% of total conventional energy sources.

projected in Europe and the United States is grossly distorted. The mass media plays a part in that. Positive national achievements are often overlooked and individual acts are over-exposed. While this might partly stem from the view held by some that good news is no news, we feel that the damage such practices produce should be counter-acted. Without mutual respect and trust, a lasting relationship between Europe and the Arab world cannot be built.

Having dealt with two non-economic issues of utmost importance to the Arab world, I would like to turn now to the economic field.

The major economic question over the next two decades will be the integration of the various Arab economies into a balanced regional economic grouping, with proper utilization of available resources.

The large discrepancies in the economies of the various countries have to be narrowed in a careful and well-planned manner. It is a sign of the contradictions in the structure of Arab economies that some of them have per capita income levels well above those of most industrialized countries, whereas others are classified within the low-income category of the developing countries.

Furthermore, the Arab economies are oriented towards trade with other regions while inter-Arab economic exchange remains relatively minor. Inter-Arab imports amounted to less than 13% of total Arab imports in 1976, and this declined to about 8% in 1979.

External trade in the Arab world has been relatively free from restrictions. The value of competition is accepted and the benefits of free trade are readily acknowledged. However, events in the 'seventies affected our trade pattern in a noticeable way. A heavy tilt towards economies outside the region has been created and has resulted in a diversion of trade from within the region to the outside. These conditions combined have weakened the Arab Common Market and the long hoped-for complementarities within the region. Policy-makers have found that the objectives they have been pursuing for a long time were now relatively beyond their control.

Consequently, there has been a call in the Arab world for some protective measures. Many believe that while trade has delivered the goods, it has not delivered any technological know-how, and that the Arab world cannot go on exporting a depletable resource to import goods used mostly for consumption purposes.

One possible way of increasing inter-Arab trade is through intensifying the establishment of productive joint Arab ventures. A good number of such ventures are already in existence. As far back as 1976, there were more than 237, with a capital of about $19 billion. A welcome aspect of this development is the fact that there were also 190 joint Arab international projects with a capital of about $13 billion and that 68% of all ventures are located in the Arab world itself.

In order to strengthen Arab-European trade and sustain it on a mutually favourable basis, we believe that more should be done in the area of joint ventures, which would in turn add to the technological know-how of the region.

confronting us. Our region is facing challenges in the political, economic, and cultural fields. These challenges are of such a magnitude that they threaten the stability and even the survival of the Arab world as an independent and prosperous region. The next two decades will be the time for meeting these challenges and it is no exaggeration to say that the degree of progress achieved will have a crucial impact on our region and the world.

The foremost challenge is the achievement of a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem. Stability and peace are the cornerstones of any progress. It is futile to talk about development, per capita income increases, scientific and technological activities and their concomitant perspectives in isolation of the insecurity engulfing the people of the region due to Israel's intransigence. Any progress achieved will be hostage to Israel's belligerency.

For more than fourteen years, Israel has been occupying Arab territories. It has continually violated international law and practices and stirred unrest in the region. Its policy on the West Bank of Jordan has been one of economic domination and exploitation of the human and material resources of the occupied territories. To date, Israel has confiscated about 38% of the total West Bank area for colonization and alleged security purposes and has handed these lands to the Jewish settlers, who now account for 14% of the population of the occupied Arab West Bank. The recent Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, is further evidence of Israel's flagrant violation of international law and its threat to regional and world peace.

It is our firm belief that the establishment of peace in the Middle East is necessary for achieving international peace and security. In this age of growing interdependence and shrinking distances, what affects the Middle East will affect Europe and beyond. The heart of the Middle East problem, as everyone knows, is the question of the people and the land of Palestine.

Any attempt to evade this basic fact will lead to failure as far as a comprehensive solution is concerned.

It will foment instability in the area by raising false hopes of peace while perpetuating injustice. The basis of any lasting and just solution is the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to determine their own future on their own land of Palestine. It is only realistic to say that the degree of socio-economic progress that will be achieved in our region will be largely determined by progress achieved in solving this problem.

Another area of challenge and growing concern to us is one of building relations with other regions on the basis of mutual respect and in a spirit of sustained co-operation. The way that people in any region perceive and understand the hopes, conditions and problems of another region will have an important impact on the development of relations between these regions. The mass media plays a crucial role in projecting the image of other peoples as well as in the formation of attitudes and the assumption of potential positions towards them. It is no secret that we in the Arab world feel that our image as

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE ARAB WORLD BY THE YEAR 2000

It is with appreciation and pleasure that I present these thoughts to your distinguished gathering. Speaking about perspectives for the Arab world by the year 2000 in the short time available is not an easy task and requires a lot of simplification. So I will try to simplify and keep it short.

At the same time, I will be selective and will deal with only a few major issues now facing the Arab world. It is my hope that by confining our attention to such a restricted perspective, your interests might be aroused to further investigate some of the points I intend to raise.

In order to relate our future perspectives to our present situation, I would like to touch briefly on certain aspects of the Arab scene today.

To the south of Europe, the Arab world, with an area of about 14 million square kilometres, lies at a strategic crossroads of the world. It is a reservoir of hydrocarbons which holds about 53% of the proven world reserves of oil. The people themselves number about 160 million living in twenty-one states, all members of the Arab League.

The population of the Arab world is relatively young, half of it is below the age of 20 years. It is increasing rapidly and is expected to reach about 300 million in the year 2000. Obviously, this high growth rate, together with migration within the region, will intensify the problems faced by the cities and urban areas. Large investments in services such as education, health, housing and general infrastructure will be needed.

Furthermore, there will be an urgent need to create about 14 million jobs in the next ten years.

During the seventies, the Arab world achieved notable economic growth despite some structural imbalances. In real terms, the average annual growth rate of the Gross Domestic Product for the period 1970-1977 was about 7.2% a year. In 1980, the per capita income level in the Arab states as a whole reached $2,500. During the five years ending in 1980, gross public and private capital formation was estimated at $300 billion, averaging about 20% of our Gross Domestic Product. There is also a noticeable differential in the per capita income levels of individual Arab states: $ 370 for the Sudan and $7,280 for Saudi Arabia in 1979. While these indicators reflect the weight of oil revenues in the Arab oil-producing states, they also underscore the absorptive capacity of the Arab economies and the vast opportunities for progress.

Progress was also noticeable in the social and educational fields. School enrollment and university education expanded significantly during the seventies. It is noteworthy that medical education has grown rapidly. One indicator of this is that 40% of all Arab medical schools were established in the seventies. The progress achieved, however, still falls short of solving the serious problems

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ing some of the outstanding issues, much remains to be discussed and implemented. In particular, international economic institutions are in need of urgent reform. The industrialized countries cannot continue to dominate these institutions and expect full co-operation of countries with financial surpluses. Obviously, new set-ups and roles have to be devised to give the developing countries a fair share in the decision-making process.

Recent years have witnessed closer co-operation between Europe and the Arab world. The Euro-Arab dialogue was started as a serious attempt to strengthen existing ties between the two regions and to build them on a basis of mutual co-operation and understanding. However, this dialogue has not yet produced the hoped for results.

While both sides can still do more in this regard, some allegations are made now and then concerning the seriousness of the European side. The Europeans want to confine the dialogue to economic as against political issues. The critics assert that not only has the European Community linked political and economic issues in dealing with the problems of Poland and Afghanistan, but has also linked economic issues to sports and the Olympic games. Hopefully the Europeans will not resort to delaying tactics, for much more than oil is at stake for our two regions.

Mr. Chairman,

In all of these attempts at regional and international co-operation we should try our best to encourage constructive change. The best way to anticipate what may come is to remember the past.

Mr. Chairman,

In our pusuit of development during the eighties, we should not forget that progress and development do not occur in a vacuum. World peace and prosperity are indivisible. We should strive to strengthen existing bridges and build new ones of co-operation, with the South as well as the North. We should aim at achieving such goals within a tolerant and enlightened spiritual framework, firmly entrenched in our rich heritage and values while maintaining a dynamic and progressive outlook for the future. If I ventured to summarize our role I would say that we are the link between the past with its spiritual and material riches and the future with its abundant opportunities for progress, both material and spiritual.

We should always strive for improvement in our search for a better future. We might do well to remember Gibbon's edict that: ''All that is human must retrograde, if it does not advance.''

Thank you.

If the Arab world is to have a real chance of advancement and progress, ways must be found of achieving a true implementation of complementarities which exist in the Arab countries. Channelling some of the Arab surplus funds into the development of the Arab world itself is an insistent imperative.

I believe that you, as bankers in the West, can play an important role in finding those ways. You enjoy a special position where your knowledge of the development needs of the Arab world, your expertise in international banking and your access to large amounts of capital could be combined for the benefit of all concerned.

It has been estimated that Arab funds held in Western banks are more than enough to buy the leading fifty banks in the world. However, not one of those is Arab. While we believe in international co-operation and exchange of expertise, much remains to be done to raise the level of Arab banking to correspond to Arab funds. The role of Arab banks in recycling the huge Arab financial surpluses has not been significant. All things being equal, the Governments and central banks of Arab countries can do more to encourage Arab banks in this matter.

The Arab people expect more of Arab banks in the West. Some of them see the expansion of these banks and the investment of funds in the West as a form of escapism, with Arab capital leaving the Arab world to establish a run-away banking system. This is particularly frustrating for some Arab countries who have to borrow urgently needed funds from the West-most likely Arab funds, through middle banks or institutions. Obviously there should be a remedy to this one-way traffic. I believe there is much you can do to reduce the costs of funds and act as a bridge between the West and the Arab world.

In this regard, I would like to stress the importance of the human element in banking. The Arab banking system faces serious shortages of skilled manpower which hinder its progress. I believe that the banks themselves should embark on a well-designed large-scale training programme with particular reference to the needs of the Arab world. Your Association might like to consider the initiation of such a programme benefitting from your access to banking knowhow.

Another area in which you can play a decisive role is in fostering co-operation among developing countries themselves by paying special attention to the banking needs of developing nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The establishment of joint Arab and international banks in these regions is a welcome development and we hope that these institutions will constitute strong links between the Arab and the Third World.

Mr. Chairman,

Continuing attempts to reform the present international economic system and build a meaningful dialogue between the North and the South offer all of us, in the North and the South, a unique opportunity to save the world from the brink of disaster. While the Cancun Summit has made limited progress in tackl-

identify those eligible for benefits is an arbitrary scheme, and steps are underway to review that yardstick.

The sum of five billion dollars spread over five years will not be sufficient to overcome poverty in the Arab world, but it is a welcome first step towards the utilization of oil resources on a Pan-Arab scale and in a rational manner, protecting the rights of all parties involved.

Mr. Chairman,

In addition to aiding the needy Arab economies, oil-rich Arab states have gone overseas to cultivate investment opportunities for their surpluses, thereby participating in the development of non-Arab economies.

It has been estimated that the size of net investments held by Arab oil producers in foreign countries exceeded 370 billion dollars at the end of 1981, with an investment income approaching 35 billion dollars.In1985, the size of these investments is expected to exceed 800 billion dollars, and that is for governments only. Private foreign investments by Arab nationals are estimated to have reached 40 billion dollars in 1981, and are expected to rise to 140 billion dollars in 1985.

Most governments as well as private investments are held in financial institutions of the U.S. and the U.K. If a part of these funds is recycled for use in the Arab world, the cost will of course get higher. Your ingenuity is badly needed to facilitate this recycling and reduce its cost.

Mr. Chairman,

The foundation has been laid for unified Arab action, but that by itself is not sufficient. A lot of hard work needs to be exerted in order to build on those achievements. Such efforts require the active involvement of Governments, individuals, development organizations and financial institutions.

The promotion of common Arab interests is a prevalent concern in all Arab countries, covering economic, political, cultural and other fields. But I believe that quite often ambiguity surrounds the rhetoric of common interests. We have to be honest with ourselves and try to define our interests. This is not an easy task by any means. If we take economic interests alone we find several outstanding issues in need of clarification. Among these are: the degree of dependency on external sources for foreign trade, the desirable mix of domestic and Arab involvement in the economy of each Arab country and effective ways of eliminating disparities of income among the Arab states. It is a striking fact of Arab economic life that extreme wealth exists side by side with extreme poverty.

This is a threat to the stability of Arab society and it is wise to remember what Henry George wrote in the last century: "So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contest between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent."

The need to enlarge and improve vocational education programmes is urgently felt in all Arab states, even those with labour surpluses. Moreover, in two particular categories-the technician level and the post-graduate university level- there will be continued shortages. Hence, There is a need to upgrade and expand existing programmes and launch new ones. There should be an intensive effort aimed at utilizing the already available high-level scientists and engineers in improving the scientific and technological capabilities of the Arab world. There are large numbers of highly trained Arab scientists and engineers who have migrated to the West; we hope that effective programmes can be designed to repatriate and utilize these talents.

Mr. Chairman,

The Joint Agreement on Arab Investments is a welcome and long-due step in inter-Arab economic relations. It offers a legal framework for the free movement of Arab capital. It grants Arab investors specific privileges while protecting the rights of the host countries. Among its special provisions are broad protective measures for citizens of other Arab countries to invest in economic activities allowed by law, enjoying the same rights and privileges as those enjoyed by the citizens of the host countries. The Articles of the Agreement constitute only a minimal level of possible concessions and guarantees. An interesting feature of the Agreement is the stipulated concession for Arab investors and their families to reside in the country where they have made investments. Further, all funds invested within the jurisdiction of this Agreement will be guaranteed against non-commercial risks with specific judicial arrangements to settle disputes regarding Arab investments within the Arab world.

Mr. Chairman,

The Arab Development Decade is a new concept in the future Arab outlook. It originated from an Iraqi proposal seconded by four Arab oil-producing countries: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar. The core of this proposal is the allocation by these countries of a sum of five billion dollars over ten years, to be used in the narrowing of development and income gaps among the Arab states. The funds will be used primarily for the benefit of the low income Arab countries to finance development projects on easy terms. Priority is given to areas which would strengthen Arab economic integration.

Following the Summit, the Finance Ministers of the donor countries, who administer the funds, decided that priority be given to countries which have low per capita income levels. We believe that the concept of the Development Decade is a pioneering one and that it demonstrates a serious effort on the part of the Arab oil-producers at helping the other Arab countries. This additional avenue of financing should be open to projects ready for implementation in the interest of economic integration and national solidarity. It has recently been realized that the adoption of a certain cut-off point of per capita income to

Mr. Chairman,

For obvious reasons the Arab Strategy has given agriculture special importance. Rising demand for food and falling productivity in the agricultural sector have led to escalating food imports which, during the 1970-79 period, grew at a real rate of 14% a year. In 1979, net grain imports were about 20 million tons. If the present trends coutinue imports will exceed 40 million tons by the year 2000.

A target indicator for the growth of Arab agricultural production was put around 4% annually for the years 1965-1985 by the Food and Agricultural Organization. The actual rate of growth achieved did not exceed 2% which is less than the rate of population growth, meaning a negative growth in per capita agricultural production. With these trends in mind, it has been rightly said that food insecurity constitutes a grave threat to the freedom of the Arab world during the next twenty years.

Fortunately, the potential for averting a future crisis in this important sector exists. At the present time the Arab world has about 50 million hectares of arable land, of which only two-thirds are being farmed each year due to insufficient rainfall. It is estimated that there is an additional cultivable area of about 80 million hectares, a large part of it in the Sudan.

With the application of modern agricultural techniques, particularly the use of drought-resistant strains and the development of water resources, and given the appropriate incentives and amounts of investment needed, much of this area could be farmed. In this regard, the elements of regional complementarity should be present; agricultural land, labour and capital resources in different Arab countries should be utilized together and soon. This is all the more urgent in the light of hints emanating from some industrialized countries at the use of their agro-power to serve their own goals against Arab interests.

Another priority area in the Arab Strategy is the upgrading of human resources. In the year 2000 it is expected that the population of the Arab World will range between 270 and 300 million. It is not expected that the high rate of population growth will disappear even then. Moreover, about 50% of the population will be young-less than 20 years old.

This demographic structure will place added pressure on the limited amount of available services and infrastructure. Migration from rural to urban areas is expected to intensify. The movement of workers among the Arab states themselves will continue, reflecting the demand for skilled manpower by the oil-rich states and other countries with labour shortages. Jordan offers a vivid example of this movement; we have over 300,000 skilled workers in the Gulf region, which has given rise to a labour shortage in Jordan. To fill the gap we have imported over 100,000 workers, most of them from Arab countries, and we expect this movement to continue in the next five years.

It is thus apparent that there is an urgent need for co-ordinating manpower mobility among the Arab countries and reducing the heavy reliance on imported labour.

While I do not want to enter into the details of these decisions, I think that a brief look at the highlights and expected consequences of each of them will be useful.

The Charter of National Economic Action came as a natural result of Arab thinking on Arab economic co-operation and integration. It stipulated several rules of behaviour which would govern Arab economic relations and strengthen Arab co-operation in the future. These rules include the depoliticising of economic activities, the expressed determination of all Arab countries to achieve the maximum progress possible in fostering inter-Arab economic ties, and the granting of preferential treatment to other Arab countries. Among the interesting features of the Charter is the call for narrowing the development gap both between individual Arab countries and within each country itself. It also called for the adoption of Arab national economic planning where each country's plan would have a Pan-Arab orientation through the inclusion of specific joint Arab projects.

The Arab Economic Strategy heralded a new era in Arab thinking and decision-making. It presented a blueprint for joint Arab action aimed at achieving Arab goals within a framework of clearly defined priorities. These priorities include the achievement of food and military security for the Arab world, the upgrading of human resources, the acquisition and development of appropriate technology and the development of major industries such as oil and petrochemicals, engineering and building materials. Moreover, the Strategy called for the strengthening of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, the Arab Monetary Fund and other specialized Arab organizations.

Paramount among the priorities of the Arab nation is the establishment and maintenance of its security. Being a victim of continued Israeli aggression, and with Arab territories under Israeli occupation for over fourteen years, security is the base on which depend all economic, technological, social and cultural considerations. Obviously it is a function of a just and lasting solution for the Middle East conflict, and particularly a solution of the Palestinian problem. The core of the solution is to grant Palestinians their right to self-determination including their right to establish their own state on their Palestinian soil.

Any attempts at bypassing this central issue are bound to fail simply because they address secondary questions while neglecting the primary one.

It does not take much effort to recognise the gross distortion of the Arab image in the West. Probably no other people have been so vilified both on the individual and national levels; and the Zionist mass media continue to descredit the Arab image. A serious effort is needed on both sides-the Arab and the Western-to counter these distortions and prejudices. Nothing is more insulting to an Arab than to be treated as a mere barrel of oil. The rich Arab cultural heritage as well as Arab contributions to world progress are largely forgotten as are the aspirations and hopes of a dynamic nation. Stereotype have prevailed to an alarming degree.

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Regarding the use of oil surpluses, sizeable amounts of aid have been extended by the Arab oil-producers to help developing countries overcome their difficulties. One measure of this is the figure of 3.4% of GNP given as aid by the Arab oil producers, compared to less than 0.4% of GNP extended by the industrialized Western countries.

I am sure that you as bankers are more conversant with facts and figures pertaining to Arab financial surpluses than I am,but you will readily agree that Arab funds have not been utilized within the international economy in a destructive manner. They were never used to destabilize any economies or to achieve massive takeovers of Western or multinational corporations. If any criticism were in order it would be that the manner in which these surpluses were utilized has been rather conservative. This is demonstrated by the fact that these financial resources have in some years earned negative rates of return.

The future of oil is likely to be at the centre of the energy scene for the next twenty years, hopefully facilitating an easy transition to new and renewable energy sources. Therefore, the crucial role of oil does not reflect an imagined monopoly of power by the Arabs or a wicked design by oil producers; rather these are the edicts of the market place. Further, the possible use of oil as a strategic weapon, as is often said, is practically doomed, in short run, by oil supplies, excessive stocks, freezing of monetary reserves, and possible countermeasures like the denial of food, technology or armaments.

Mr. Chairman,

The Arab world has been feeling for some time the weight of conflicts and power rivalries over its resources. President Nixon wrote: ''more than ever, the question of who controls what in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East is the key to who controls what in the world''.

We are aware that our region is vital to the stability and welfare of the world. Recent developments in the world economy and their increasing influence on Arab economies have convinced the Arab states of the need to strengthen joint Arab economic action. There was a conviction that the problems facing the development of the Arab world are too large to be tackled by a single country, but that the gains accruing from joint action will benefit all the countries involved.

It was thus decided to hold an Arab summit specifically geared towards dealing with these issues. Intensive preparations were underway prior to the Eleventh Arab Summit in Amman in 1980. The decisions taken by the Summit represented the first attempt by Arab leaders to discuss in detail the present and future economic issues facing the Arab nation. The Conference adopted four decisions that will have a particular impact on the future course of Arab economic development during the next twenty years and beyond. Those were: The Charter for National Economic Action; the Strategy for Joint Arab Economic Action; the Joint Agreement on Investing Arab Capital in the Arab States; and the Arab Development Decade.

Another issue which I would like to participate in clarifying is the alleged misuse of power by oil-producing countries. The OPEC countries, and particularly the Arab oil-producers, are being blamed for Western inflation and the current ills of the international economic situation. An easily recognizable scapegoat is thus available to take the blame for economic hardships, including inflationary pressures, unemployment and other problems facing the international financial system. It is forgotten sometimes, even by economists, that there exist business cycles involving phases of recession and prosperity, encompassing unemployment,inflationary pressures and real growth, all occurring with or without oil-price pressures. Some industrialized countries have had economic booms amidst rising oil prices, and recessions and unemployment amidst dropping oil prices. It is forgotten that some industrialized countries which are themselves producers or exporters of oil also have acute problems of inflation and unemployment.

The cost of oil, while slightly adding to inflationary pressures, is far from being the major source of inflation. Looking back at the inflationary experience of a giant economy like that of the United States, one can easily trace major causes of economic ills wrongly ascribed to oil and Arabs by some circles. Suffice to recall the recent remarks made by the President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Mr Anthony M Solomon,that the two lessons of his country with regard to inflation pertain to issues unrelated to oil. They are the reluctance to adopt comprehensive anti-inflationary programmes, and the underestimation of inflationary pressures in the periods when the US economy was moving out of recession and passing through the initial phases of recovery. Further, the 'guns and butter' policies of President Johnson's Administration in the mid 'sixties have a present bearing on the economic ills of not only the US, but also those of Europe and the Third World.

Coming from a country that has to import all of its energy needs and whose oil bill is almost equal to the value of its domestic exports, I believe that the distortions and half-truths on this subject need to be roundly exposed. The oil producers have tried to play a constructive role during the last decade in dealing with the energy crisis, particularly if one looks at the production pattern of oil, the flow of aid to developing countries and the facilities and procedures adopted to ease the international payment problems.

In terms of production, the Arab oil producers have been pumping oil well beyond their immediate development needs. As the major producer of oil Saudi Arabia has increased her oil production to make up for the shortage of supply due to the Iranian-Iraqi war while attempting to freeze the prices of oil. The OAPEC countries are providing about 16% of total conventional energy resources. This is quite striking in view of the fact that oil in the ground is much more valuable than oil in today's market-place. But these countries have felt an obligation to meet the needs of the industrialized world for energy, an act that is not always reciprocated. In the last 20 years the ratio of reserves to production in the OAPEC countries has declined from 90 to 46 years, which shows the continuous depletion of oil in the Arab countries.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I first express my thanks and appreciation for your kind invitation to me to address the Arab Bankers' Association in London. For someone who has been involved with development planning in Jordan and has witnessed the hurdles and challenges facing the Arab World, it is indeed a valuable opportunity for me to address your Association. During these years, I have fully recognised the crucial role that banking plays in national and international economics. It is reputed that Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "I sincerely believe that the banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies." I do not want to say that I share his opinion; but in these days of giant international banks, I am certainly willing to 'bank' on such a statement.

Today, I would like to speak to you about some of the aspirations of the Arab people and about Arab strategy in the eighties, in the hope of highlighting the ambitions and plans of 160 million Arabs and dispelling some of the distortions and mistaken impressions about them.

Let me start by unveiling some of these distortions. Arabs have been depicted for some time as an excessively wealthy few holding the world to ransom. Their emerging banking institutions have been described as instruments for centralizing this wealth. It is true that a small number of oil-rich Arab countries have some of the highest per capita incomes, surpassing even those of industrialized countries. It is also true that they have large financial surpluses which offer the world banking system opportunities, while posing certain challenges. However, the population of most of these countries is quite small, a fact which tends to be forgotten when quoting per capita income figures.

Moreover, these income figures relate to a depletion of a non-renewable resource and its transformation from a physical asset into a financial one. In comparison, income from agriculture for any one year reflects the value of output which can, generally speaking, be realized on a sustainable yearly basis. The case is different with an oil well-the value of output is the value of a depleted resource which is lost forever.

Taken as a whole, the Arab countries have an average per capita income that in 1979 was about $ 1,870, or about 18 percent of that of the United States. In fact, the per capita income of the Arab oil exporters in 1979 was comparable to that of Israel. Thus, one must take into account the large demographic dimension of the entire Arab World when dealing with Arab wealth. If oil is excluded from the Gross National Product of the Arab States, the undeveloped situation of Arab economies becomes disturbingly evident.

To put things in perspective, the GNP of all Arab States is approximately equal to that of Italy, which has less than 40 percent of the population of the Arab World. On the other hand, it is also a fact that some Arab States are among the least developed countries in the world.

SPEECH
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
TO
THE ARAB BANKERS' ASSOCIATION
19 JANUARY, 1982
LONDON

tion itself is a constant threat hanging over our heads. To meet it, we must divert a sizeable amount of our resources for defense purposes.

Jordan is an integral part of the Arab world. We have been party to every inter-Arab agreement that has been ratified by all the Arab countries or by some of them. We always honour and fulfil whatever financial obligations are assigned to us, and records show that we have never been delinquent in paying our dues.

In most cases, rich Arab countries have been responsive to our financial requirements. Yet this does not leave us on the receiving end, for we have contributed in human wealth to the development of these countries. It is estimated that 50% of our best trained labour force is actively participating in the development of the OAPEC states.

Strategically, we cannot conduct an analysis of our relations with the Arab world on a basis of strict accounting. We are linked with the Arab world in facing the challenges that could threaten our very existence. One aspect of intergration is economic, and in the Amman Summit Conference, we did our very best to reach an agreement on Arab economic strategy and the development decade of the 1980s. Our economic plans take the integrative aspects into full account; and the implementation of our plans observes them as closely as possible.

As far as our economic relations at large are concerned, we run our economy on the basis of an ''open door'' policy. The transactions into which we enter with the rest of the world are mind-boggling relative to the size of our economy. Jordan's imports in 1981 were about 85% of GDP. Since we honour our commitments and maintain our exchanges on a mutually beneficial basis, we have gained the world's respect, as is mirrored in the creditworthiness we enjoy with international institutions and in financial markets.

Mr. Chairman,

In the previous points, I have adopted the methodology of challenge and response in order to explain the basic tenets of our economic development strategy. The challenges we meet are multifaceted and inter-dependent.

In short, Jordan is a hard working country, which has thus far, been able to jump hurdles and invest its limited resources to the best of its present ability. Can we do more? Should not the free world help us more effectively in alleviating the pressures to which we are subjected and assist us in achieving peace with honour and justice for all the peoples of our region? I leave it to you to provide what to us are crucial answers to the challenge of investing in peace, through prosperity and human dignity.

Thank you.

and the fruits of growth must be allocated to meet his needs and desires as much as possible. From our experience, man has been the factor responsible for our high economic achievement. Jordan's manpower has been our means of growth in a country whose natural resources have been meagre.

In addition, we believe that government should actively participate in the development effort. Yet we confine its role within the range of activities that are usually under government control in the free world. However, owing to the high risks involved in certain projects or to the refrainment of the private sector from investing in them, the government enters into such ventures as a partner to the private sector. In most cases, government equity participation has been a response to urgent requests by the private sector.

In a nutshell, and with regard to the form of participation in investments and development, I would like to say that there are no longer any rigidities or constraints against private, in favour of public investment; nor against bilateral in favour of multilateral investment. The need and desire for development is far more important than any narrow biases.Because we do not strictly subscribe to a given doctrine, we have been empirical and pragmatic. In the dynamic world we live in, static doctrines can prove to be seriously detrimental factors.

The current stage in Jordan's economic development deserves special emphasis on the production of commodities rather than services. This adherence is warranted by the relative size of services which constitute more than 60% of our Gross Domestic Product. The production of goods is emphasized as a means for better distribution and as an avenue of decreasing the economy's reliance on commodity imports. Food insecurity, for instance, has developed into a big worry that we seek to eliminate by giving ample support to the dragging agricultural sector. The performance in the mining and manufacturing sector over the last years bears the promise of economic diversification, particularly when major phosphate, potash,cement, glass, wood and oil refining industries run at full capacity.

Mr. Chairman,

On balance, our international economic relations are on the positive, built in a rational and stable manner which reflects our moderate political stance, our industrious manpower and the understanding of our friends

While the Rabat Summit Conference of 1974, to which we subscribe, made the P.L.O. the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, we in Jordan still foot a large amount of the West Bank's bill. The balance of trade deficit of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is basically financed from their export to, and through, Jordan. We have made every possible effort to keep the economy of the West Bank viable and capable of affording a decent livelihood for our people there. Such a policy is not only based on philanthropic grounds, but it is strategically aimed at strengthening the attachment of the people of the occupied territories to their land and thereby thwarting Israel's aggressive attempts to evacuate the occupied lands. In addition, the occupa-

and wealth, the emphasis on short-run and myopic gains, and naturally the mis-allocation of resources. Since Jordan relies heavily on indirect taxes as a source of budget revenue, the automatic stabilization effects of direct taxation are minimal. Monetary policy has revealed in recent years a more biting ability against inflation, but it still must cater for the financial needs of development.

However, domestic economic policies have a limited effect in combatting inflationary pressures, if such pressures emanate from external influences. Thus, we had to adopt a scheme which would enhance production within the existing international inflationary environment. We tried to redirect our investments into a combination of social overhead capital projects and directly productive ventures. We opened venues for our external sources, particularly remittances of Jordanians abroad, to end eventually where we would like them to be, without exaggerating their initial inflationary impact. The excess liquidity within the system was partially funneled through appropriate channels that have been institutionalized on proper and secure bases.

Despite signs of disequilibrium which appear in the process of development, our performance as measured by overall qualitative and quantitative indicators is very encouraging. A cursory look at the tables of development indicators puts Jordan near the top of the list of developing countries. Our per capita income for 1980 was around $1,700; the electrification of rural areas is widespread; our rate of illiteracy is declining very fast; the number of doctors is one per 900 citizens and our average calorie intake is about double the internationally acceptable minimum of 2,000. All of these indicators prove beyond doubt that on average we live comfortably in Jordan.

On the other hand, we must not be victimised by global measures. Overall statistical indicators can be tyrannical in the sense that they conceal more than they reveal. We have to admit that we feel rather dissatisfied with the lack of sufficient international funds geared towards financing social projects.

Social development in Jordan is the twin of economic development, and we consider the parallel and interdependent growth of the two sectors as a necessary aspect of our growth. Otherwise, skepticism of the whole effort would prevail, and the underprivileged groups would deny us their active participation.

Mr. Chairman,

Our political economic philosophy is quite simple and straightforward. We adopt free enterprise as a basis for economic growth. Culturally and traditionally, we abhor exploitation, concentration of power, doubtful transactions and unconstitutional acts. The size of the Jordanian economy does not allow unduly large operations to permeate our economic system. Yet, it is our belief that the entrepreneurial spirit should be encouraged and blessed, and those who take socially acceptable risks must be rewarded.

Another tenet that we cling to is that the human resource is the most valuable of all factors of production. Man as such is the centre of our interest,

from the Dead Sea run parallel to those of Israel's potash project ducts--sometimes at the alarming proximity of 200m. Aqaba, Jordan's sole water gateway, can be closely watched by the Israeli fortifications in Eilat. Most critical, however, are the Yarmouk River waters which flow along our borders with Israel. It is those waters which substantiate the forthcoming Maqarin Dam intended to supply Jordan with 360 million cubic metres of water annually. Despite all these hazards, our development momentum has not slackened.

Under the circumstances, we adopted a bold strategy based on the following set of axioms. First, it is our intention to build an economy that comes as close as can be to self-reliance which would enable us to become least vulnerable to external shocks. It is our unequivocal belief that a solid internal economy is the better alternative to withstand the winds of change. The economic arm of internal strength is also reinforced by the existing stability and order which we enjoy in Jordan.

Second, we must bet on peace in the area and ''wage'' it, to quote President Eisenhower. We believe that Jordan is a crucial element in the peace process and we have come to the stage where we conduct our economic affairs in alignment with a full belief in peace that can secure justice and a lasting solution to the Middle East problem. The core of such a solution is allowing the Palestinians to determine their own future on their Palestinian soil. We are determined to utilize our resources, wherever they may lie, in order to leave our future generations with an inheritance they can build on and be proud of.

Third, we have reached the conclusion that the externalities that have been bestowed on us by the existing oil wealth in the neighbouring countries will not last forever. We take the time constraint very seriously because it helps us afford a ''big-push'' approach that would allow the building of our infrastructural projects and strike a better socio-economic balance.

Fourth, we have incorporated regional planning as an integral part of our development process. The Kingdom has been divided into a number of geo-economic regions, and an intended plan to develop each has either been formulated and put to the test or is still in the designer's hands. Although it is premature to assess this experience, the Jordan Valley is an exception.

I have personally tended this experiment, which thus far has been heart-warming. Water sprinklers in that fertile lot, green houses, orange groves and convoys of transport trucks crossing southward to the Gulf are an eyewitness to its success. The network of supporting services is almost complete in the northern and middle parts; and the southern part has just begun to enjoy similar attention. Although the population redistribution effect of the Jordan Valley development has not been fully realized, we are reassured that in time, and with the introduction of certain agricultural industries, the demographic constraint will ease off.

Rapid growth bears the seeds of imbalance within the system, which takes varying forms and shapes. The most outstanding is inflation with its re-distributive ill effects, which reveal themselves in the concentration of income

generations?'' To all questions, I answer:''There is no need to fear, but we must be very careful''.

The basic parametres that we have to reckon with dictate such a growth path. This, however,should in no way lead us to believe that the development process going on in Jordan is totally autonomous; it is in great part an induced one. It derives its momentum from the aid and assistance we receive and solicit from our fellow Arabs and our friends overseas. Yet foreign donations must be absorbed and digested by an efficient institutional mechanism.We have been fortunate enough to have both an indigenous human capability as well as the benefit of generous aid.

The future of growth in Jordan requires standing up to certain challenges. Paramount among these are:

- The Geopolitical Factor
- The Socio-Economic Balance
- Our Political Economic Philosophy, and
- External Relations

Mr Chairman,

Jordan is situated in the midst of one of the ''hottest'' zones in the world. The Middle East is still a cross-roads for three continents, and with the advent of oil, the area has become even more vital to the interests of world groups and powers. Such an exogenous factor often affects Jordan's economy in a sporadic and discontinuous fashion. The wars in Palestine and Lebanon, and instability in the region have taken their toll on our resources as well as on the smooth continuity of our development effort, thereby forcing us to adopt precautionary and contingent actions that can be very costly.

Within Jordan, the population parametres frustrate economic planning. With a high birth rate of 4.7%, about half of our population is fifteen years of age or below. Consequently, each bread-winner in Jordan has to produce and earn an income sufficient to feed five persons including himself. Yet, the factor which merits special attention is the geopolitical distribution of population. According to the census tabulations of 1979, more than 50% of the population live in the Greater Amman region, and only 10% live in agricultural areas. Such an uneven distribution has not resulted from the forces of urbanisation within the system alone, as is usually the case in many countries. The wars of 1948 and 1967 resulted in mass migratory waves, which found better refuge in cities where employment, food and shelter are more tenable. Once settled, the majority of refugees and displaced persons stayed in their camps within cities and created a **modus operandi** that will remain affixed as long as the Palestinian issue is unresolved.

Another geopolitical aspect which merits attention is the distribution of our natural endowments. According to our economic geopolitical maps, most of Jordan's natural resources fall whithin shooting distance from the cease-fire lines with Israel. The fertile Jordan Valley strip extends along borders with Israel, or close to the occupied West Bank. The ducts carrying potash water

THE BASIC TENETS OF JORDAN'S DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Mr. Chairman, Ladies & Gentlemen,

Thank you for inviting me to share some thoughts on Jordan's economy in the coming decade.

It is indeed a sign of growing co-operation between Britain and Jordan, which I hope will continue to prosper. Allow me to convey sincere Jordanian recognition of this important development.

I was asked by some of you to speak on development strategy in Jordan. While being neither a technocrat nor an economist, I am willing to take the risk of presenting a few thoughts on my country's development strategy, hoping to be granted immunity from trespassing on the territory of economists and development strategists.

Actualy, I have been crossing the path of economists for the last fourteen years, and have benefitted from their expertise and occasional confusion. However, I remain on amicable terms with most of them, as the skills that qualitative manpower represent is at the heart of our ''economic resolve''.

Mr. Chairman,

The past year of 1981 may be marked in Jordan's history as the year of billions. In that year, our Gross National Product exceeded the JD 1 billion mark; so did the comprehensive government budget, as well as money supply in its expanded M_2definition. Such figures are staggering as far as Jordan is concerned and should be eyed with keen interest not only in cardinal but in their ordinal capacity as well. They signify a transformation; a movement into the large-scale frontiers, with their worries, marginal sensitivities and trade-offs. Such relative size was achieved following the implementation of the first Five Year Plan and the implementation of the first year of the on-going Five Year Development Plan (1981-85) which in itself is a set of large figures and sums.

When we talk of size in Jordan, we specifically refer to it in the inter-temporal sense. Less than a decade ago we drafted a three year plan, (1973-75) whose total allocations barely reached JD 180 million, or an average of JD 60 million per year. The annual allocations for the current Five Year Plan are 2.5 times as much as the total expenditure of the 1973-75 plan. Our money supply, with time and savings deposits included, is almost nine times as much. The question that imposes itself is: ''Are we growing too fast for our own good?''

Although the question is presented in crude terms, its down-to-earthness touches sensitive ground. There are people in Jordan who are completely stupefied by what is going on around them. They raise another crude question: ''Is it all necessary?'' ''Are we overtaxing our resources and those of our future

SPEECH
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
DELIVERED AT THE
CONFERENCE ON JORDAN's
FIVE YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

LONDON, 19 JANUARY, 1982

(13) **A Study on Jerusalem**, HRH Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal; Longman 1979; p.60.
(14) **My Memoirs Completed "Al Takmilah"**, King Abdullah of Jordan: Longman, 1951. p.38-39.
(15) **The Koran**, Chapter 8.

I have thus far referred to peace and security in the context of the resolution of armed conflict. However, at the close of this century a major potential crisis lies in the shortfall to meet the food needs of hundreds of millions of people with all that entails in further radical exploitation. According to a recent Euro-Arab Club of Rome Study, there will be 300 million Arabs living in our region around the year 2000,investing less than 3 percent of GNP in agriculture. That is less than the growth rate of many countries in the Arab World and Africa.

The challenges facing Europe are manifold and serious.The relationship between ''those who control politics''and ''those who control wealth'' has to be in middle ground we can develop jointly. The middle ground of this threat of conflicting extremes is duly bound to face the dangers to coming generations. We have to preserve the centrist identity of all freedom-loving peoples. We look to the expression of European political will with interest and expectation.

As for Arab Unity: ''One should remember,'' in the words of my grandfather, ''that the differences of opinion which have been current since the Arab Revolt are an ancient malady and represent nothing new.''(14) ''God is with those who persevere''.(15) As a father of children of the Twenty-First Century, I fervently pray and hope that we can.

Thank you.

Footnotes:

(1) Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe: Final Act, Helsinki, 1975. Article VIII.
(2) **The Chariot of Israel,** Harold Wilson. Weidenfeld & Nicolson/Michael Joseph, 1981, p.151.
(3) **The Jerusalem Post,** December 18, 1981, p.8.
(4) ''The Demographic Jigsaw Puzzle in Northern Israel and the West Bank'', John Stebbing, **International Relations,** Vol. VI, No.6, November 1980.
(5) Arthur Koestler.
(6) **The Chariot of Israel**, Harold Wilson, Weidenfeld & Nicolson/Michael Joseph, p.381.
(7) ''Israel's own 'Autonomy' Plan'', Philip Geyelin, **Washington Post**, 1982.
(8) **Palestinian Self-Determination**, HRH Hassan Bin Talal; quartet Books, 1981. P.1.126.

over Palestine. So Jordan has enjoyed a continuous and distinct existence for 59 years. Jordanian association with Jerusalem is easily summarized: the Mandate over Palestine ended in 1948 when the British withdrew. Jordanian armed forces entered Palestine in response to a request for assistance from the Palestinian Arabs. The Israeli contention that these forces 'invaded Jerusalem' is incorrect.''[13] What followed in 1948 and 1967 is the source of the unresolved problems we still face today.

If the question today is the recognition of Israel, could not the answer be which Israel are we expected to recognize? Is it the Israel of 1948 or the Israel of 1967? Is it the Israel of expanding settlements and annexation? Or is it the Israel of an ill-concealed nuclear might which increasingly threatens to become an independent third party in the game of nations?

I quote here from a report on Israeli nuclear armament by a group of experts appointed by the Secretary General of the United Nations, submitted to him in June 1981. ''Israel is capable of assembling a number of nuclear explosive devices within weeks, or perhaps even days.'' Israel's plans to utilize nuclear energy are also linked to their proposed Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal. This project signifies continued Israeli expansion without any consideration for the sovereignty of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, or the harm it will cause the latter's economic and social programmes. It also prejudices Palestinian rights in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel intends to execute a project which is a threat to the security and peace of the area, more so since it not only invites new settlers but envisages the construction of nuclear plants along the new canal thus augmenting her existing nuclear capacity. Should the financial supporters of an Israel, indebted as it is to the tune of US$22.5 billion, not ask themselves what price Israel? Does that support promote as the US strategic memorandum suggested regional stability or a drive for expansion?

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are today living at the eleventh hour of a monumental tragedy. The scope for semantics is limited by the fact that it is not one of right against wrong, but is often perceived by the parties as that of right against right. Even the strength of the definite article has changed the terminology we use from '**a** national home in Palestine' to 'the building of Palestine as **the** Jewish National home.' Politicians are driven to paroxysms of fury over references to 'territories' or '**the** territories', to 'people' or '**the** people', and religion is exploited to deepen political extremes. Peace can only be the result of pressure brought about by an objective third party on these extremes; pressure which simultaneously promotes centrism and lasting centrist solutions.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

All of the above has been related to elusive political security. I must, however, speak about basic security. What about the challenge of food and its availability at the end of this century?

Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the spiritual heart of the conflict lies the unresolved question of the Holy City of Jerusalem. As Muslims we are bound to recognize the historical rights of the believers of the two great monotheistic religions that preceded Islam: Judaism and Christianity. ''Islam'' extends ''religious recognition to a variety of sites associated with a number of Jewish personalities: Nabi (Prophet) Samuel (NE of Jaffa); Nabi Rubin (Ruben, south of Jaffa); Maqam (grave of) Ibrahim (Hebron); Maqam Dawud (David E of Jerusalem), Maqam Sarah (N of Hebron)'', to name a few. The ''greatest of all honor'', ''was accorded by Islam to Jerusalem as the city of the Prophets of God which served as Qiblah (orientation in prayer) during the first fourteen years of the prophethood of Muhammad (SAAW) in Makkah and Madinah. Moreover, the ascent of Muhammad(SAAW) to heaven had to come through Jerusalem, whose prophets made a tradition of which he was the last exponent. Islam saw itself as another moment, final and culminating of the tradition of Jewish prophets ... Thus Islam was a continuation of that same tradition of the one true religion revealed by God to Man'' .(10) Sovereignty is God's.

It is therefore sad that the plight of Jerusalem can only be resolved by an equitable political solution. Political sovereignty, municipal as well as religious rights are the three elements of a solution. They are best summarized in the words of Lord Caradon, a Principal architect of Resolution 242. ''There should be an Arab Jerusalem and an Israeli Jerusalem each exercising full sovereignty within its own territory'', (ie, Israel and the new Arab State of Palestine), ''but with no barriers between them and no impediment in freedom of movement between them.'' ''The (United Nations) Resolution might also request the secretary general to appoint a representative to be stationed in Jerusalem not to administer the City-that would be for the Israelis on one side and the Palestinians on the other-but to work with all concerned to secure the purposes of the resolution, particularly for the preservation of the holy places and free access to them.''(11)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As Arabs our involvement with Palestine dates back to the Canaanites in 4000 BC.In this century my great grandfather Hussein I was the first voice to seek the right to exercise self-determination in Palestine.(12)Then, both he and my grandfather, King Abdullah, were politically sacrificed in the cause of Palestine and the former was buried in Jerusalem. As Jordanians it was on the 24th of July 1922 that the League of Nations accorded a mandate to Great Britain covering the territories of Palestine and Transjordan. Article 24 explicitly allowed Great Britain to exclude the region east of the Jordan, namely Transjordan, from the provisions of the Mandate. On September 16, 1922, the Council of the League approved a separate administration for Transjordan under the British. In 1946 Britain recognized the independence of Transjordan and the League of Nations terminated the Mandate over Transjordan, but not

an effort to co-opt Camp David with Israel's own 'autonomy plan' -of a de facto annexation.''(7)

The recently announced World Zionist Organization Plan makes no secret of its intention to reduce the status of Arabs in the occupied territories to that of minorities by 1985. Israel hot houses the radicals it claims to fear and exports them to the Lebanon, Jordan and the oil-producing States. Such is the policy of a signatory to a strategic memorandum with the United States. The stated objective of that memorandum is to promote regional stability. Our ties with the Gulf place no doubt in our minds that this economic zone is directly affected by the Arab/Israeli conflict. The demographic imperative is important to the region as a whole.The peripheral relationship to oil must develop on the basis of mutual recognition of one another's needs. Migration as a result of political duress is a destabilizing factor that can only favour anarchy.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Jordan's position in the Arab/Israeli conflict is in accordance with that of other Arab countries who have accepted UN Resolution 242. His Majesty King Hussein was personally involved in its formulation. Total withdrawal of Israeli forces of occupation leading to total peace is the core of this Resolution. Today, self-determination for the Palestinians would free the land and its people in a just solution to the Palestine problem. We need recognition of Palestinian economic and social rights, and their right to full and free political self-expression on their national soil. Such international recognition would revitalize a dynamic community that has played its part in difficult times in developing the economy, not only of Jordan but of the Gulf region. This improvement in the quality of their lives could be a lasting step towards possible regional interdependence. For these refugeed people are the vector of stability or instability and the recognition of rights is what makes a political solution endure.

''The establishment of a new Palestinian Arab State ... is not envisaged within the context of Security Council Resolution 242, but is not inconsistent with it''.(8) The practicalities of achieving a revised Resolution 242 may no longer be feasible. This is not necessarily an impediment at the end of the day to a general Conference of Settlement. To establish such a State, which would then fall within the principles of Resolution 242, the Israelis have no ultimate option but to deal directly with the Palestinians in a general Conference of Settlement.In any such negotiations the Palestinians must be allowed to take part as of right and through their own chosen representative.

''The most significant manifestation of the international legal standing''(9) of the PLO is the status of observer conferred by the United Nations.

As for security, there is no such right known to international law as ''the right to national security''. The right inherent in the United Nations Charter, Article 51, to self-defence, can afford no basis for a claim to territorial sovereignty. The international call for Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in June of 1967, including East Jerusalem, correlates the consideration of Israel's security, as well as that of all states in the region.

of their State. They selectively ingnored the United Nations' call, through the 1947 Partition Plan, for the creation of an Arab State and a Jewish State in Palestine.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On 20 November 1981 a civilian administration was appointed by the Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza. These territories approximate the boundaries of the (1947) Palestine State, and are now referred to by the occupant in the biblical terms of Judea and Samaria.

This terminology excludes both the City and region of Jerusalem and their Arab population already annexed by Israel in 1980, and does not validate a legal claim to Arab land. The Balfour Declaration was described as a declaration where ''one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third''.[5] The Israelis are acting as though they today are the colonial power.

The civilian administration was entrusted with handling the following fields: health, education and transport, as well as municipal and village affairs. As for the judiciary, the Supreme Judicial Council was announced on 18 December 1981 to be discarded in favour of an appointed committee. The head of the civilian administration and the head of the military administration (the former principally comprised of military personnel) answer directly to the Israeli Defence Minister Sharon.

Violent reaction from the indigenous Palestinian population enables the Israelis to divide and rule. The civilian administration has actively exploited factionalism between cities and villages. Ensuing violence included the assassination of the head of the Village Association in Ramallah, provocation which has, in the eyes of the Israeli authorities, justified the closure of Bir Zeit University and a number of schools. The demolition of a number of houses in Hebron and in the largely Christian villages of Beit Sahur and Bethlehem continues. It is compounded by a widespread campaign of arrests. In the words of Harold Wilson, a friend of Israel: ''The British House of Commons ... draws ideas and inspiration from radically different local communities. Israel is perhaps not too confined or beleaguered a State to learn from our experience.''[6] Under present circumstances, this is so much wishful thinking.

Israel today controls about 40 percent of the land and 90 percent of the water resources according to information and research carried out in the occupied territories. ''Meanwhile, the IDF does its 'security' number on 'those who attack the peace process', which is to say anybody thought to be allied with the PLO. Prominent figures are regularly subjected to arrest, detention and calculated harassment. On what evidence?'' The Civilian Administration ''does not want to 'go into operational secrets'.''

The civilian administration''sees the targets as 'destructive elements' given to 'incitement to violence' ... 'I am very aware' '' concedes a member of the administration' of the very severe limitation on what I can do'.

''To independent West Bank watchers'', what he is trying to do ''when you put it together with a systematic program of land acquisition, ... looks like

The continuation of the Iraqi/Iranian war is a threat to the eastern flank of the Arab World. Its continuation means the attrition of two Muslim countries and peoples. Furthermore, stability in the Near and Middle East cannot be realised without parity being developed between the region's resources and political aspirations.

1981 also witnessed the attack by Israeli aircraft on a peaceful nuclear installation in Baghdad, by a non-signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. This raid was seen as a further 'spiritual humiliation' by the Arab people. It was also a direct exploitation of the Iran/Iraq war.

These are some of the obstacles that affect us directly and indirectly. Psychologically, momentum towards peace is virtually at a standstill. The Saudi Eight-Point Plan was an unequivocal restatement of the Arab readiness to search for peace. The adjournment of the Arab Summit can be seen as aiming at keeping this readiness alive. Yet this Arab readiness for peace is already seen as a danger to extremism in the region.

The United States referred in its recent memorandum of strategic understanding with Israel to the objective of acting as a ''stabilizing influence and helping to reduce tensions in the region''. Israeli leaders were meanwhile responding to the Saudi Eight-Point Plan with the provocation of eight new settlements. The memorandum contributed negatively to Israel's sense of confidence in its own security, when Prime Minister Begin surprised the world and the United States, preoccupied as it was with the Polish crisis, by announcing the annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. In the words of Abba Eban: ''It is not easy to recall a precedent in recent years of a country annexing a territory, hitherto recognized by all nations, including Israel, as part of a foreign country.''(3) In the conflict of extremes, Syria is the signatory to a defence agreement with the Soviet Union.

However, nowhere is moderation and political centrism more exacerbated than in the occupied Arab territories: Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza. Israel sees the basis of its claim to these territories as better than Jordan's. Yet in human terms, the rights of self-determination of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, and the refugees and displaced persons therefrom (on a world-wide basis amounting to about 3,800,000), eclipse, as a matter of law, any claim to these territories.''

The reality is one-sided when we consider that in the post World War period, three million Israelis have reversed their migration from Palestine to Europe, one million of them permanently. ''Between 1959 and 1978 a total of 3.2 million Jewish residents went abroad and over this whole period two million residents left Israel longer than four years. In the five years after the 1973 War these movements increased: 1.4 million Jewish residents left the country and only 0.4 million of these are expected to return within four years.''(4) Israelis have exercised the political right to return. 30 years since the creation of the State of Israel, Palestinians and in particular those displaced by the 1967 war wait to exercise their right to live in peace on their national soil. The Israelis realized their own self-determination in 1948 with the forceful creation

The US reticence to talk to the Palestinians brings to mind the words of Prime Minister Attlee in 1946: "To start consultations with Arabs and Jews at this moment would prejudice the Egyptian negotiations and cause an uproar in the Middle East."(2)

You will recall that the Camp David accords emphasize the Egyptian/Israeli peace agreements related time-table of Sinai withdrawals. Other concurrent peace initiatives are frustrated at present. The situation in the occupied territories has consequently reached a peak of desperation. A Knesset member has recently summed it up by saying: "If partition is unrealistic, annexation is devastating and unilateral autonomy is ruthless."

The other super power, the Soviet Union, though obviously excluded from Camp David, has undoubtedly increased its influence in the region. This is seen as a result **inter alia** of the popular perception of the United States as unable to initiate a fully comprehensive peace process. Camp David constituted an abrupt shift from the US/USSR joint declaration of 1977. That declaration stated that the two countries would work jointly towards the implementation of UN Resolution 242. The potential return to a platform of such joint commitment by two essential Security Council members, though highly welcomed, is unlikely at present. Clearly, apart from the regional problem, their political middleground is jeopardized by the 'real politik' of numerous global crises.

For us it is heartening that Europe continues to represent political middleground in this situation. European readiness to maintain peace between Egypt and Israel in Sinai through the participation of four European countries in the proposed Multi-National Force "does not cast any doubt on their well-known policies vis-a-vis the other problems in the region."

The Venice Declaration of 1980 upheld the twin principles of justice for peoples and security for states.Meaning could be given to these principles by super power support for a comprehensive peace. The absence of such support means that the Middle East is being polarised in a conflict of extremes. It is late in the day to suppose that credible peaceful solutions can come solely from the area. The Middle East is like other regions affected by polarization. The conflict of the extremes of left and right damages the credibility of a centrist regional contribution from the Arab World, as well as possibly from Israel itself. Moreover, proxy confrontation on a number of issues, including oil, further endangers our very identity.

The recent meeting of Arab Summit leaders held in Morocco was adjourned until some time later this year because of an extremely thorny Agenda. 1981 was, and I believe not accidentally, a year of continuous tension and diversion from the search for peace.

Conflict in the Lebanon augurs further Balkanization on ethnic and ideological grounds. The leader of the Arab Revolt of 1916, my great grandfather, called for dignity and independence of peoples in all parts of the Arabian Peninsula. I find it tragic that religion and ethnic break up endangers the entire Middle East today.

Mr President, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I have accepted your kind invitation to address the Royal Society for Asian Affairs. I see this opportunity as one of renewing old friendships and of exchanging views through a channel which constitutes an important adjunct to formal discussion.

Lord Greenhill, may I refer to politics in the words of an eloquent old Harrovian. Lord Byron said:
''Adversity is the path to truth''. The truth is that I live in a country which falls at the hub of a vital and wealthy region of the world. Jordan is central to the question of stability, and security affects it and is affected by it. I would add that adversity may make a man wise, but as a non-oil producer, we are aware that it does not make him rich!

As an Arab I believe that the views I have to offer on peace and the middleground of the conflict of extremes are at the heart of our shared concern for lasting peace in the Middle East, as well as in an interdependent Europe. Our position geo-politically in both regions is central to regional and international conflict. Such conflict in its human dimension of East/West detente is summarised for us in the Helsinki Final Act, article VIII of which states: ''By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development.''(1)

These are global humanitarian principles. They foster entente and promote detente and are goals towards which we should work at the end of this century. This should not be seen as a tactical objective, but a genuine investment in peace for our planet. Full peace is possible in any part of the world provided the scope of its fullness hinges on the legitimate rights and aspirations of people. We live at a time when realities of demography and migration endanger the fibre and equilibrium of societies in both the North and South. The reasons for such migration, collectively economic, social and political, constitute living under duress.

The super power perception of the Middle East tends arbitrarily to focus on one or other of these factors, political or economic. What is needed is an objective understanding of a region where people live and matter. The United States sees the principal threat as the Soviet Union, and vice versa. The Arabs see the principal threat as that of Israel. The matter of Israel's continuing association with the US provokes a negative attitude in the popular Arab perception of that super power. Woodrow Wilson once referred to that ''whole disgusting scramble'' for the Near East. Although an early champion of the principle of self-determination for peoples, the US today is in the unenviable situation of appearing to thwart the application of the self-determination principle in the case of the Arabs of Palestine.

The difficulty is largely the current absence of the 'barest hint of flexibility' on the part of Israel.

SPEECH
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
AT
THE ANNUAL DINNER
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY FOR ASIAN AFFAIRS
ON
THE PEACEFUL MIDDLEGROUND
AND
THE CONFLICT OF EXTREMES

LONDON
18 JANUARY 1982

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الله تعالى :

وكذلك جعلناكم أمة وسطا لتكونوا شهداء على الناس ويكون الرسول عليكم شهيدا

(الآية رقم ١٤٣ من سورة البقرة)

NOTE

1 . Thus: By giving you a Qibla of your own most ancient in history and most modern, as a symbol of your organization as a new nation (Ummat).

2 . Justly balanced: The essence of Islam is to avoid all extravagances on either side. It is a sober practical religion. But the Arabic word (wasat) also implies a touch of the literal meaning of intermediacy. Geographically Arabia is in an intermediate position in the Old World, as was proved in history by the rapid expansion of Islam, North, South East and West.

To us the unhealthy situation in the West Bank and Gaza is lending itself to the export of political extremism to areas which are vital to the Community of States that depend on oil. The fundamentalist right has also been exported, among other factors, by Iran's revolution. It has been said that: "It is the resentment aroused by spiritual humiliation that gives rise to an irrational response to rational exploitation. The apparently unreasonable, and certainly profitable, resistance of many of the world's underdeveloped countries today to Western business enterprise makes sense only in this context."(★)

The socio-political effects of this forced migration from the occupied territories are bound to have a negative and far-reaching impact on realpolitik and also on regional development. In the long-run general radicalisation particularly affects the South and can only be the death-blow to centrism and traditional values and dignity of Arab society. It constitutes a permanent threat to peace and stability both for Israel and the entire Near and Middle East.

The efforts to promote peace in the Middle East have been pursued as tenaciously as the state of belligerency has been maintained by the parties concerned. In recent years diplomatic efforts have generally been aimed at buying time rather than addressing the root causes in undertaking the monumental task of laying down the foundations of a comprehensive peace. One thing is clear, no peace can be durable if it is not just.

What will happen in the Middle East during 1982 is open to fearful conjecture. Unless a peace process is urgently initiated on solid and mutually satisfactory grounds the future may leave little room for optimism or centrism.

In the words of the Holy Koran:-

> "Thus have we made of you a nation justly balanced that ye might be witnesses over the nations and the Apostle a witness over yourselves."

We believe effectively in the over-riding significance of the centrist approach.

May we live up to this expectation in preserving our identity.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(★) David Landes, "Banks and Pashas", p. 325

houses in the predominantly Christian Towns of Beit Jala and Beit Sahur, as well as the expulsion of Arabs. Bir Zeit University was closed and further land was confiscated to fatten existing settlements or to establish new ones.

Once again Israel demonstrated the bitter irony of hot-housing the radicalism it claims to fear. The deportation of the elected mayors of Hebron and Halhul is yet another indication of Israel's reckless policies that will only strengthen the forces of extremism at the expense of moderation.

The policies of Arab moderates on the Palestine issue as well as on oil should be primarily supported in a meaningful process which reflects genuine concern for the resolution of this issue. This would justify moderate policies and the increased influence of the political centre with the extreme left and right. For the U.S. to emphasize a grand design of a strategic consensus which downplays the main crux of the conflict is an unfailing recipe for further inter-Arab polarization.

To the people in the region it appears that the U.S. decided to shelve the Middle East issue and devote her effort to facing the Soviet threat. The Europeans appear aware of the fact that in resolving the Middle East crisis lies the key to regional stability. If this goal is attained then the principal threat to the security of the area and the Gulf will be removed and nothing will prevent the forces of moderation from co-operating closely,economically and politically, in the longer term, with their natural partners in the West. Since the future is conditioned by the present a better understanding of today will help improve the prospects of tomorrow.

The attitude of Western Europe and Japan on the one hand and the U.S. on the other is broadly conditioned by the need for an uninterrupted supply of oil from the area.Oil predominates the political, economic and military thinking of all major countries interested in the Middle East. Their interest in the oil producing countries is leading to a proportionate alienation in the non-oil producing countries, of which mine is one, and peoples of the Near and Middle East who favour self-reliance in defending the oil fields. Countries like Jordan, on the periphery of the oil producing areas, constitute the first line of defence of this all important hinterland.

The continued stability of this wall around the oil is crucial to the stability of the oil producing countries. Instability for one cannot but spill over either in the political or ideological sense, or in the dislocation which will take place as manpower and skills which they provide are likely to be affected and diminish. Here lies the contribution of Arab political centrism.

The dependence of oil producing countries on the non-oil producing peripheral states on the peninsula and Red Sea, and their independence on both, is not fully recognized yet, even by the oil consuming countries. As the economies of the oil producing countries boom higher demand for skilled manpower will inevitably result-much of it comes from the West Bank and Gaza. It is worth mentioning that Jordan has, in the last few years, trained half a million skilled workers who are the infrastructure of the Gulf region.

planned along the canal utilizing the Mediterranean waters for cooling purposes. This scheme has been criticized by the EEC countries and was unanimously condemned by the United Nations. Besides strong reservations over the nuclear plan of Israel, the proposed canal will furthermore have a negative effect on the agriculture and economy of the region as well as adverse effects on the environment. The water table in the area will be irrevocably harmed and will adversely affect large tracts of agricultural land on both Banks of the Jordan.

We believe that in order to promote the moral force of centrism in our area the Palestinians must assume their right to freely determine their political status and aggregate of economic, social, cultural and political rights. With the menancing situation in Southern Lebanon, the unresolved Syrian Missile crisis and Israel's recent flagrant violation of all laws with its annexation of the Golan Heights, a fifth Arab-Israeli war may become a reality with far-reaching consequences.

It is interesting to note here that amongst the growing number of Israeli voices critical of the present Israeli policy in the Occupied Arab Territories is that of Meron Benvenisti, the former Deputy to Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem. He stated:-

> ''The only real option that exists today is the option of dismantlement and reconciliation ... based on the territorial separation of the two nations ... to be preceded by free political expression, full academic freedom and immediate municipal elections.''

Mr. Chairman,

As if regional politics are not confused enough, the recent U.S.-Israeli Memorandum of Understanding reaffirms U.S. traditional fears of a Soviet drive towards the 'warm waters' of the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The Memorandum was aimed ''against a threat from the Soviet or Soviet-controlled forces from outside the region''.The Arab countries have stated on numerous occasions that the only threat they fear is that of Israeli aggression and expansionist policies.

Ironically, the Memorandum of Understanding, according to U.S. officials ''will contribute to Israel's sense of confidence in its own security and this will serve as a stabilizing influence and help reduce tensions in the region''.

We all saw how the Memorandum did indeed contribute to Israel's sense of confidence in its own security, when Prime Minister Begin surprised the world and the United States, who were all preoccupied with the Polish crisis, by announcing the annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights-Syria is the signatory to a defense agreement with the Soviet Union.

Moderation and political centrism in the occupied West Bank and Gaza is further jeopardized by the daily provocations of the Israeli Government. The recent unrest in the occupied territories resulted in the demolishing of Arab

Strip. The biblical terms ''Judea''and ''Samaria'', used by Israel to describe these areas, leave open to interpretation the question of Jerusalem which is the spiritual core of the problem.

The nationalization of the City itself, as well as a projected metropolitan region, constitutes a glaring Israeli omission of the rights of Arab Christians and Moslems alike in any peace hitherto envisaged. It is clear that no political settlement can be divorced from the political and legal future of the City of Jerusalem and the status of the Holy Places in general. The burning of the Aqsa Mosque in 1969, as well as the vandalization of other Holy Places of Christian and Moslem worship, is a reminder of the psychological depths of the continuing tragedy. By surrounding Arab Jerusalem with a ring of settlements, Israel has threatened the centuries old Arab character of the Holy City which was designated a corpus separatum under the United Nations Trusteeship Council in 1947.

In 1922 Palestine was a Class A Mandate. The Zionists implemented their right to self-determination, as they saw it, by the use of force in 1948, but the establishment of the State of Israel did not constitute a right to regard Palestinian Arabs as a subject people to be gradually decolonised.

Though the Arab conflict with Israel is not an ethnic one certain Israelis and Israeli extremists advocate the ethnic breakup. Israelis do not constitute a specific indigenous ethnic group but a conglomerate of alien groups brought together under the banner of Zionism. The phenomenon of religious and ethnic minorities is neither novel nor confined to the Arab East. Yet Zionist propaganda places increasing emphasis on minority differences.

The continuing Israeli settlement policy has resulted in legal, physical, economic and demographic changes in the occupied Arab territories including Jerusalem. These settlements, which are organized by the Government and the Settlement Department of the World Zionist Organization, have been adopted by the present Likud Government as a national priority.

The recently declared World Zionist Organization Master Plan aims at settling 150,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank in the next four years with 600,000 to 700,000 Jews in Jerusalem by 1985, referring at the end of the day, to Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as minorities among Jews.

Mr. Chairman,

Jordan's position is clear in stressing the European twin principles, I referred to earlier, of justice for peoples and security for states. Free self-determination should be distinguished from limited autonomy. These principles gained open and clear support in the European Venice Declaration of 1980.

In August 1980 the Israeli Cabinet approved plans for the construction of a 100 Kilometre canal which would syphon water from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea at a cost of US .1 billion at current prices. Two atomic plants are

application of International Law and the implementation of numerous U.N. Resolutions would end their suffering. In the words of His Majesty King Hussein:''...Our demand for the disengagement of forces is not only the beginning of the application of the principle of complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. We have repeatedly said that if Israel wants peace it must abandon the territory. Under no circumstances at all will Israel be able to do both''.Total withdrawal for a total peace, or in other words,total peace for a total withdrawal.

In terms of people who matter, the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza are the home for over 1.2 million Arabs, while Israel's population at the beginning of 1979 stood at 3.7 million, of which 600,000 were Arabs. Thus, the demographic aspect, both, with regard to Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries, will be the most important factor in a geopolitical context. The natural increase per thousand was estimated as being 15.1 for Jews and 34.9 for Arabs. This high birth rate in the Arab population makes it,on the whole, one of the youngest populations in the world, enabling the Arab minority in Israel to increase at almost twice the rate of the Jewish majority.

Yigal Yaddin has ironically, yet correctly, argued that: ''If we go on forever controlling the whole of the West Bank we won't be able to remain a State that is both democratic and Jewish .'' It is the same demographic considerations which explain the concern Israel feels over the issue of the ''right to return''. Hypothetically, if all the Palestinians chose to exercise the ''right to return'' it could mean the eventual erosion of the Jewish State from within.

Outside the Jordan/Israel context, if Israel were to maintain a belligerent posture vis-a-vis the Arab world,it would mean some 3.7 million Israelis facing 70 million Arabs East of Suez. By the year 2000,with the absence of peace, prosperity, on the one hand, and diminishing oil resources on the other, 300 million Arabs could be a major source of instability in the world. For the moment the Arab argument is based on the assumption that, at least in demographic terms, time is on their side. The same consideration compels hardline Israeli planners, unfortunately, to increase her economic and military strength to make up for the increasing demographic inferiority.

At the same time, while Israel capitalizes on a democratic image abroad, she practises discriminatory policies and has maintained an attitude of active hostility towards the Palestinian Arabs under her control since 1948, as well as those of the occupied West Bank with the obvious aim of driving Arabs out of their homes.

The radical policy of forcing out Arab youths is further strengthened by the concurrent policy of establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. Jordan has regarded these Israeli policies as not only illegal but also as acts of economic sabotage, cultural deprivation and psychological warfare.

It is clear that the definition of U.N.Resolution 242 has been subjected to distortion as a result of changes made by Israel in the West Bank and the Gaza

patient continuation of the search for a substantive alternative to ad hoc crises.

We believe that King Hassan of Morocco acted wisely in bringing down the curtain and calling for an adjournement of the Summit. The Arab leaders we hope will be able to reassess the entire situation in view of the deadly and crucial issues before us. It could also be said that political centrism, not only in the Arab world but also in Israel, will be given food for thought.

Arab Summits have been unanimous in rejecting the Camp David Accords and the Self-Governing authority emanating from the Accords. Most of the Arab countries are in agreement that the Camp David Accords have come to a dead-end. The key to a genuine and durable peace in the Middle East, as we see it, is unquestionably Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, the respect of the right of the Palestinian Arabs to exercise self-determination, the return of Arab Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty, and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs to opt for the choice of an independent state in the occupied West Bank.

If the world, and all those directly concerned, are genuinely interested in the achievement of peace and security in the region, then we must explore new avenues rather than continuing to uphold the U.S.-sponsored Camp David Accords that omit mention of the central issue of Palestinian self-Determination.

Mr. Chairman,

I recently undertook the task of writing a book on *Palestinian Self-Determination* in which I sincerely and objectively tried to set out the legal basis of Palestinian Arab claims to self-determination.

I believe that it is essential that those states likely to derive considerable benefit from a durable association with the Middle East in the long-term, together with the whole International Community, lend their good offices to achieving this goal. The establishment of lasting peace and stability in the region, supported by economic prosperity and inter-regional co-operation,will be of value to us all. The difficulties are truly formidable but the achievement of peace is surely worth such endeavours. Just peace is an indispensable requirement for the well-being and prosperity of all the inhabitants of the area. After a period of some sixty years of deprivation and subjection, justice and law combines in demanding the restoration of rights originally pledged to the Palestinian people in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The last few months have demonstrated the seriousness of the situation as can be seen by Israel's, a nonsignatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, air-raid against Iraq's nuclear reactor in July 1981; its brutal air-raids against civilian targets in Beirut and its recent illegal unilateral decision to extend Israeli law to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The situation in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip is deteriorating daily,particularly with Israel's introduction of the so-called civilian administration which is nothing but the continuation of the military occupation in civilian clothing.

Our Palestinian Arab brothers suffer daily under Israeli occupation. The

habitants of the region irrespective of their religious or ethnic identities. His was the first voice to seek the right to exercise self-determination in Palestine. Today, over sixty years later, his Majesty king Hussein is still pursuing the same objective. It is on this foundation that our legitimacy and centrism is based. For us the people and their aspirations are the vector of stability or radicalism and the sooner this is recognized the better for all countries of the region.

My efforts here shall be to focus on the contribution of Arab political centrism in striving to realize an equitable and lasting peace in the region.

Firstly, the Arab Middle East today is still influenced by the consensus approach and it would be appropriate for us to turn to the aftermath of the recent Fez Arab Summit held in Morocco.

Secondly, understanding the tense situation in the occupied territories requires particular emphasis on and clarification of the Israeli settlement policy, which we in Jordan consider to be a major obstacle to the attainment of peace in the Middle East.

And thirdly, if time and your patience permit, I shall touch on Jordan's position and view of the peace process as well as the so-called Self-Governing Authority which Israel and the United States are trying unsuccessfully to impose on our people in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, not to mention the recent Golan crisis. And speaking of crises, we have actually been manipulated from one crisis to the next during the course of the past year.

1981 witnessed the attack by Israel on the nuclear plant in Baghdad. The strike was the first test for the new U.S. Administration and shook the Arab world. The conflict in the Lebanon with the trend towards balkanization of that country and of the neighbouring region, followed by aftermath of the missile crisis between Syria and Israel, was a further test of Arab unity. The sale of the U.S.A.W.A.C.S. aircraft to Saudi Arabia proved to be yet another highly controversial issue and raised the question of how far could the extreme Zionist lobby influence regional developments. The continuing Iraqi-Iranian war and its divisive effects in the region is yet another Middle Eastern and International perspective to be resolved. But what is possibly the most topical issue is the Saudi Eight Point Peace Plan. The unequivocal restatement of an official Arab readiness to search for ''Justice for peoples'' and ''security for states'', to use the European formulation, was a clear indication of the possibilities offered by political centrism. The difficulties encountered by the plan indicated the sensitive problem of centrism placed in a growingly polarised situation.

The Begin Government attempted to discredit Saudi Arabia with its threats to answer the Peace Plan's Points with ''eight new settlements in the West Bank''. Israeli officials described the failure of the Summit to produce a conclusive result as proof of the unworthiness of America's faith in Arab moves towards peace.

The need for adopting elements of the Plan in an Arab consensus approach justified a postponement of the Fez Summit meeting, which regarded the Plan as a major agenda item. The criticism of the Plan, however, justifies

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to be with you today and is indeed an honour to be able to address your esteemed Society. I look forward to a productive exchange of views with you all.

I welcome the opportunity in early 1982 to share with you an Arab view of a matter of grave concern and urgency, not only to us, the people of the South West Asia region, but to the entire world, namely how to preserve political centrism at a time of global crises.

The resolution of the conflict in the Near and Middle East presupposes an ability of the peoples of the region to rely on themselves. Yet, on the one hand the indivisible line of North/South detente from Spitzbergen and the Artic Circle to the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea directly jeopardizes the potential for conflict solving through self-reliance. On the other, in the indivisible horizontal line of South/South detente the lack of compatibility between rich and poor-evolution and revolution-has made the region more vulnerable to exploitation. Such exploitation is sadly perceived in the form of increased Super Power polarization of the South broadly defined. The Israeli/Arab confrontation has increased militancy and is seen from the political centre as a major cause for the conflict of extremes in a vulnerable strategic region.

Whereas the United States sees the principle threat as that of the Soviet Union, Arabs believe that Israel is the major challenge to their independence and human dignity. The close association of the United States with Israel is continuous and its apparently unconditional political and military support further aggravates this feeling. The Soviet Union is publicly associated with opposing this joint U.S./Israeli axis and has strengthened its ties with countries in the region in this context.

Europe, in a sense, falls at the political centre of the spectrum. Yet, in-Europe's dealings with the wealth of the region it could be said, in the words of President Woodrow Wilson that aspects of ''that whole disgusting scramble'' for the Near East continue unabated. The conclusion of a recent Euro/Arab Club of Rome study calls for economic complementarity between the EEC and the Arab East and attaches, in the longer term, the highest importance to the preservation of their independence. In the concluding remarks of the report, and I quote:-

''But if the stakes to be won in Euro/Arab co-operation are high so too are the hurdles to be overcome; rigidities as against adjustments in western Europe; convergent and divergent trends in the European countries; divisions and rivalries within the Arab World; fragility of the political, and even social, systems in certain Arab countries.''

Mr. Chairman,

As for my people, my great grandfather Sherif Hussein of Mecca who in the same Wilsonian period led the Great Arab Revolt, aimed at unifying the in-

SPEECH
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
AT
GERMAN SOCIETY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
BONN, GERMANY
ON
THE ROLE OF POLITICAL CENTRISM IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

TUESDAY, 12 JANUARY, 1982, BONN

a clearer perception of how it is interrelated and of how North and South depend on each other in a single world economy.''

unquote.

There is an old saying that the rich are always advising the poor but the poor seldom venture to return the compliment. Although things might be changing these days, what is really needed is the end of the rhetorical monologues which unfortunately characterize meetings between the South and the North. I sincerely hope that the present meeting will contribute significantly towards mutual understanding and co-operation which today's interdependent world so urgently needs.

Another area of major importance to co-operation is the cultural image of the Arabs in the West. The Arab side feels that its image in the West has been distorted. In addition to persistent historic prejudices, human dignity is injured when Arabs are treated as though they were nothing more than barrels of oil. People of the region feel deeply offended by this attitude, as their cultural heritage and contribution to human civilisation, past and present, are overlooked. The Arab Nation has much more than oil to offer; its human, cultural and other natural resources could play a major role in global progress.

We are keen on co-operating with the European side to correct this distortion. The mass media play a large part in this situation. They either lack objective information on our area or have vested interests in projecting a distorted image of the Arab Nation.

To translate the economic and cultural components of co-operation into reality, one may think of several possibilities. One is joint projects and investments. These projects should be in harmony with the socio-economic priorities of the region. Any inflow of capital and aid should not be exclusively restricted to increasing consumption. Investments in ice-cream and fast food places does not match the real needs of the region. We believe that this ice-cream investment strategy does not build a long-term base for co-operation.

With regard to the form of the participation in investments, I would like to say that there are no longer any rigidities against private, in favour of public, investment, or against bilateral in favour of multilateral investment. The need and desire for co-operation is far more important than any narrow biases.

Meaningful and durable co-operation, however, requires political will on the part of the co-operating parties. While good will exists, it is not enough and has to be supplemented by political will ill-founded distrust has to be replaced by mutual trust and meaningful dialogue has to replace empty rhetoric. Only then would the arguments against co-operation by developed countries on account of their economic difficulties and balance of payment problems lose their present force. Developed countries, which have a mature infrastructure, possess the means to overcome short-term difficulties. What is needed by both sides is reorientation, adjustment and foresightedness. In the long-term, co-operation would generate benefits for all partners and contribute to their strength and stability.

The long-term co-operation between Europe and the Arab world could be a model for the North/South co-operation. In these times of growing contacts between the North and the South, I believe that a frank exchange of views would contribute to building stronger bonds of co-operation. It has to be recognised that the disparities between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' constitute a real threat to our collective future. Analysing this unhealthy situation, the Brandt Commission stated and I quote:

> ''It is a great contradiction of our age that those disparities exist-and are in some respects widening-just when human society is beginning to have

ment of these alternative sources, both at home and abroad. We prefer, however, that some of the meaningful research and development efforts in this field be carried out within the region. This would utilise some of the available human resources and promote further beneficial effects and linkages.

In this context, I would like to point out that Jordan is a non-oil producer and has to import almost all of her energy needs. We have a keen interest in the stability of the oil market, which we share with the Europeans and the oil producers. Further, we believe that these oil producers, where oil is usually their only sizeable export and the main source of their wealth, should be guaranteed a real rate of return on their investments in the industrialised countries.

The fourth priority area is manpower development. The Arab world is characterised by a relatively young population where almost 50% of the region's population is under fifteen years of age. This entails heavy investments in infrastructure to serve and train this large component. The structure of the labour force shows adequate numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The numbers of professional people are rapidly growing, even in the fields of engineering, medicine, and agriculture. However, there is a weak link in this structure, represented by the shortage of skilled workers and technicians upon whose skills industrial development depends.

The four priority areas I mentioned could be described as having largely an economic dimension. However, any progress or co-operation achieved in these fields can be of a short-term nature or even nullified if attention is not paid to two major areas, namely security considerations and cultural values.

Security, in our opinion has several components: economic, political, social and military. Economic progress and co-operation does not occur in a vacuum and cannot thrive in an unstable, threatened environment. Our experience in the region has shown that the intransigence of Israel is threatening the stability of the area as well as its economic progress. The intervention of the super-powers in the region's affairs has not made things any better. The current situation has implications which go far beyond the borders of the region, threatening world peace and security.

Recent attempts at promoting peace in our region have shown a marked neglect of aspirations of the people directly concerned. They also left out the substantive issues which are at the heart of the problem. These issues include the right of people to self-determination and sovereignty over their homeland and its resources. The recent moves which neglect these elements were fragile, precarious and of short duration. They have not succeeded and are unlikely to.

My country has been long committed to peace and security in the Middle East. We are not new converts. However, we have had a clear view of the essential elements of a lasting peace. We believe in those elements and the sooner they are dealt with, the sooner peace will be achieved. Failing to do that would be to give way to further conflict and instability.

Furthermore, the availability of food on the market does not guarantee its accessibility to the low-income group. Malnutrition and hunger could exist side by side with agricultural surpluses. Hence, any measure designed to tackle this problem has to pay equal attention to the production as well as the distribution of food.

To increase production, the need is clear for green programmes which could combine capital, appropriate European technology and the land resources of the Arab world. This could be carried out on either an intensive or extensive basis.

The development of water resources would play a crucial role in these green programmes. As our region is mostly arid, the optimum utilisation of scarce water resources has to be adopted and the development of existing untapped sources implemented.

To ensure the food needs of the region in years of drought or low production, the creation of a food reserve programme could be considered. This can be built on co-operation between the Arab World and Europe. It can be used as a means of absorbing excess production and stockpiling it until it is needed. The efficient management of such a programme could be a guarantee for the marketing of important crops, by keeping their prices within specific limits thus guaranteeing the small farmer an assured level of income, and the consumer reasonable food prices.

The second priority which is closely related to agriculture is rural development. The Arab world is witnessing rapid urbanisation with much emphasis put on urban development, while the countryside is relatively neglected. The growing pressures on urban services as well, is the relative deterioration of the agricultural sector call for greater attention being paid to rural development. Unfortunately, our policy-makers have been trapped by the urban bias and some have held the view that stability of society relies on the progress of urban areas. I believe that a balanced programme of integrated rural development would strengthen the fabric of society, increase agricultural production and lessen the increasing pressures on congested urban areas. Such a programme would also ensure that not only agriculture, but light industry and basic infrastructure and services are within the reach of rural areas.

The third priority area is energy, and this is not surprising as it is a high priority of practically every country in the world. while energy consumption in the industrialised world has reached high levels and seems to be tapering off, it is growing rapidly in our region and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. Ambitious development programmes in the fields of agriculture, industry and services will increase the demand for energy. The growing standards of living in our region will also add to the demand for this valuable product.

The Arab world, despite its vast energy resources, is genuinely interested in the conservation of energy and the development of alternative sources. Investments have already been made by some countries towards the develop-

In this world of growing interdependence, it is only realistic to point out that the security of the Arab world directly affects the security of Europe, for any instability in our area is bound to have repercussions on European gains in assuring energy sources.

The Dialogue, which was stalemated for some time, has faced difficulties from both sides. On the Arab side, it appears that the Arab party did not prepare itself thoroughly for these meetings. The increasing number of committees and sub-committees, postponement of meetings and, as some experts close to the Dialogue indicated, sometimes the sudden unexpected presentation of issues by the European side only added to the confusion.

Within the context of this Dialogue, several committees and sub-groups were established, some of which were further divided into sub-committees to deal with specialised fields. For instance, the Industrialisation Committee had a number of sub-committees, such as the Committee on General Contracting Agreements, the Committee on Fertilizers, the Committee on Steel, the Committee on Standardisation and Specification, and the Committee on Refineries and Petrochemicals. These committees, however, were not effective. Some of them have never met and others held few meetings without any substantial progress.

An overall evaluation of the Dialogue would show that it has fallen short of its objective. To put it back on the right track requires a clarification of the process of co-operation and an agreement on its nature and scope, covering the cultural, economic, technical and security aspects.

Once this is done, the next logical step would be to agree on the priorities of the fields to be covered by the Dialogue. There are obviously many areas which could be beneficially included, but the choice should be made with a view to choosing the most urgent and relevant problems facing us.

Needless to say, we should learn from our recent experience which has shown that the Arab side did not always come to the Dialogue fully prepared and with a clear view of its requirements. For a successful resumption of the Dialogue, a clear set of priorities should be established beforehand.

From my observations of conditions in the Arab world and from association with many of its thinkers and policy-makers, I feel that I can mention some of these priorities. While these should not be taken as a final list representing the Arab position, I believe they are very close to the thinking of those involved with the Dialogue.

The first priority, in my opinion, is water, agriculture and food. These are fields which affect the daily lives of our citizens. Agricultural production in the Arab world is rapidly falling short of the needs of the population and food imports are increasing at a high rate. In the early seventies, for example, Arab agricultural production met about 95% of the needs of the population. This ratio is falling rapidly and is expected to descend as low as 20% in 1990.

In the introduction to the report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, Mr. Willy Brandt suggested that ''the shaping of our common future is much too important to be left to Governments and experts alone''. The meetings organised by the Club of Rome amply demonstrate the wit and wisdom underlying those words. Personally, I agree all the more readily with Mr. Brandt since I feel that, somehow, I escape both the categories he mentions.

It is a pleasure to be able to participate in this meeting. Historically, no country is better placed than Spain to prove the validity of Arab-European complementarity. Centuries ago, as a cross-road of cultures, Spain played the catalytic role of advancing arts and sciences through inter-action of Arab and European civilisations. I should add that our respective roles have considerably changed since the Arabs first set foot on Spanish soil although the basic value of cross-fertilization remains unchanged.

The notion of complementarity involves both inter-dependence and mutual co-operation. A prerequisite for co-operation is the awareness by each side of the other's needs, interests and aspirations. Obviously co-operation and complementarity go far beyond the exchange of commodities and products. Mere growth in the volume of trade among our two regions does not necessarily imply a corresponding growth in co-operation; it does not necessarily touch the roots of our relations, for the tree of co-operation cannot be fully understood by looking at it as mere branches and leaves.

Meaningful co-operation, to us, is a multidimensional process. It is a dynamic search for a common good requiring sensitivity on all sides to respond intelligently to changing circumstances.

Recent experience of this process has shown that Euro-Arab relations have not been comprehensive in outlook. Exchanges in various fields, have been intermittent, brief and short-term.

It would be helpful here to recall the experience of the Euro-Arab Dialogue with which the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has been associated practically since the beginning. The Dialogue was started following the 1973 war. The growing financial resources of the Arab region and its energy resources were of crucial importance to the economic stability of Europe. The Arabs believed that Europe could positively contribute to the security of the Arab region, which is still threatened by Israeli intransigence and repeated aggression. The impasse was that the Europeans wanted economic stability and security for energy and financial resources while the Arabs wanted political security.

Despite the energy crisis, however, financial and natural resources have been kept flowing to meet European needs and new mechanisms for recycling financial surpluses have been worked out. On the other hand, the security needs of the Arab nation have not been met and some might even suggest that there has been a deterioration in the overall security situation of the region even though there have been some European attempts and declarations showing understanding of our security needs.

ADDRESS
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
TO
THE CLUB OF ROME MEETING
ON
''ARAB-EUROPEAN COMPLEMENTARITY''

SEVILLE, SPAIN
24 OCTOBER 1981

If the human race is to maintain its claim of being civilized then it is imperative that humanitarian principles be cornerstones of this claim. An internationally recognised framework of comprehensive humanitarian principles should govern relations among peoples and nations in times of war and peace. It should have an in-built monitoring system and should become the basis for the solution of problems of refugees and displaced persons, poverty, illiteracy, terrorism and other issues that are detrimental to the advancement of humanity.

Mr. President,

I should like to propose to this Assembly the promotion of a New International Humanitarian Order parallel to the efforts being made in the economic and other fields. Before dealing with economics and politics, let man learn to be more human. I believe that just as the 1948 U.N. Declaration on Human Rights became the springboard for a number of international covenants and legal principles, this comprehensive International Humanitarian Order may offer a new impetus for a Code of Conduct in human and international relations of which we are so desperately in need.

Jordan is willing to co-operate with you, Mr. President, and with the General Assembly, in crystallizing this idea and translating it into reality.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President,

It is with this clear and positive outlook that we are ready to co-operate with any sincere initiative aimed at finding a just and comprehensive peace for the Palestinian and Middle East problem. We have rejected any attempts at achieving a unilateral peace through partial solutions which only benefit one side. From this perspective we have clearly and consistently rejected the Camp David Accords which ignored the core of the problem and overlooked the minimum basic requirements for a comprehensive and just solution. Furthermore these Accords have strengthened Israel's intransigence and encouraged her to defy the resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council which should be binding for all States.

Mr. President,

Another issue related to the security and stability of the region in which we live is the continuing war between Iran and Iraq. This armed conflict has caused great sadness in Jordan as it involves a confrontation between two sisterly Islamic states. Jordan's position is based on the provisions of the U.N. Charter, resolutions and international law. Furthermore, it emanates from a national Arab commitment whereby Jordan stands by Iraq in its defence of its legitimate national rights over its lands and waterways, and stands by Arab rights in the Gulf region. However, Jordan still hopes that the Islamic Republic of Iran will respond positively to Iraq's offer of peace as well as to the efforts of other Islamic and international mediators and, in particular, to the role of the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Envoy and the Non-Aligned nations. These efforts, we hope, will resolve the conflict and bring peace while safeguarding the rights of each party. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries must be respected within a policy of good neighbourly relations based on international law.

Mr. President,

We appreciate the positive resolutions adopted by the various international organisations, such as the Islamic, Non-Aligned and African Unity Organisations as well as peace loving member states, either through their regional conferences or by their positions in this Assembly. We consider the stands taken by these organisations and States as a principal source of the legitimacy of our right and the justice they invoke and are, as such, a clear condemnation of Israel's policies mentioned earlier which place hurdles in the way of peace.

Mr. President,

There is no doubt that the peace and security of the world depend largely on achieving peace and security in the Middle East. Should its present instability be allowed to continue it will lead to endangering the entire human race with destruction in view of super power polarisation in seeking to control our vital region.

the suffering of our sister country. Continuous Israeli efforts are aimed at dismembering Lebanon and at occupying the South of the country with its water resources. We all vividly remember the victims of the savage Israeli air-strikes against residential areas and refugee camps in Beirut and South Lebanon last July.

Fourth: Israel's violation of international law by attacking Iraq's nuclear installation. This came after Iraq had announced the peaceful nature and use of its nuclear installation, which was regularly open for inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The peaceful nature of this installation was re-emphasized by the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency in his report to the U.N. Security Council last july. Furthermore, while Iraq is a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Israel refuses both to sign this Treaty and to allow inspection of her own nuclear facilities.

Mr. President,

In contrast to Israel's belligerence in attempting to control the region, there is a sincere Jordanian and Arab desire for peace, built on justice, leading to the stability of the region as a whole.

Jordan which has experienced the full dimensions of the tragedy of the Palestinians and their land, and suffered from its consequences, firmly supports, along with all Arab countries, the international initiatives on the Palestinian and Middle East problems. Our co-operation with Ambassador Gunnar Jarring was total and genuine as was our participation in the Geneva Conference of 1973. Jordan also welcomed the joint Soviet/American Communique of 1 October 1977, and the Venice Declaration of June 1980, as a positive step in the right direction. In the same spirit, we welcomed the Soviet call for an international conference to discuss the problems with all the parties concerned, including the PLO, whose participation should be on an equal footing in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Mr. President,

Jordan's position springs from the concensus of national principles adopted by the Arab Summit Conferences at Baghadad, Tunis and Amman, which emphasized the Arabs' demand for justice and peace in their commitment to the attainment of a just, comprehensive and durable peace in the Middle East. Peace, in the eyes of the Arab Nation, is in keeping with the basic principles of the U.N. and the Security Council. These are enunciated in their resolutions which call for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab lands occupied in 1967including Arab Jerusalem, and the firm assurance of respect for the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people. These rights include their right to an independent Palestinian State on Palestinian national soil, and the guarantee of the security and stability of all States in the region.

Mr. President,

Israel would not be able to continue in its expansionist policy, nor to challenge international law, nor to rebel against U.N. resolutions, nor to spread instability and insecurity in the region, were it not for the total political, economic and military support it receives from certain countries, particularly the United States.

American support for Israel is based on the claim that the United States is committed to the security of Israel, a claim about which the United States has thus far failed to be totally precise. Is the United States committed to Israel of the 1947 partition plan, or Israel of the armistice of 1948, or Israel of 1967? The United States' support for Israel by such ambiguous claims, and Israel's alteration of the basic features of Arab lands, understood by the Arabs to mean that the United States is committed to an expansionist Israel at Arab expense.

Mr. President,

The continuous supply of advanced weaponry to Israel due to the false Western assumption that this would provide security for Israel, is proving to be largely counter-productive. It is the Israeli arsenal, including nuclear capability, that constitutes a direct threat to the stability and peace in the region and in the world at large. The recent agreement between Israel and the United States involving strategic co-operation and complementary arrangements has increased the dangers of polarisation. It also adds to the doubts and fears of the Arab Nation and increases the existing dangers.

This continuing and total support to Israel has encouraged her to expand her sphere of aggression. To this support can be attributed what Israel has achieved in a short space of time:

First: Annexation of Arab Jerusalem by the Zionist entity despite international objections and condemnation, and despite the reverence in which all peoples and religions, whether Christian, Muslim or Jewish, regard the Holy City.

Second: The initiation of the Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal. This signifies continued Israeli expansion without any consideration for the sovereignty of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, or the harm it will cause the latter's economic and social programmes. It also prejudices Palestinian rights in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This project, which Israel intends to execute, is a threat to the security and peace of the area, more so since it not only invites new settlers but envisages the construction of nuclear plants along the new canal thus augmenting her existing nuclear capacity.

The resolution adopted by the U.N. Conference held in Nairobi last August firmly condemns Israel's action and opposes her aggressive plans. It is our hope that this first step will be followed by further action by the General Assembly in order to consolidate efforts in opposition to this aggressive project.

Third: Ongoing Israeli interference in the Lebanon which has intensified

speech His Majesty was the first to underline that real peace can only be built on justice. He concluded his second speech, and I quote:-

> "If I have spoken at some length of the question that dominates our area it is because this question is one of the destiny and future life of my nation and directly affects world peace."

The Palestinian problem has become the concern of the world at large and has commanded the attention and efforts of the U.N. as no other problem.

Israel occupied the greater part of the land of Palestine in 1948, dispersed its people and suppressed its character and political identity. After its aggression of 5 June, 1967, it occupied, as it still does, all the land of Palestine as well as a part of other Arab lands. A quick glance at the map of the area shows the difference between what the United Nations accepted in 1947, according to Resolution 181, as the territories of Israel, and what these territories are today. It goes without saying that Israel has violated the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organisation which accepted the membership of Israel on the condition that it implement Resolutions 181 of 1947 and 194 of 1948. Israel did not consider it enough to drive the Palestinians out of their own land as refugees and displaced persons, or to persecute them under occupation, but has sought deliberately to change the identity of the land and its people. Israel is intensifying its settlement efforts and has filled its new settlements with settlers from elsewhere. It has confiscated Arab public and private property as well as water and other natural resources and placed them at the disposal of these new settlers. Israel challenged international law by its unrelenting political resolve to Judaise and annex Arab Jerusalem. She continues through the actions and public statements of its leaders to pursue total annexation of occupied Palestinian lands on the basis of unjustifiable ancient and mythical claims.

The Arab people under occupation, who resist the Zionist plans for annexation, are subjected to severe punishment comparable to the worst in human history. Under Israeli occupation, the Palestinians have suffered mass punishment, demolition of houses and the exile or physical liquidation of their leaders. Palestinian survival is at stake. Israel has even forbidden the municipalities and village councils to receive aid and support in order to develop their localities and offer basic services to the population. As a result of this measure, the populations have been left without necessary basic financing either from the occupation authorities or from their fellow Arabs, whereas previously at least public services and utilities were supported through Arab aid.

The occupation authorities are linking the economy of the occupied lands with that of Israel; thus forcing the Palestinians to leave their land so that Israel may accommodate new settlers on it and, consequently, annex the occupied Arab territories.

eradicate hunger and at the same time overcome the problems involving low agricultural production, creeping desertification and water resources development.

Within this framework of co-operation, there is need for establishing a 'Bank of Technology' in order to transfer to the developing countries the required relevant technology from the industrialised world. Such a bank would also facilitate technical co-operation between the developing countries.

We also hope that a well-studied programme, within a structured framework, to which all nations can subscribe, will arise out of the Summit Conference of the Twenty two Nations to be held next month in Mexico.

Mr. President,

The third issue I would like to discuss is the aspiration of many peoples for 'Self-Determination', for independence and for freedom from foreign domination which impedes their legitimate hopes for a better future. In line with our Arab and Islamic heritage and our belief in the absolute right of peoples to liberty and independence Jordan supports the struggle of the people of South Africa. We call upon the international community to exert further pressure upon those who aid and abet the racist South African regime. The apartheid policy of South Africa must end as should her aggression against neighbouring countries. South Africa must end her occupation of Namibia and abide by U.N. Resolutions. Specifically, South Africa should adhere to Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. The international community must put an end to the aggressive South African-Israeli co-operation in the political, economic, military and cultural fields. As a result of nuclear co-operation these ties pose a direct threat to the peoples of Africa, the Arab world, as well as international peace and security.

It is in the context of self-determination that Jordan views the situation in Afghanistan, Eritrea and Namibia and calls for the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolutions which demand non-interference in the internal affairs of nations. Jordan also calls for a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, particularly through the efforts of the U.N. to ensure its unity, independence and non-alignment.

Mr. President,

I mentioned earlier some of the general issues that face the world of today and which, if not addressed, will threaten the future of mankind. Another important and grave issue, in addition to those I have mentioned, is the Middle East problem at the basis of which is the tragedy of the Palestinian people and their lands.

I do not wish to go into details which are thirty-three years old. His Majesty King Hussein has, in his two speeches delivered to the General Assembly, in 1967 immediately after Israel treacherously occupied the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Sinai and Golan Heights, and again in 1979, adequately elaborated various aspects of this problem, its evolution and implications. In his 1967

Mr. President,

Here I am referring, in particular, to the dangers that threaten our Middle East region as a result of the accumulation by Israel of a major arsenal of both conventional and nuclear weapons. Items 46 and 56 on the Agenda of this session are concerned with making the Middle East a nuclear free zone and with the dangers stemming from the Israeli nuclear armaments programme. Consideration of these issues here is an indication of the realization of dangers that threaten the Middle East because of nuclear armament by Israel aimed at imposing hegemony through aggression in the region. Israel has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and has further refused to allow the international organizations concerned to inspect its nuclear installations. We, in the Middle East, look to the United Nations and its Charter as the proper framework within which should fall any arrangement for making the Middle East a nuclear free zone. Such a step should lead to halting the Israeli nuclear programme, with its sinister objectives, saving the region from the horrors of the use of these destructive weapons.

Mr. President,

The second important issue for the present and the future of the world is the creation of a new and more equitable international economic order, which conforms to the aspirations of a majority of the peoples of the world. It is clear that the problems facing international economic relations have reached such a critical stage that the very survival and continuation of the human race depend on their speedy solution.

An objective view reveals that poverty, ignorance and disease,as well as drought that regularly threatens the life of nations in Asia and Africa, have negatively affected entire communities. The dangers caused by this situation and its tragic human dimension have failed to move the political will of the rich nations to adequately confront these challenges. They have also fallen far short of creating the basis for a new moral order based on justice, fair treatment and co-operation among nations.

My country is conscious of the essential role of the United Nations in evolving a major change in the present international economic situation. We need to develop criteria to regulate international relations on an equitable basis for an acceptable pattern of world trade.

It is unfair that developing countries have to import industrialized goods at ever rising prices while they sell their raw materials at comparatively lower prices. The situation also calls for an immediate solution to the energy problem and the spiralling costs involved. The Nairobi Conference of last August constituted the first concrete step towards dealing with this very important issue. It highlighted the need for providing sources of energy for projects in developing countries; thus reducing the financial burden on their economies.

Furthermore, we need to use modern technology in order to provide for a comprehensive International Food Security Programme. This will help

Mr. President,

May I first express my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the Thirty-Sixth General Assembly Session. It is indicative of the high regard in which your personal accomplishments are held and of your country's important role in strengthening international understanding and in cementing genuine co-operation among nations. I am confident that your contribution to promoting a positive outcome of the deliberations of this session will be enhanced by your personal qualities and wide experience. I also wish to express my thanks and appreciation for the efforts of your predecessor, Ambassador von Wechmar whose country, the Federal Republic of Germany, is bound to my own in strong bonds of friendship, mutual respect and co-operation. His valuable contribution as President of the Thirty-Fifth Session helped significantly to facilitate an atmosphere of positive dialogue which characterized the work of the session. It also gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the considerable efforts of the Secretary General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, aimed at lessening global tensions and increasing the chances for peace in all parts of the world.

Mr. President,

A close examination of the current world situation clearly demonstrates a divergence between the commonly shared aspiration for a world ruled by peace and justice, and the existing reality where power rules and the politics of 'fait accompli' dominate.

There are countries which feel justified in adopting a policy based on the creation of spheres of influence and the use of 'power politics' for solving problems. This is partly due to the lack of a moral content in their decision-making process. Absence of moral commitment to seek security through peaceful means increases the dependence of these powers on the enlargement of their arsenal of destructive weapons. The search for the unattainable absolute security makes these countries forget that absolute security for some means absolute lack of security for others.

The arms race, involving a vast annual world expenditure averaging $450 billion, increases tension. It forces many of the developing countries to allocate huge segments of their income for defence purposes at the expense of their economic and social development.

Disarmament is basic and vital to world security and peace. We are appreciative of all the efforts and resolutions adopted and implemented by the U.N. in that respect. We all hope that the Second Special Session dealing with disarmament, to be held next year, will achieve substantial progress in this area. It will protect humanity from a grave danger and protect developing countries from being drawn into conflicts and struggles for influence which threaten their very existence and survival.

SPEECH DELIVERED
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS CROWN PRINCE
HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
TO
THE THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION
OF
THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

MONDAY, 28 SEPTEMBER, 1981, NEW YORK

Presumably, the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force is planning the use of bases and facilities in the region, for example, Bahrain, Oman (Masirah), Somalia (Berbera), Kenya (Mombasa) and possibly some Red Sea ports in Egypt. Here, politics intervene. Which Arab State would co-operate with the US in the absence of a solution of the Palestinian problem? Obviously, in view of the very complex and explosive political and psychological factors involved, the deployment and more important permanent presence of the RDF would be an exercise in futility.

Mr. Chairman,

In conclusion, while the USA's, Europe's, Japan's and the Soviet Union's concern for the defence and the 'neutralisation' of the Gulf Region are both understandable and justified, I can do no better than recommend the Five Point Peace Plan (for the Gulf) floated by His Majesty King Hussein during the course of an address at the staff College at Camberly. In essence, the five points are:-

1. The Gulf be declared a ''neutral zone'' by the Super Powers with guarantees of non-interference.
2. The defence of the Gulf be left to the States of the region. This will not only avoid polarisation of the region into hostile camps or blocs, but discourage surrogates of Super Powers from ''queering the pitch'' as it were.
3. The Gulf States in their turn guarantee an uninterrupted oil supply to all their customers.
4. To avoid the possibility of an oil embargo or the use of oil as a strategic economic weapon, the Super Powers, and particularly the United States, concentrate it undoubted power and influence to ensure an early and honourable settlement of the problem of Palestine.
5. And finally the Gulf States should be encouraged to join a collective security arrangement which would call for assistance from a super or medium power if the need so arises. A Gulf Treaty Organisation (GTO) could be a useful beginning.

To conclude, a review of the political and military factors obtaining in the volatile Middle East indicates that Arab dignity and self-respect will reject the presence of foreign troops on Arab soil and that the key to peace and stability in the Gulf and, by implication, the Middle East can only be achieved through the willing support and co-operation of its people. And how can this be best achieved? By an early just and comprehensive settlement of the problem of Palestine. The Palestinians have suffered enough for no other reason than that they were born Palestinians.

Thank you.

President Leonad Brezhenev made it known that the Gulf region ''should be kept free from Super Power rivalry'', and that ''the responsibility for the defence of the region rests on the shoulders of the States of the Gulf''.

In pursuit of his policy of Super non-interference, President Brezhenev proposed that the Gulf region be declared a neutral zone.

The Arab View

The Arab view is that they object to be used as a pawn in the Super Powers' war games. They insist that the Gulf region be declared a ''neutral zone'', not only to avoid conflict in the region but to ensure a free flow of oil to countries dependent on it for their energy needs.

And, if the US and the West are as deeply concerned about their oil supplies and protection of the sea routes in the Gulf, as they claim to be, it would be in their interests to solve the Palestinian problem on a priority basis. In the absence of a just solution the region would be vulnerable to both overt and covert aggression. The injection of foreign troops will exacerbate matters further and play into the hands of radicals and extremists in the region. It is essential that the US acknowledges this basic fact.

The concept of the RDF

The US concept for the RDF appears to be the seizure, securing, operation of oil installations and to ensure safe passage of shipping both to and from the Gulf. A daunting task to say the least.

To achieve this mission of ensuring the oil fields on a zonal or area basis, a Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force has been formed in the USA which is to consist of an:-

18 Airborne Corps of

The 82nd Airborne Division
The 101st (Airborne) Air Mobile Division
A Marine Amphibious Force
Four Air Wings (600- 1,000 combat aircraft)
Several Aircraft Carrier Groups

A total force of some 56,000 combat troops in a state of operational alert to rush to any 'brush fire' with the Gulf high on the priority list.

While I make no claim to be a defence strategist or planner, a number of strategic, tactical and technical problems immediately spring to mind. To take the problem of logistics alone, the main US support bases are:-

	Distance from the Gulf
1. Subic Bay	6,000 miles
2. Guam	7,500 miles
3. Norfolk (Virginia)	11,000 miles
4. Diego Garcia (British)	2,300 miles

1. Where, and if possible, oil should not be used as a strategic weapon.
2. The oil trade should be free of 'politicisation'. and
3. Latent Arab hostility should be removed by the just settlement of the Palestine dispute.

To ensure access to Arab oil, therefore, it stands to reason that the central concern of the Arab oil producing countries over the Arab/Israeli dispute should be settled without recourse to war.

Brute force by itself will achieve little and in all probability will be counter-productive.

Super Power Fears and Arab Views

The US View

The US view is dominated by the traditional fear of a USSR drive towards the ''warm waters'' of the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. US defence analysts speak of a ''vacuum'' created in the Middle East in general and the Gulf region in particular, occasioned by the British withdrawal from the Suez in 1956, South Arabia in the late sixties and the Gulf in 1971.

In simplistic terms the US contends that the strategic ''vacuum'' resulting from the British departure was filled temporarily by the Shah of Iran before his overthrow-hence the need for a Rapid Deployment Force. To quote Zbigniew Brzezinski''.. to respond quickly, effectively and even preempting a threat to the Gulf region''.

US planners point to the eminence of the threat posed by the Soviet military presence in Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan and on the borders of Iran. In the State of the Union speech delivered by President Jimmy Carter on 23 January, 1980, he stated:-

> ''The US is prepared to use force, if necessary, to protect its vital interests, including the supply of petroleum.''

In consonance with this policy the US naval presence in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf was augmented in the Autumn of 1979 and a Rapid Deployment Force, with the 18th Airborne Corps as its fighting core, was earmarked in the continental USA.

The Soviet View

The Soviet Union dismissed the US concern for a Soviet threat to the ''warm waters'' of the Indian Ocean and the Gulf as a strategic and political ploy, as an ''imperialist conspiracy'' aimed at exerting pressure on the Gulf States to yield to Western policy in the region.

In the Soviet view a mythical ''strategic vacuum'' has been created by the US to enable it to interfere militarily in the Gulf if the need should so arise. During the course of his State visit to India in 1980, and in a recent meeting with the Kuwaiti Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister in Moscow in April 1981,

Mr. Chairman,

Before moving on to the slides, to illustrate the human and practical aspects of Israel's settlement policy, I would like to quote from statements made by Yigal Allon (on settlements) and Menachem Begin's concept of autonomy under the umbrella of the still-born Camp David Treaty. In June 1976 Yigal Allon stated:-

''The settlements are not established in order to be abandoned.''

And in the wake of Camp David and the futile bleatings of the US the Egyptian Government notwithstanding, Menachem Begin has stated unequivocal terms that:-

''Autonomy is for the people and not for territory''

Whatever this statement means it bodes ill for the present and the future.

To sum up, unless the Palestinians are assured their right to freely determine their political status, and with the menacing situation in the Lebanon, inter alia, a fifth Arab/Israeli war may become a reality with far-reaching consequences.

The right of self-determination is an aggregate of economic, social, religious and civil rights to be freely exercised by the Palestinian people. It is interesting to note here that amongst the growing number of Israeli voices critical of present Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories is that of the former Deputy to Mayor Teddy Kollek, Meron Benvenisti.

In a recent article in the Jerusalem Post Meron Benvenisti voiced his fears of such continued occupation and said, and I quote;-

> ''The only real option that exists today is the option of dismantlement and reconciliation...based on the territorial separation of the two nations...to be preceded by free political expression, full academic freedom and immediate municipal elections''.

(SHOWING OF SLIDES-Question and Answer Period)

SOME POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE DEFENCE OF THE GULF REGION

General

No one will dispute the contention that the free and uninterrupted access to the oil fields of the Gulf Region, which produces 50% of the international requirement of oil supplies estimated at 29 million barrels a day, is of vital concern to Western Europe, Japan and to a lesser extent the USA.

The three major aspects of the problem of regular oil supplies which are of central concern, not only to the industrialised nations of the West but to the Arab oil producers as well, are:-

Since its inception the Zionist movement's main objective, which it has pursued with relentless determination has been the struggle for the possession of land in Palestine. In essence, the strategy of the Zionists has been to seize land by war, by forcible expropriation or by outright purchase.

The UN Partition plan of 1947 granted Israel 5,500 square miles of the former Palestine mandated territory. Four wars and forty-four years later the Jewish state has expanded its holding(including the Syrian Golan Heights) to 50,000 square miles.

Establishing Facts through Israeli Settlements

To consolidate their hold on Arab land the Israelis have embarked on a systematic and organised settlement policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and Syrian Golan Heights, based on the controversial argument that the settlements are essential for the security of Israel from both external and internal threats.

The Ramadan War of October 1973 conclusively proved the fallacy of settlement whether Kibbutzim or Moshavim, of being of any defence in the face of a major Arab offensive. And, in so far as the 'internal threat' is concerned, events since the mid-1970s have highlighted the fact that the Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories are a greater menace to the Arab populace than the other way around. What threat could a captive population pose to a heavy-handed military government that has made a mockery of democratic values and justice?

Be that as it may, the Israeli policy in regard to settlements in the Occupied West Bank was based on a plan expounded by Yigal Allon in his capacity as foreign minister in 1976, which quite simply stated:-

> ''The unpopulated areas and the Eastern slopes of the Jordan Rift Valley should be incorporated,into Israel.This combined security advantages with the annexation of unpopulated land.''

Not to be outdone, Ariel Sharon, the present Minister of Agriculture in Menachem Begin's Likud Government, went a step further and recommended the expansion of the Allon plan to include:-

> ''The thinly populated Western slope of the West Bank which in terms of security is even more crucial to Israel than (the security) provided by the Jordan Rift Valley. This region must, therefore, also become an integral part of Israel.''

As the Holy City of Jerusalem is to all intents and purposes being ''absorbed'' into Israel, with the induction of over 75,000 settlers in new colonies that ominously ring Jerusalem, and with the World Zionist Organisation actively planning to induct a further 120,000 to 150,000 settlers in the West Bank by 1985, the geo-political and demographic change from Arab Palestine to Jewish Israel would be all but complete.

the post-war period was totally dominated by Great Britain and France, was rejected outright and rightly so by the Arabs. Apart from being a cynical and flagrant violation of the Damascus Protocol, the Arabs did not consider themselves a defeated nation. They had not fought the War of Liberation merely to ensure a change of masters.

Post-World War I

The forcible imposition of the Mandate to meet Anglo-French imperial and economic interests, was physically opposed by the Arabs at both the political and low-key military level. As a result Palestine, Syria and Iraq were in open rebellion and opposition continued until the countries achieved independence.

World War II and the post-War Period

In World War II Arab support for the Allied cause was muted and the polemics on democracy and the free world by European leaders notwithstanding as Anglo-French motives were suspect. Arab suspicions were justified for in the post-war period, having barely rid themselves of the Mandatory Powers, the State of Israel was then inserted into the very guts of the Arab and Muslim world.

The forcible insertion of a hostile state in the Middle East resulted in four inconclusive Arab- Israeli wars with every prospect of a fifth breaking out at any moment.

If a permanent and just peace is to be achieved the problem of Palestine and of the dispossessed Palestinians has to be solved. The problem cannot be ignored or swept under the carpet, or for that matter placed on a ''back-burner'' while the Super Powers decide what to do with their strategic interests in the Arab world.

Palsestinian Self-Determination and Israel's Settlement Policies

As stated earlier, the crux of the Palestine problem is the return of the dispossessed Palestinians to their homeland and to a state they can call their own. The magnitude of the tragedy that has befallen the Palestinians is illustrated by the fact that of a pouplation of some 4 million, 1.2 million live in the Occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip and 1.8 million have been registered as ''refugees'' by the UN in their various camps, as follows:-

(a) Jordan (East)	—699,533—39%)
(b) Jordan(West)	—317,614—18%)
(c) Gaza Strip	—363,006—20±
(d) Lebanon	—219,561—12±
(e) Syria	—203,830—11±
Total	1,803,564

Population

(Occupied Territories 1,200,000)

Yet, as my learned audience is aware, despite Anglo-French pledges to the Arabs in mid-1916, the blueprint of the Sykes-Picot Treaty had in fact already been drawn up under the chairmanship of Sir Maurice de Bunsen, approved by Sir Mark Sykes, in his capacity as Head of the Intelligence Branch of the War Office in London, and submitted to the British Cabinet for approval on 30 June, 1915. In other words, the "skin of the bear (the Ottoman Empire) had been divided by the hunters before they had killed it". However, as late as November 1918 the Allied Powers were reassuring a very suspicious Arab populace of "purity of their motives" and their avowed objective of ensuring Arab independence.

Again, though the Treaty of Lausanne, which granted French mandatory powers over Syria, was not signed until 6 August, 1924, Syria had already been forcibly occupied by a French Expeditionary Force under General Gouraud in July 1920. The question here is what, in fact, is legal or illegal. Is the usurpation of power under false pretences and pledges to a wartime ally legal? I leave the question to be answered by your own conscience. I have quoted these two examples of the internationl "Rule of Law" as the law in question is invariably being thrown at the Arabs to justify the "legality" of Israel and to condone its actions.

The Arab Renaissance

Be that as it may, the first stirring of an "Arab Awakening", after 400 years of Ottoman rule, first manifested itself in Arab literary societies organised by intellectuals in Beirut and Damascus. It was on the assumption of power by the Pan-Turanic Young Turks in 1908 that gave birth to clandestine secret societies organised by Arab officers of the Ottoman Army-the Al Ahd, and by Arab nationalists, the Al Fatat.

Together, and in unison with my great-grandfather Sherif Hussein bin ALi (who had assumed the Office of Sherif of Mecca in 1908, after 16 years of political exile in Istanbul), and as a result of the outbreak of the First World War, the secret societies drew up the Damascus Protocol (1915) which clearly and unequivocally laid down the terms for the Arabs to join the Anglo-French powers in the war against the Ottoman Empire. The core of the Damascus Protocol was Arab independence on the defeat of the Turks.

The Anglo-French Betrayal

As to what followed the defeat of Turkey is too well known to recount here. Suffice it to say that through the guise of the infamous Sykes-Picot Treaty (1916), the Balfour Declaration (1916), the Declaration of the Seven (1918) the Treaty of San Remo (1920), the Arabs were betrayed by their erstwhile wartime Allies, and to add insult to injury, were "Balkanised" and parcelled out into "mandatory states" to suit the needs of the Imperial Powers.

The forcible imposition of the Anglo-French Mandates, even though the Mandatory Trust System had the approval of the League of Nations, which in

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies & Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to be with you all today. It is indeed a great honour and privilege to address this august institution. I personally welcome this opportunity to explain the Arab point of view on matters of grave concern not only to the people of the Middle East but to the world at large.

As the subject is vast, and time is short, I propose to concentrate on three important aspects of the subject under review.

Firstly, the Arab political and psychological awakening from the mid-19th century to the post-World War II period.

Secondly, the situation in the Occupied West Bank of Jordan today with particular reference to the Israeli settlement policy, which is quite clearly aimed at the forcible occupation of Palestinian land and the eventual absorption of the West Bank and Gaza Strip into Israel proper.

And, thirdly if time permits, a brief survey of the more important political and military aspects of the defence of the GUlf Region, in relation to US and Western thinking on the need for a Rapid Deployment Force for the protection of the oil fields and sea routes of the GUlf region.

To bring home graphically, as it were, the human aspects of the Palestine proplem, I propose to interpose a slide show to illustrate the grave dimensions of the Israeli settlement policy in the Occupied Territories of the Holy Land.

The Arab Awakening

Historical, Political and Psychological Factors

While there has been no shortage of written material by Western defence experts, historians, politicians and travellers on the Middle East in general and the Arab world in particular, there is little doubt in my mind that the Arab viewpoint has not been adequately projected with the inevitable result that ''real politik'' has overshadowed ''Arab politik''. We, the Arabs, have ourselves to blame for not contradicting and, where necessary, challenging the flood of material, mostly prejudicial, emanating from Western sources.

If I may be permitted to quote one simply but very relevant example used to justify the establishment of the State of Israel and, worse, its present aggressive policies in the Occupied Territories by the pro-Israeli lobby, which includes politicians, intellectuals, legal experts and others, who do not tire from presenting ''exclusively'' the Israeli right to a homeland. It is a right explicit in the Mandate of the so-called League of Nations who, in fact, were the Mandatory powers in the post-World War I period. Great Britain and France were countries that violated the compact drawn up with the Allies within the terms of the Damascus Protocol of 1915. The Protocol guaranteed Arab support to the Allies in their war against the Turks provided the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire were granted independence on the defeat of Turkey.

ADDRESS

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS CROWN PRINCE
HASSAN BIN TALAL

OF

THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

AT

THE FRENCH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(IFRI)

''THE MIDDLE EAST
A POLITICAL AND MILITARY REVIEW''

PARIS
12 MAY 1981

and social problems with which the newly independent and under-developed Muslim countries are struggling, and to acknowledge the fact that Western culture and way-of-life is not the only ideology available and suitable for emulation.

The role of the spirit of secular research through the recent creation, in Jordan, of the Royal Academy for Islamic Civilization, is aimed at building an understanding of such realities. The Royal Academy will promote the works of the Bilad Al-Sham Conferences, which many of you are familiar with, and in addressing contemporary concerns and studies on the way Islam and its attitudes to minorities, as well as to encourage Christian/Muslim dialogue. We hope that the involvement of leading Muslim scholars, and the merits of their discussions in published research and inter-disciplinary presentation of the Arab World and Islam today will relate to intermediate and long-term concerns. The Institute is studying the question of ''Shura'' consultation and democracy in Islam that is of such great concern to present and future generations. Equally, contemporary financial management of Islamic resources is being defined in different aspects of the material and moral obligations for Muslims to consider balanced development. Inter alia, dialogue with the International Community in the context of International Humanitarian Law, as well as interreligious discussion of material values, is an issue on which we intend to expand.

My recent proposal of a ''New International Humanitarian Order' takes a qualitative step further from the qualification of International Humanitarian Law and involves us all in awakening the conscience of the World Community to such major issues as the management of food resources and the migration of labour.

The progress of any nation requires a number of firm foundations. One of the most important of these foundations is the nation's thought: original, creative and progressive thought, capable of facing the problems and challenges of the times and of preparing for the future. There is no doubt that the Muslim Nation was, through the Grace of God, fully endowed with these qualities. It carried the banners of a noble civilisation for centuries which filled the world with science, art and morality. If the means are available for its renaissance, through courageous like-minded and independent thought, it will be in a position to resume its message and to fulfil the trust laid upon it.

In thanking you for inviting me today, I should like to emphasize the importance of such confident dialogue in the enrichment of our understanding of our common heritage.

Thank you.

and Super Power rivalry, through the agency of their proteges in their regime, on the other.

It is in the Arab world's own vital interest to attempt to unite in the face of the common danger to its very identity.

Mr. Chairman,

To conclude, the last quarter of the twentieth century may well present a Resurgent Islam, with its most serious challenges of its history. The strategic location of the World of Islam and the economic power and strength inherent in its oil supply to Western nations and Japan, has focussed belated attention in the West, not only to the political, economic and military interests of the Super Powers in the region, but in a re-evaluation and reassessment of Islam as such.

There is little doubt that throughout history the West had been critical and prejudiced in this attitude to Islam. Islam has been made a convenient ''whipping boy'' to divert attention by the North from its problems of conspicuous consumption of world resources, a typical case of which is the Anglo-French approach to post-World War I problems, resulting in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

Reading Anglo-French history of the period, one would get the impression that the Arabs double-crossed the Entente powers- whereas the true facts of the case are that the Anglo-Fench Governments deliberately deceived the Arabs from 1914 onwards. This attempt to rewrite history, as it were, has in the event proved counter-productive.

Unfortunately, the West, for all its sophistication and intellect, has yet a lot to learn about Islam. An Islam resurgence is immediately duped as a ''militant Islam'' on the rampage or a distorted and convoluted image of a ''political Islam''. The Crusader syndrome, of God fighting Evil, is still very much in vogue.

In the West the basic issues concerning Islam seemed rather confused and one-sided. There is an obvious fear for economic and strategic interests, resources and trade. Such fears are fed with the suggestion that a rejuvenated Islam with its economic and military strength could well influence or dragoon the Third World into supporting Arab and Islamic causes.

Plainly, these are not the basic issues of primary concern to the World of Islam. The important issues are political independence, territorial integrity and social and economic development leading to collective self-reliance, with the acquisition of technology and know-how to expedite national development.

The question of Palestine, and attitudes and policies concerning it, is central. The preservation and consolidation of an Islamic identity is another important issue facing Muslim countries, some of whom are searching for just such an identity.

The West is expected to appreciate and understand the political, cultural

had been and were struggling to rid themselves of the Ottoman yoke. On the other hand there is very little doubt in my mind that if the Young Turks had sought progress, decentralisation, while retaining the Islamic precepts of the Ottoman's, the Arab War of Independence would not have been necessary and Arab support for the Muslim Turks would have been assured.

A further illustration as to the division and contradictions within the Islamic fold related to the period of World War I- the total and unswerving support for Muslim Turkey by the Muslims of India. There is no question but that the Indian Muslim soldiers serving in the British/Indian Army were averse to cross swords with their fellow Muslims, and desertions to the Turkish lines were not uncommon during the course of the British campaign in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia.

While Indian Muslim soldiers were deserting to the Turks, Arab regulars of the Turkish Army were volunteering to serve in the Hashemite Arab Army, to liberate their homeland from the iron-grip of Ottoman rule.

In so far as the British were concerned, next to the defence and security of their imperial life-line to India and Australia, the Suez Canal; the prevention of a ''Jehad'' directed against the Entente was their prime concern. Particularly so, as Lord Kitchener the British Consul-General in Cairo, and later Chief of the Imperial General Staff, had experienced Muslim ''fanaticism'' at first hand amongst the Pathan tribesmen in the North-West Frontier Province of India, in the disastrous campaign against the fearless and implacable Ansar Warriors of the Mahdi. As the spirit of ''Jehad'' could well set France's North African colonies of Morocco and Algeria ablaze, the French were equally concerned with keeping the Muslim world either neutral or divided.

The Arab/Israeli Wars: 1947-73, and their Aftermath

The Arab/Israeli wars, once again, reflected the ethnic and religious unity, yet supra-national disunity in the Islamic world. Though Palestine is a central issue to the Muslim world, total support for the just right of the Palestinians is not forthcoming.

Certain Muslim countries have been ambivalent in their support for the Arab cause, while others have been more Arab than the Arabs in their struggle for the national rights of the Palestinians and the return of the Holy City of Jerusalem to Muslim hands. So, in the military field one is faced with a maze of problems in which racial and historical prejudices overlap and overthrow.

In the year 1981 the World of Islam is faced with problems in the Middle East and North Africa, and with the Lebanon in the throes of tragic fraticidal war.

While divisiveness has been the principal characteristic of Islamic society, since the early Arab conquests in the 7th and 8th centuries, the Muslim world faces its most serious challenge in the Arab Middle East. While the Super Powers jockey for power in the oil-rich Gulf zone, the Muslim Arab world faces a grave twin-threat posed by an expansionist Zionist State, on the one hand,

of education was introduced, while the traditional system continued, with its appeal to a wider cross-section of people, particularly to the poorer sections of society, who clung to their faith with a devotion characteristic of Islam.

As a result of two forms of education developing Muslim society was split in two. The one Westernised and secular in outlook and the other traditional and Islamic. The failure of basically under-developed Muslim countries to acquire Western technology or in adapting to Western culture, had an adverse effect and engendered more frustration and enstrangement with the West.

Some maintain that the failure of Western ideologies and forms of government to manatain sovereignty, to ensure social justice and to overcome the challenges of under-development, led to a return to the ways and tenets of Islam.

In short, a failure to implant Western ideology in the infertile soil of essentially Muslim communities resulted in a Resurgence and Revival of Islam.

The belief that the West deliberately and knowingly fostered and encouraged division and fragmentation strengthened the Islamic Revival. It is to early Islam, a period of enlightenment and unity, that the appeal is made. Even the movement for Islamic reform has faded. Today it is not merely a question of developing or reforming Islam, but, more importantly, of finding practical and workable solutions to modern challenges and problems in Islam and the World Community of States.

Mr. Chairman,

I shall now turn to the third aspect of the problems that face or pose a challenge to an Islamic revival—the problem of defence and military preparedness and co-operation between the Islamic ''Umma''.

The Military Aspects

World War I

Though the Pan-Turanic Young Turks have turned their backs on an Islamic State and opted out for a secular, westernised form of Government, the defeat of the Ottoman Army, by the Anglo-French Entente, was a grievous psychological blow to the Muslim masses of the world, particularly so in the Indian sub-continent. The Indian Muslims were unaware of the Pan-Turanic policies followed by the Young Turks and that the Sultan-Caliph, the standard-bearer of Islam, was in fact in the twilight of the Empire little more than titular.

The war against the Ottomans vividly illustrates the divisiveness and divisions inherent in the sprawling world of Islam. In the Arab theatre, during the war, the Ottoman Turks battled against an Arab Liberation Army, led by my great-grandfather, sherif Hussein bin Ali, the Sherif of Mecca, and the Guardian of the Holy Places, to secure an honourable place for the long-suffering Arab subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The Grand Sherif was fully justified in refusing insistent Turkish demands to declare a ''Holy War'' as the Arabs, themselves,

The late sixties and beyond witnessed a resurgence of Islamic fervor and the emergence of an independent Algeria, after a long and bitter struggle, and uplifted the morale of the Muslim world as a whole. However, the trauma inflicted in the Arab defeat in 1967 was far reaching in its consequences, both negative and positive.

The inconclusive Ramadan War of October 1973, which permanently destroyed the myth of Israeli invincibility, was dampened somewhat by the fact that in the tactical field of operation the Israel Defence Forces had secured a bridgehead on the West Bank of the Suez Canal and were poised 25 miles from Cairo

As a result of that war employment of oil as a strategic weapon immediately diverted Western attention and interest to the oil-rich Gulf States.

The affluence of the Gulf States and the resulting hike in oil prices, caused regional as well as external tensions. The Industrial North was concerned with its oil supplies, and disparity in wealth between oil exporting and peripheral non-oil producing countries invited further instability in the Middle East; great power polarisation was sure to follow.

Throughout history, external threats to sovereignty and identity have invariably resulted in an Islamic response. The emergence of Pakistan was a direct response to Indian Muslim fears of Hindu dominance in the subcontinent on the withdrawal of the British Raj. To retain its Islamic identity, the new-born State had to suffer great human suffering, including the displacement of 5 million refugees.

As of today, however, the resurgence of Islam is mainly concerned with questions of identity, form of government and sources of law. In their search for an identity, there are those who talk of an Islamic Order and yet others call for an Islamic State. Besides, much is said about an Islamic economic system, for example, the abolition of interest/usury, social welfare, Islamic education and a supra-national and national thrust of policy based on the concept of one Islamic ''Umma''. Advocates of the Islamic ''Umma'' accordingly demand closer co-ordination and co-operation in all fields by Muslim States.

Views may well vary in accounting for an Islamic Resurgence. Yet the main issue is the impact of the West. The last two centuries saw the West and Europe, in the broad sense, invading the lands of Islam with grave consequences, resulting in the loss of independence, the exploitation of human and material resources, the humiliation of foreign rule, the disruption of inherited institutions and the direct threat posed to the very identity and concept of Islam.

The response to such challenges could be political, but it invariably entailed other elements-mainly military and economic. But the challenge from the West, particularly in the cultural field, was overpowering.

The impact of the West led to haphazard modernization and to the adoption and imposition of Western institutions, laws and ideas. A Western system

The 'Fundamentalists', however, were adamant and firm in their rejection of Western political concepts, ideology or technical achievements. In so far as the 'Fundamentalists' were concerned, Islam was the only true way of life on which all aspects of the religious, political and social system within a State had to be based.

While the Fundamentalists movement was strong in the 1920's, they began to lose ground in the 1930's.

By the end of World War II, however, they had, in many ways, lost their influence and following.

With the failure of the Liberals and Traditionalists to reform State to the Islamic norm a new and dynamic society emerged with a special appeal for the young and the working masses. This new community, which was known as the ''Ikhwan-el-Muslimin Society'' (The Muslim Brotherhood), advocated the introduction of Islamic values, rules of law and social order in the community.

Though they failed in their bid to gain political power, to enable them to introduce their concept of Islam ideology in a state, the Brotherhood continue to be a powerful influence.

Socio-economic Aspects

The post-World War II economic depression, the collapse of Western moral values and the creation of Israel, with Western support, resulted in a wave of anti-Western feeling in the Arab world. The period also saw the rise of Liberation movements, directed at the expulsion of the imperial powers and their interests from the Middle East. As a counter to capitalism, which was associated with the West, there was a definite bend towards socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as many newly emerging countries struggled to deal with disparity in social and economic benefits. Some felt that socialism would solve all if not most of their economic problems and offer a contemporary sense of identity.

In general terms, these two major schools of thought emerged in the Islamic world:-

1. One school of thought advocated a return to Islam, as it considered Islamic political and socio-economic concepts superior to the industrialised and sophisticated West. But, a thinly veiled endorsement of the superiority of Western social and political life, and economic development, lost this school of thought many of its adherents.

2. The second School maintained that Islam, provided it was studied in-depth, offered the antidote to all socio-economic problems that beset the Western world, with all the contradictions inherent in its social and economic systems.

In the 1960's such thinking attracted powerful support from the masses, but this movement was countered by the political opposition of the secular and nationalist liberation movements that developed in the wake of World War II.

toman Empire into arbitrary ''Mandates'' by the so-called Western Democracies, resulted in the coming into being of secular and independent nationalist States, like Turkey and Iran, and the forcible infliction of Western hegemony over the Arab States. With the Ottoman Empire prostrate and the Arab States Placed under mandatory rule, gave birth to two distinct trends-a challenge to the forces of Islam and the rise of secular Arab nationalism.

While Western ideology and liberalism was considered a direct challenge to Islam by the fundamentalists, like the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Khilafat movement in India, which among other things demanded the re-instatement of the Sultan Caliph in Turkey, the Arab nationalists sought to overthrow Western rule by adopting Western liberalism, as a counter to Westernisation. They sought to protect the religious heartland of Arabia and 'Dar al Islam' from 20th century realpolitik. Arab nationalism also gave birth to the Arab Socialist Parties (the Ba'ath) whose ideology rested on the triad of ''Freedom, Unity and Socialism''. However, the result of realpolitik of the Middle East in the aftermath of World War I meant that Arab and Muslim morale had reached its 'nadir'.

Thus, following the First World War, it could be said that two definite and distinct schools of thought emerged in the Muslim World-the one, Islamic and fundamentalists, and the other nationalist and secular. Though parallel in conceptual approach, both were united in the gaining of independence and of social justice for their various countries.

At one time and like the cloud ''that was no bigger than a man's fist'', Zionist and related ideologies had staked a claim in Palestine, the Holy Land. The challenge posed by the alien culture, in the form of 'Zionist-Socialism', as it were, was not lost on the Islamic fundamentalists, who rightly assessed that the danger posed by Zionism was greater than that of the Mandatory Powers.

The Second World War and After

In the period between the two wars, two schools of thought appeared to be forming in the minds of Islamic revivalists-the liberal 'ulema' and the 'traditionalists'.

The liberal 'ulema' advocated two main principles in their struggle for an Islamic renaissance:-

1. That Islam should be studied and understood from within, and its merits and ideals should be expounded in simple and practical terms.
2. That modern Western civilisation should not be dismissed arbitrarily and outright, as its material achievements could not be rejected summarily. They opined that a proper appreciation of Western civilisation could contribute to the social and economic well-being of the Muslim masses. A study of Western technology and planning could certainly contribute to the political and military strength of a nation.
3. The adoption of Western political ideology and technology was in no way to effect or alter the basic tenets of Islam.

"THE ARAB WORLD AND ISLAM: CARREFOUER DES NATIONS

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, My Learned Friends, Ladies & Gentlemen,

I deeply appreciate the privilege of addressing this Learned Institution and, having been given this opportunity, I would like to speak on Islam in an attempt to identify the Arab world in all aspects of its cultural, socio-economic and military outlook today.

The Arab/Israeli dispute and the oil wealth of the Arab States has propelled the Arab world, and by implication the World of Islam, into the spotlight of the world stage. Apart from the fact that the problem of Palestine, with particular reference to the Holy City of Jerusalem, is of direct concern to all Muslims, from Morocco to Indonesia, the new found economic strength of the Arab Gulf States and of Nigeria and Indonesia, has, for a variety of reasons, injected a new sense of an Islamic Revival and Resurgence. Political independence, gained in the aftermath of World War II, coupled with self-sufficiency and self-reliance, has resulted in a revival of and interest in the tenets of Islam as an ideology and a way of life.

The "Islamic Reawakening", therefore, ever since the middle of the 20th century, has given expression to various thoughts and forms in different Muslim countries. Some have accepted Islam as state policy, others have adopted a theocratic system of Government; while still others have dropped all pretence of being Islamic States, in the true sense of the word, and are clearly secular and socialist.

The fact that Islamic peoples have accepted and adopted various political ideologies is not at all surprising considering the vastness of the Muslim "Umma", with countries extending from Morocco, off Southern Europe, to Malaysia and Indonesia in non-Caucasian South-East Asia. But, and what is most important, is that a common culture and heritage binds the widely dispersed and disparate countries together, in indestructible bonds. This affinity among Muslim States is primarily due to the spread of Islam through the Ottoman invasion of the Arab world, Central Asia, the Indian sub-continent and of the Arab Empire in North Africa and Spain. This movement protected the heartland of Islam and its identity for centuries. Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem are symbolic of Islamic unity and it is not at all surprising to find that in the need for roots an Indonesian or Indian Muslim turns to the Hejaz and Palestine for religious solace rather than say Jakarta or Qairawon.

The Post-World War I period

The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I had a traumatic effect on the Islamic world. Apart from the fact that the Sultan of Turkey was the Sultan Caliph of the Muslim World, the Balkanisation of the Arab provinces of the Ot-

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OF
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AT
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''THE ARAB WORLD AND ISLAM: CARREFOUR DES NATIONS''

11 MAY 1981

The acceleration of international economic and technological changes has led to an increasing dependence of the developing world, and the Arab World in particular, on the economies of the advanced industrial world. The increase in the price of basic commodities such as oil and food and in the cost of capital will diminish the independence of non-oil producing Arab states and place them in the unenviable position of economic dependence. This of course calls for the even greater acceleration of the process of Arab economic integration. If certain conditions can be created to earn returns on investments in the Arab World similar to those obtainable in foreign countries, it should be more appropriate that preferential treatment prevail among the Arab states where the more capable ones would facilitate investments in the less capable ones on favourable terms.

The fact that we belong to the developing world means that we should share our hopes and experiences with the people of that world so as to add a new dimension to our co-operation with them. We must also narrow the gap between our thinkers and decision-makers to ensure the application of creative ideas. Our belief in this has led us, together with some of our like-minded brethren, to organize the Arab Thought Forum, in the hope that it would be a springboard for Arab and Islamic views independent of narrow political alignments. We hope that the Forum will have several dimensions, enriching and interacting with world thought, in addition to reinvigorating Arab and Islamic thought. The Board of Trustees met in Amman a few days ago in order to put forth a specific programme of action aiming at translating part of our ambitions into a working reality in the near future.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that we must not let the difficulties daunt us or hamper our course. The obstacles and challenges facing our nation are great, but our ambitions and capabilities are equally great. All we have to do is to exert our best effort in this cause.

for facilitating investment among the Arab states and to determine the effective means for accommodating both investors and recipients.

In this context it might be helpful for a given recipient country to initiate officially-sponsored studies to determine its investment needs, the ways and means of guaranteeing them and the facilities offered by the government. Our brethren in the surplus states should also take further steps to acquaint themselves with the needs of other Arab states and make easy and equitable offers to meet those needs and develop the real economic structure by reinforcing the productive sectors while avoiding speculation in real estate which fuels inflation in some of these states. Arab official and private financial institutions are required to intensify their efforts to finance development among the Arab states, particularly projects of high national and regional priority.

The Amman Summit adopted the principle of national planning for the Arab World and demanded a long-term national plan to constitute the general framework for medium-term plans. to be translated into a working reality these decisions require the intensification of co-ordinated efforts of state planners in the Arab states and the understanding and approval of decision-makers. It is indeed clear that development policies in the Arab states have not been conducive to national integration so far. It could be argued that this individual country approach has created forces counter-productive to national integration. A number of similar industries, for example, have been set up in the Arab states, which are competing with one another instead of taking advantage of the available managerial potential and the size of the complementary markets.

The Arab states habitually turn to the industrialized world to obtain their needs of equipment and factories, most often on a turnkey basis. As a result, manufacturing and technological know-how has not been adapted, and this has led to even greater dependence on the industrialized world.

The economic changes witnessed in our region have led to radical changes in the pattern of Arab-foreign trade. Inter-Arab trade has diminished relative to Arab-foreign trade. Some of the data indicate a decrease in inter-Arab exports relative to total exports from 21% in 1960 to just 4% in 1977. Similarly, inter-Arab imports relative to aggregate imports fell from 7% in 1960 to 6% in 1977. Available data also indicate that most Arab imports come from the industrial countries. We must bear in mind here that the production, consumption, and trade patterns prevailing in these countries affect the socio-economic fabric of our countries. If we do not take the necessary measures towards integration, our dependence on them will increase in all fields. This will lend truth to the saying that if we do not plan for ourselves, others will do it for us--and, of course in accordance with their own priorities.

We have full confidence in the strategy of self-reliance, a genuine strategy, but for this strategy to have depth and continuity it must be reinforced by confidence and faith in national and collective inter-reliance. The application of the strategy of self-reliance has been attempted at the country level in a limited way but has proved insufficient. It must, therefore, be complemented through linking it to the national level.

chooses not to remain on the margin of the times or behind world events. The language of the epoch is scientific research related to the daily events and problems of Arab life. The time has come for this research to appear as an independent item in the budgets of all Arab countries. Once this happens, national and regional development plans will transcend the level of mere wishes drawn on paper to become the embodiment of the will to effect positive change and another step towards solving the technological problem.

Sixthly, at a time when the differences among the various economic systems as conceived by competing schools of thought have started to disappear, it is imperative that the so-called ideological and economic differences prevailing in the Arab World be dissolved. To put it differently, there should remain only one contradiction in this part of the world--that between the Arabs on the one hand and the Zionists on the other. This is the sole fundamental contradiction. If there are any others, they are peaceful ones and are in themselves a sign of good health. They must be solved by means of quiet, rational dialogue.

Probably the most sensitive issue among and about the Arabs is the accumulating deposits of Arab oil money in Western countries. People in the West raise questions with regard to the dangers these deposits pose to their economic independence non-oil producing Arab countries on their part are searching to reconcile their increasing needs for capital on suitable terms, which is hard to raise, with the accumulation of surpluses in oil-rich countries. The irony about this situation is that the less fortunate Arab countries may well be borrowing Arab money from Western institutions where it is deposited. I would like here to suggest a preliminary scheme for channelling increasing proportions of those surpluses into investments in the Arab World.

Experience in this field has shown that Arab investments have faced serious obstacles in some Arab countries and have not received the treatment accorded to foreign investments

The small size of Arab financial markets, the lack of feasibility studies and the lack of managerial talent are factors limiting the flow of capital among the Arab states. There is need, however, for a collective effort and a detailed and concentrated study in which the experience and talent of investors and beneficiaries alike are utilized. The purpose of this study is to identify the impediments hampering the flow of capital among Arab states, to elaborate on the measures to overcome them, and to propose the necessary administrative, economic and institutional procedures to maximize the returns on investments for both the investing and recipient countries. There is no doubt that the need for investments in non-oil-producing states will increase in the coming years; there will also be a similar increase in petro surpluses. Such a situation necessitates finding a formula to accommodate the legitimate demands of investors for guarantees, attractive returns, and a reasonable share in management on the one hand, and the development requirements of recipient countries on the other, including reasonable terms consonant with their financial abilities and investment priorities. It is our hope that our thinkers will endeavor to come up with suggestions regarding the appropriate institutional framework

If the 'eighties are to witness a change in production quantitatively and qualitatively, the results must be reflected on the Arab nation as a whole, not only in terms of increased growth, but also in terms of an increased sense of belonging. As a consequence of these convictions, and in the light of the amount of work demanded, and in accordance with the decisions of the Amman Summit Conference, I should like now to make the following observations:

Firstly, the Amman Summit Conference having put on paper the last touches of a plan for Arab economic co-operation and integration following a decade of joint Arab institutional work on the regional level, the 'eighties will prove to be the final test as regards the feasibility or impossibility of putting these plans of co-operation and integration into effect. This is going to be a difficult test, and it is up to the Arab World to determine whether or not it is able to respond to the challenge and make history.

Secondly, with the implementation of economic plans by individual Arab states and the increasing satisfaction of economic and cultural needs, the Arab citizen will be asking questions regarding the relationship between him and government institutions for the purpose of effecting commensurate social and institutional developments that would bridge the gap between them.

Thirdly, in dealing with economic development it is likely that more attention will be given to quality rather than quantity. The greatest constraint on development will thus be the qualitative human constraint rather than capital (the unavailability of investment funds) or trade (the scarcity of foreign exchange required to finance the imports of capital goods or raw materials). In other words, there is a qualitative and quantitative shortage of managerial talent which cannot be imported as the shortage is a world-wide phenomenon. The Arab World will have to provide the required supply from its own resources.

Fourthly, it is clear that the Arab World suffers from economic disparities. But even if we grant that there are objective grounds for this, we must admit that, in the long run, this is an unhealthy situation which cannot be ignored if the well-being and unity of the Arab World, in one form or another, is to remain a national goal as we all proclaim it to be. It is imperative, therefore, to reinforce Arab economic action by means of co-operative investment programmes serving the mutual interests of the Arab states on both sides of the wealth spectrum. It is the duty of the Arab states to promote an appropriate climate for investment, concentrating meanwhile on creating and backing the requisite institutional framework that will enhance the development of such a climate. If we add to the foregoing the continuous financing of the security efforts required to defend Arab interests and rights, we will jointly achieve the common aim of bridging the social and economic gap currently disturbing this part of the world and of safeguarding our national security.

Fifthly, the issues that the post-Amman-Summit era will witness will be those of the latter part of the twentieth century. Hence, they can be dealt with only through the style and language of the epoch--if, that is, the Arab World

It is necessary here to point to a greater danger, namely, the Zionist occupation of Arab land, with the concomitant conviction that this 'threat can only be dealt with through coordinated Arab action. We, in Jordan, bear the greatest part of the burden because we have the longest line of confrontation with the enemy. I will not dwell on the financial and human aspects of this burden. Suffice it to say that we do our best, in close co-operation with our Arab brethren and the Palestine Liberation Organization, to support those in the occupied territories. We keep a constant watch and undertake detailed studies on the dangerous conditions prevailing there as a consequence of the persistent attempts by the enemy to dislocate the population and expropriate their land to serve the settlements that are continually being established there.

The Amman Summit Conference was held at a time when the Arab World found itself at a critical crossroads. The Conference took important decisions in line with a fundamental principle--that of joint Arab action to confront the fateful issues besetting the Arab World. The Conference adopted the National Economic Action, the Unified Agreement on the Investment of Arab Capital in Arab States, and the Decade of Joint Arab Development. The achievements of this conference represent a qualitative change in Arab action. Its decisions were based on the conviction that the result of joint action would exceed the sum of its individual parts. It went even further in transforming the concept of joint action from co-operation into integrated development. The Conference also showed great awareness of the developmental problems facing us all and considered the 'eighties the decade of joint Arab development. Another important achievement was the decision to keep Arab economic action separate from the exigencies of political fluctuations and conflicts. In my opinion, all of these decisions represent a turning point in Arab economic thought; and although they do not satisfy the full aspirations of some of us, they nevertheless constitute an important step towards increased joint action.

The Conference afforded a rare chance for Arab thinkers and decision-makers to express themselves fully, which merits the admiration and blessing of Arab leaders, for the contributions of enlightened minds are invaluable in furthering joint action and extending it to reach every Arab citizen, wherever he may be, to make him aware of the on-going planning and action. The Arab citizen will thus be motivated to be more responsive to these decisive issues, for he remains the means as well as the beneficiary of these efforts.

I should like to add my voice to those calling for a distinction between growth and economic and social development. The meaning of development in the Arab World must be measured by new indicators that go beyond the statistics of per capita income and the relative growth in the national product. Development should rather be viewed as the comprehensive qualitative change benefiting the greatest number of citizens. The translation of this principle into action requires building up the qualitative capability of every citizen and setting up institutions as well as appropriate information and technological systems--in addition, of course, to productive and infrastructural projects.

What will the alternative be if we do not start such a programme? Obviously, there will be increased dependence on imports with the result that our overall security will be threatened, our inalienable right of complete sovereignty will be compromised, and our continuous efforts to maximize the returns of our other resources, among which oil is the most outstanding, will be jeopardized. Numerous studies on the sensitivity resulting from increased consumption and decreased production are available to us, all showing that the food cartels are increasing their monopolizing power in a way that might be used as an outlet for the hostile feelings against the Arab World resulting from money transfers due to oil sales.

A careful look at the Arab World as a whole, however, will explode the myth about the extent of its wealth. Economic facts reveal that the gross domestic product of all Arab states is no more than 15% of that of the United States. The average per capita income in nine Arab oil-exporting countries reached $4727 in 1979, which is nearly equal to the average per capita income registered in Israel for the same year ($4470). If we add to the foregoing that the extraction of hydrocarbon materials barely utilizes one percent of the total working force of the Arab World, the true picture of its economic capabilities will emerge.

Arab oil is threatened, as you all know, by rapid depletion if no alternative sources of energy are discovered and if no effective energy measures are taken by consuming countries. Available data indicate that OAPEC members possess 8% of global energy reserves while producing 16% of marketed energy. Some rather gloomy studies give a warning with regard to the future when they state that the Arab World may become a net importer of energy if it continues to exhaust its energy resources at the present rates. If this ever happens (God forbid), a fundamental source of Arab power will be dissipated and we will become a weaker nation that could fall prey to external designs.

The Arab economic structure may be described as dualistic: a developed, enterprising sector exists side by side with a poor, backward one. Rural areas suffer from disguised unemployment while the services sector expands to a degree not justified either by its productivity or by the luxurious consumption patterns that tend to accompany it. Thus we often find the Arab citizen confronting a situation involving a backward rural background and a consumption-oriented life in which he meets his daily needs by relying on imports from all over the world and imitates the latest consumption patterns in the industrialized countries. As far as industry in the Arab World is concerned, its contribution to the gross national product remains, in spite of the progress registered, noticeably small--barely 10%. This economic situation is further weakened by the disparities of income within the Arab World. It is very difficult to find such a pattern elsewhere. Indeed, some of the available data indicate that the average per capita income in the rich Arab states is fifty times greater than in the less developed ones. Such a situation decreases the degree of homogeneity of the Arab nation and hampers its capacity for effective joint action.

A cursory exploration of the Arab World reveals the enormity of the problems facing it, all of which, in effect, boil down to a fateful challenge that manifests itself in the political, military, cultural and economic fields, threatening its very existence as a recognized entity. The Arab citizen stands divided between a rich and glorious heritage that commands the respect and admiration of the world, and a future full of great hopes and aspirations. Centuries ago, his forefathers occupied positions of glory and led the world with their ideas and discoveries, and he is proud of all that. But when he turns to the present for comparison, the present is immediately eclipsed, and he feels frustrated. He looks towards the future with the great potential of the present in mind and is pained to see, as he looks at the present challenge, that this potential is not enlisted to serve his great goal or fend off the impending danger. But for the bleak present, therefore, the past and the future would have constituted an unbroken chain of glory. The Arab citizen longs to provide the missing link and hence I remain staunchly optimistic in spite of present hardships. For this optimism to be reasonable, however, it must be based on searching analytical studies of present shortcomings in order to diagnose the disease and prescribe the remedy.

Throughout the 'seventies, two main characteristics of the Arab World emerged. First, its relative importance on the international arena as well as its complex and inter-related interests with the outside world have increased. Second, the gap in wealth and income among the Arab States themselves has widened. In the interest of enhancing the effectiveness of Arab action, the conviction has grown that the narrowing down of this gap over a reasonable period of time is a matter of the first importance, for as we stand on the threshold of the decade of the 'eighties' we must endeavour seriously and honestly to establish joint Arab action so as to serve the mutual interests of individual states and the overall interests of the Arab nation as a whole. This is the spirit that pervaded the Amman Summit Conference when it formulated the charter and strategy of Joint Arab Action, which was an important step forward in the right direction.

It is absolutely necessary, however, that joint Arab action should transcend the luxury of mere theorization because time is short and the impending challenge will not give us any reprieve. You will undoubtedly agree that it is time we joined hands together, especially that the efforts and sacrifices required will benefit us all--and in proportions that will repay many times over all costs and sacrifices. Joint Arab action is undeniably the most effective means of realizing our aspirations, not only on a state level, but throughout the Arab World. But it must first be translated into specific programmes based on thoroughly researched studies. Let us look, for example, at the food shortage we suffer from in the Arab World. This daily growing shortage is due not merely to the increase in demand and the refinement of taste, but also to the general inadequacy of local production. Plans by individual countries cannot remedy this situation. What is needed is a programme of joint action aimed at overcoming the shortage by increasing the productivity of the Arab states that have high agricultural potentials like Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Iraq and all of North Africa.

ADDRESS
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OF

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''THE PROSPECTS OF JOINT ARAB ACTION: GROWTH AND BELONGING''

THE TEXT OF A LECTURE DELIVERED AS PART OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE FIRST CULTURAL SEASON OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES

TUNIS, ON 5 RAJAB 1401 H./8 MAY 1981 A.D.

itiatives. The U.S.S.R. was a partner to the U.S. position paper on comprehensive Middle East peace in the earlier days of the Carter Administration. Even the Camp David Accords have not neglected the need for ratification by the U.S.S.R. of this process, unlikely as it has become. At the end of the day, the two Super Powers must jointly guarantee peace in the region.

My Lord Chairman,

The International Community of States is now confronted with an impasse which is in itself a threat to international peace. Israel's decision to remain on the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights is that of a belligerent occupant, and cannot be that of a State vested with territorial sovereignty.

Self-determination for people is now more than a legal principle in International Law; so is the principle of the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition by force. Such acquisition is simply belligent occupation which has to come to an end, sooner or later. It is people, and in this case the Palestinians and their sole legitimate representative-the PLO, who should determine their future on their national soil and not, as Israel insists, that territories should decide the fate of people within a diminutive concept of autonomy.

The challenge to Arab unity in the search for peace and stability in the Middle East has necessitated the promotion of likemindedness over such basic issues. The recent Arab and Islamic Summit Declarations have reaffirmed our commitment to the full restoration of Palestinian rights on their national soil, including Arab Jerusalem.

To my generation, after three decades of strife, I am reminded of Theodore Rosevelt's words, ''...people, proud and high-spirited, would face all the disasters of war rather than purchase that base prosperity which is bought at the price of national honour''. It is clear that the disaster awaits us, unless realpolitik addresses the hopes and aspirations of the people of the region.

My Lord Chairman,

In conclusion, for Jordan and its friends in Europe, and in the words of Anthony Wedgewood Benn ''A multi-polar world well disposed to America and Russia but under the control of neither...'' is a fitting, ultimate, objective for those who have sought freedom and a better life for their people. But time is not on our side.

My Lord Chairman, thank you.

Galilee. It is sad, in the light of the above, that certain international quarters question the viability of the industrious, though much maligned Palestinian people, while justifying continued support for Israel.

It appears that the viability of Israel is the question, which Israelis answer by varied and consistent use of force. Europe should know that Israeli settlements on Arab lands and the exodus of Palestinians to Jordan, and through Jordan to the Arab world, continues. This self-seeking Israeli policy is not a contribution to the basic security of the Middle East.

In looking at the situation in the occupied West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, in the wake of the Camp David Accords, it is clear that dynamic Zionisation of Arab territories through the establishment of over 106 settlements limits the time available for a political solution. Israel has expropriated more than one third of the total area of the West Bank under the pretext of ''current military security'' and in order to cement ''demographic security'' to its advantage. In pursuit of that aim the World Zionist Organization plans for the transfer to the West Bank of some 150,000 by 1985, referring to Arabs on the West Bank as ''minorities''.

Israel's attitude to its neighbours has always been ambivalent. As in the case of the Lebanon, Israel appears to be seeking the creation of pseudo-radical rather than stable regimes, and she is promoting the case of the settlement of Palestinians outside Palestine with the export of, understandably, radical embittered Palestinians. It appears that Israel's objective is to transform neighbouring countries into destabilised political entities which make easy targets for aggression.

Furthermore, we have no illusions about the so-called Jordanian option. To us, bypassing the Palestinians and the refusal of Israel to deal with the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, is no option at all.

My Lord Chairman,

Inaction is too often no more than an excuse for political immobility. European States outside the 'immediate conflict' have the political interest and insight to provide and participate in negotiations for, and the holding of, a conference for an overall settlement of the disputes. The existing Arab-Israeli conflicts should be shut-off from the wider Middle East realpolitik considerations. The climate for an overall international settlement of the dispute is not wholly adverse. It might be worth the attempt if a comprehensive settlement of the dispute is to be achieved.

Jordan has, over the years, developed dialogue with the spectrum of European political opinions, with the EEC, The Scandinavian Community, as well as countries that border that indivisible global objective of detente.

Regarding the important role of the Soviet Union, it has been actively supportive of U.N. Resolutions since the United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967, the **fons et origo** of successive international in-

terdisciplinary group of Arab intellectuals and decision-makers agreed to form an Arab Development Thought Forum. Among its aims is to discuss ideas and policies, particularly in the socioeconomic fields free from governmental formalities and to bring them to the attention of policy-makers and lay men alike. Its areas of emphasis will be inter-Arab relations, South/South dialogue, as well as relations with the industrialised countries.

My Lord Chairman,

The issues of security and peace with justice, so often misunderstood as being in ironic contradiction with each other, have bedevilled the Middle East since the Mandate over Palestine of 1922. In 1981 it is imperative that progress be achieved towards a comprehensive lasting peace. Israel has been highly selective in its interpretation of United Nations Resolutions and in particular has sought legitimacy for the establishment of a Jewish State while ignoring the inalienable right of the Palestinians to a state on their national soil. The Wilsonian doctrine on self-determination has been superceded by what President Wilson described as ''the disgusting scramble for the Middle East'', at the San Remo Conference of 1920. I sincerely hope that a similar scramble to influence the area with an eye on its oil potential, does not lead to the stifling of indigenous self-reliance. Only positive support for vitality and independence of the peoples of the region will survive at the end of the day. Such support should also be accompanied by a just and lasting resolution of these factors that contribute to instability. In the forefront of these factors lie the continued occupation of Arab lands by Israel and its denial of the right of self-determination to the Palestinians.

This denial is the more ironic since that right was an inseparable part of Zionist philosophy. Early Zionists insisted on and succeeded in implementing the right of self-determination in establishing a 'national home' for Jews in Palestine. Yet, it is in the middle of this century, that a major blood transfusion has taken place in Palestine, with new Jewish blood replacing the indigenous Arab population, who had been turned out in hundreds of thousands and are still today denied the right to return to their homeland and the right of self-determination. While Palestinians are denied the right to return, the Jewish population of Israel is exceptionally mobile. According to the 1979 Statistical Abstract of Israel, between 1959 and 1978, a total of 3.2 million Jewish residents went abroad, with 2 million of them staying away for good. In the five years after the 1973 war, 1.4 million Jews left Israel and only 0.4 million of these are expected to return within four years. This constitutes a very serious loss to Israel and is mainly attributed to Israel's deteriorating economic conditions.

Today, Israel faces a national debt of 18 billion dollars, and is seeking to have its friends and traditional financial donors erase the debt. The moral question is how far will these traditional friends of Israel support it financially while it occupies Arab territories outside its ''recognised'' frontiers? Israel faces demographic and economic difficulties in the occupation of over 1.2 million Arabs on the west Bank and Gaza, along with 0.6 million Israeli Arabs in

In the trade sector, many of us on the Arab side hope to see trade with Europe liberalized, with the gradual elimination of protective barriers, both tariff and non-tariff. The orderly liberalisation of trade between our two regions would result in a better international division of labour and a better utilization of the two regions' resources. If this is done in the spirit of co-operation and understanding, it would yield substantial benefits to both sides.

All of the above sectors are interrelated, and the financial sector in particular, is closely linked to each of them, as well as to domestic and international economic vitality. It is common knowledge that the financial surpluses which have accumulated from some Arab countries in Western financial institutions, have not at times yielded a fair return; indeed, some of these surpluses have yielded a negative return in real terms and thus a loss in their real values. As some Arab oil producers are producing oil beyond their immediate development needs, out of concern for the welfare of others, it is only fair to expect that advanced consumer countries begin to show real and manifest understanding of Arab aspirations in offering reasonable financial terms. Surpluses should be translated into fair returns in both the North and South contexts.

I believe that we have to work quickly and in unison to find an acceptable method of dealing with this situation. Financial instability is in neither of our interests.

My lord Chairman,

The rift that the Mediterranean represents in geo-political terms has yet to be bridged in cultural dialogue. Meaningful exchanges between regions composed of many peoples of different cultural backgrounds must aim at achieving understanding, explicitly and implicitly.

Despite a lack of agreement at the UNESCO meeting in Belgrade regarding the role of the mass media, channels have to be created in the Euro-Arab context aimed at dispelling old prejudices and stereotypes of each other. Emphasis has to be placed on exposing students and scholars to the rich cultural heritage of our region for-''isolation is intellectual death''. An objective projection of the Arab image will go far in building mutual trust and contributing a vital component to our mutual understanding.

Another dimension which could be fruitfully added to our dialogue is in the institutional field. If we are to derive benefit from our exchanges the dialogue process should go beyond the so far restricted and formal government concept. Interested individuals and institutions from both sides should strive to start discussions with their counterparts on issues of interest to both regions. I believe that universities, research institutions and distinguished groups of international outlook, like the European Atlantic Group can play a pioneering role in such a process.

In the Arab world there has been a growing awareness of the role of institutional dialogue, and only last week in a meeting in Aqaba, Jordan, an in-

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In addition, inflationary pressures are seriously affecting the future of manpower exporting states like my own on the periphery of oil's purchasing power. Co-operation in scientific and technological fields envisaged by the Agreement is slow, reminiscent of the comment of the British Consul in Constantinople in 1800, who said of the Ottoman Empire, and I quote, "...they like to trade with those who bring them useful and valuable articles without the labour of manufacturing".

What my own country, with its qualitative manpower, seeks in terms of technology transfer, is not the import of technology free 'turn-key" modes of industry but to work with our European counterparts towards a contract of generation.

My own views would call for removing the existing constraints to the present dialogue and for the introduction of other vital perspectives. I believe that this dialogue should deal not only with economic issues with political overtones, but should embrace cultural, institutional, as well as political matters. While maintaining prosperity for all is a commendable task, it is wise to keep in mind that man does not live by oil alone. I would however like to stress that it is only legitimate to try to maintain a well-functioning economy and secure energy supplies at fair prices.

Several factors linked to South/South stability call for a serious effort to avoid the exclusive preoccupation with the oil issue in the Euro-Arab dialogue. But, I would like to point out that the words 'oil' and 'Arab' are not synonymous, and any attempt at equating the two is misleading and unfair. Not all Arab countries are oil producers. Jordan is an Arab country that has had to import practically all of its energy requirements at a cost last year that exceeded our total exports.

The difficulties that have been met should not deter us from looking forward to the future with vision, as well as realism. What we need is to reach an understanding of each others priorities and to work out programmes for co-operation in the various fields. This requires that an efficient mechanism for the Euro-Arab dialogue be set up to implement and follow-up the programmes agreed upon. I would like to present here some ideas about the potential areas of co-operation in the economic, cultural, institutional and political fields.

In economic terms there are obviously ample opportunities for developing various sectors. In industry, co-operation must lead to local processing of the primary resources of the Arab world. This applies particularly to the petrochemical and fertilizer industries; yet many other areas may require a combination of the human, technological and financial resources of our two regions, which would be mutually beneficial in the long term.

In the agricultural sector, the potential for the growth of food production in the Arab world and the improvement of nutrition is the issue for the decades ahead. This is made so because our region imports a significant proportion of its food requirements, with increasing dependency on others, and inevitable instability.

dialogue is to rediscover, to renew and invigorate the links that affect these neighbouring regions, to eliminate misunderstandings that gave rise to difficulties in the past and to establish the basis for future co-operation, embracing the various elements to the mutual benefit of all those concerned.

It is my belief that the aim of rediscovering, renewing and invigorating the links which tie us together is a proper basis on which to set the pattern for the Euro-Arab dialogue. Some positive achievements have been accomplished, yet much more can be done, although there will be differences on the basic orientation of the dialogue, and on whether it should concentrate on economic or political issues. Furthermore, there may be influences outside the dialogue which would prefer to see the Euro-Arab forum leaving aside political issues, and at best, addressing them only in marginal terms. It is noticeable that while the dialogue progressed slowly, efforts have been made in parallel towards agreements between some OPEC countries, and indeed some members of the European Atlantic Community, aimed at reaching short-term understanding. This has reduced the urgency of reaching agreement within the context of the dialogue and has also, in reality, opted for a few short-term gains at the expense of long-term understanding which could be mutually beneficial to us all.

A major landmark in economic co-operation between our two regions was reached with the signing, in 1977, of the Mashrek Agreement between the European Community and Syria, Egypt and Jordan, from the Arab side. The Agreement, which came into effect in 1978, covers financial and technical transfers, in addition to gradual access on a preferential basis to the markets of the European Economic Community. This is the last year of the duration of the Mashrek Accord and initial contacts aimed at renegotiating a new agreement have been made by Jordan.

If we ask ourselves about the achievements of the Agreement, an objective evaluation is that these achievements have fallen short of the hopes attached to it when it was first signed. It could be that our expectations have been very high and that there were several developments on the regional and international levels which were not foreseen at the time. But it is also true that some parties to the Agreement pursued it with less than total enthusiasm. Frequently, it was dealt with on a fragmented ad hoc basis which strayed far from the aim of using it as a framework on which to build a comprehensive interdependent relationship.

My Lord Chairman,

Two factors have influenced economic and political development in the Arab region in the past decade. Firstly, the Camp David Accords have left their negative impact on inter-Arab relations as well as on regional stability. Secondly, vigorous economic activity in the Mashrek region has resulted in a growth of exports to the oil producing States. As an illustration, Jordan's exports to the neighbouring Arab States have been recently increasing at an annual rate of over 50%; the demand for Jordanian exports in these countries is strong and there are no tariff or non-tariff barriers on our exports.

My Lord Chairman, Excellencies, My Lords,
Ladies & Gentlemen,

It is with deep appreciation that I wish to thank you for inviting me to address the European Atlantic Group tonight. Coming from the Arab world, I find this to be an excellent opportunity for a timely exchange of views on the present status and future prospects of relations between the European and Arab communities with which we identify.

To speak on the subject of European/Jordanian and of necessity Euro/Arab relations, is a challenge which to me evokes the words of Thomas Southerne, when he asked, in the Loyal Brother:

> ''what is't to be a Prince?
> To be more aware of our misfortune,
> that's all our wretched gain.''

I trust I shall be more fortunate.

It is our belief that the long historical association between Europe and the Arab people can be viewed in a positive light even though, since the turn of the century, the origins of European interests were often in conflict with the politically dynamic aspirations of the Arab people. The depth and variety of the dimensions of Euro-Arab relations can contribute to building a solid base for co-operation in the various spheres of human activity-not only political and economic ties but also in cultural relations which are of value to the civilised world. Such co-operation, if based on mutual respect and regard for the welfare and security of both sides, could serve not only the self-interest of the participants but the interests of mankind in stability and progress.

It is noteworthy that the concurrence, on both sides, of political motivation and economic justification for dialogue led to the establishment of the first forum between Europe and the Arab world in the aftermath of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Naturally, each side has had its views on the priority of issues to be discussed and the areas to be emphasized, thus reflecting diverse needs. The Europeans viewed the initiative towards Euro-Arab dialogue as co-operation with the Arabs in search for a world economic order. The Arabs, however, emphasize the need for a political agreement, prior to the dialogue, related to the occupation of Arab land including Palestinian self-determination. In reality, a central point of interest in the economic field has been oil, and this issue has, for many of us, become a politically oriented question. A polarisation of international rivalries has added further difficulties relating to the Near and Middle East region, which is menaced by the burdens of oil and related questions on which I shall try to elaborate.

In a step forward in the Euro-Arab dialogue and through the Cairo memorandum of 1975, the two sides improved their definition of mutual interests. The Arabs and Europeans stated that the purpose of the Euro-Arab

ADDRESS
BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL

OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

''JORDANIAN-EUROPEAN RELATIONS''

TO THE EUROPEAN ATLANTIC GROUP AT THE GRAND COMMITTEE ROOMS HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON, ON 23RD MARCH 1981

It is our fervent hope that the Arab World can play a leading role in furthering international understanding, particularly on economic issues. The huge financial resources at the disposal of the oil-exporting countries can greatly aid the collective self-reliance of the South in both the short and long terms. Similarly they can in the coming decade redouble their efforts in building bridges of co-operation and like-mindedness between the South and the North. The commitment to resume the Euro-Arab dialogue is a factor to be seriously promoted towards that end.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In our search of a better world, it is important to stress that we believe that a new order can be achieved with mutual benefits to the North as well as to the South. Short-term adjustment problems will certainly exist but they can be overcome, given the will and the means necessary to build such an order.

The role of the United Nations in achieving such a goal is central particularly in designing fair and effective mechanisms for international economic relations. Similarly the United Nations role in maintaining world peace and security is just as important for without peace no lasting progress can be achieved.

The U.N. is as strong and as weak as its Members wish to make it. Solution by resort to armed conflict in our region has shown that military success produces, for the victor, insecurity and a mounting climate of hostile reaction from the community of states. The overriding needs inherent in international interdependency may achieve more for the peace and well-being of the Middle East than the obdurate preservation of the sad realities of today.

In the words of His Majesty King Hussein in the General Assembly of last year: "We believe that the United Nations, its Charter, its flag and its successive resolutions, is the natural framework for the achievement of the comprehensive settlement we all seek. Our Arab nation stands with all other nations in the battle for freedom, peace, progress and international cooperation".

I would like to say that challenges as well as opportunities abound for building a better world. "If men and women can achieve the basic necessities of life, food and shelter, it still remains a problem to make life human, beautiful, intellectually and morally satisfying". I hope that this dialogue can be a further step in that direction, for "all countries are a wise man's home".

Thank you.

Considering these programmes and the many other activities entrusted to UNDP, I am aware of the sizable financial resources needed to carry out the work successfuly. I do share the concern of Mr. Morse at the insufficient size of pledges made to UNDP, and I earnestly hope that the world community will recognize the urgent need to contribute the necessary resources.

Furthermore, I hope that the UNDP can play a larger role in the co-ordination of the numerous activities of the United Nations specialized agencies in the developing world. I believe that with practical co-ordination, the wealth of knowledge and resources within the UN system can be more effectively utilized.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The recent agreement by more than 100 countries to set up a common fund for commodities is a welcome development. It is encouraging to know that countries from the East and the West as well as from the developing world have finally reached a compromise on this important issue. It is crucial for the commodity-exporting developing countries to be assured of a reasonable price for their commodities, particularly when world-wide inflation has sky-rocketed the prices these countries have had to pay for their industrial imports in the last decade.

On another level, this agreement is quite significant since it hopefully heralds a new era of compromise and understanding in working towards the widely discussed reform in international economic relations. We hope that the North-South dialogue will yield further results on other important issues such as trade and the transfer of technology.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We in Jordan look to the forthcoming Arab Summit, to be held in Amman later this year as a consolidating step in the work of the Arab League's specialized agencies concerned with economic and social development. We hope that these specialized organs can work in closer harmony with the UN bodies concerned with development in the region. Among the goals discussed at the Foreign and Economic Ministers' Conference held in Amman a few days ago action was aimed at increasing agricultural production, achieving technological self-reliance, realising balanced sectoral development, reducing income differentials, speeding up Arab economic integration and participating in the establishment of more equitable international economic and technological relations. We feel that the trade and investment relations of the Arab World and the Group of 77 are still heavily tilted towards the developed countries. An illustration of this is that, during the 1974-1977 period, developing countries in aggregate accounted for only 12% of the imports of OPEC with the Arab oil states accounting for the bulk of total OPEC imports.

In our quest for self-reliance: high on the list of priorities has been the development of human resources and manpower and the acquisition of appropriate technology.

bias, which is a real policy maker's trap, because the accelerating demand generated by the population drift justifies investments to meet the demand, which in turn generates an increasing drift of population, with further demand for services. This has all happened as a result of the bias against rural communities. We have therefore adopted a comprehensive regional planning approach for the whole country as a means of reducing regional inequalities and making rural life more attractive. The country has been divided into seven regions, not always coinciding with existing administrative delineations. Following several years of hard multi-disciplinary work we have now completed our plans for the two most populous regions, which together hold about 92% of the total population. And by hard work I mean, among other things, trying to overcome departmental jealousies and bureaucratic inertia which can impede the preparation and implementation of any good plan.

I am sure you are aware of the urgency and magnitude of the urban bias in the developing world-a bias which is certain to become more acute in our third development decade if not dealt with effectively. I am confident that your resources and capabilities can contribute much to bringing about balanced regional development, whether in the actual preparation of regional plans or in their implementation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

During the seventies, there has been an increasing awareness of the links between science and technology and overall development. This awareness has been manifested in a plethora of conferences, seminars and meetings on the national, regional, and international levels. I was privileged to attend the TCDC conference in Buenos Aires in 1978 and the UNCSTD in Vienna in 1979. Now as then, I am convinced of the need for extensive international co-operation in the application of science to development and specifically in the area of the transfer of technology. I still believe that technical co-operation among developing countries is not a substitute for co-operation between the North and the South preferably built on an appropriate contract of generation.

The lack of real progress in the North-South dialogue towards the establishment of more equitable economic relations has led some to advocate the establishment by the developing countries of what are sometimes dubbed the 'Trade Unions of the poor'. We view the issue of the transfer of technology as a tool for co-operation and not confrontation. It is true that quite complex issues are involved. Nonetheless we do not believe that progress in this field or indeed in other fields has to be achieved for the benefit of one region at the expense of others. We are also pleased to see the role given to the United Nations Development Programme in administering some of the specific programmes agreed upon in the TCDC conference and in UNCSTD. With UNDP as a catalyst you have a unique opportunity to make these programmes a success. I believe you could further strengthen the movement towards co-operation among developing countries.

collective self-reliance. These workers are also an important source of income for their families in Jordan as well as a source of foreign exchange for their country. But I cannot help referring to the fact that the country is not getting a fair return on the large investment of scarce resources into the education and training of these workers if we are to succeed in planning the future of regional interdependence.

With this in mind, I proposed to the sixty-third meeting of the International Labour Organization in 1977 the establishment of an International Labour Compensatory Facility (i.L.C.F.). Such a facility would draw its resources mostly from labour-importing countries. The accumulated funds would be diverted to developing labour exporting countries according to the estimated cost incurred by them due to their loss of labour. It is my belief that this proposal, if implemented, will smooth the transfer of skills among countries-with benefits accruing to all and harm to none. Such links and agreements can do a great deal to strengthen goodwill among countries and augment their mutual progress.

I must state here that the progress we achieved was greatly aided by generous assistance from our many friends. Several international agencies have also offered much appreciated assistance in the form of grants, loans and expertise. Traditional aid criteria, however, have not kept up with changes in the developing world. It seems to me that the success attained by some developing countries has been penalized by the strict application of such criteria. Those countries are no longer eligible to receive soft loans or aid on concessionary terms. Due to Jordan's wider responsibilities, I believe that countries like Jordan which show good performance should remain eligible for concessionary aid in increasing their level of self-reliance. Furthermore, I believe that the transition from one aid eligibility category to another should be a more gradual one, with special consideration given to countries whose particular conditions warrant such consideration. We hope that United Nations agencies, together with other donors, will expedite the adoption of such new criteria, which we feel will produce beneficial results for the third development decade.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Most developing countries face the problem of rapid urbanization, and in this regard Jordan is no exception. Rural-urban migration, in addition to the influx of refugees from the West Bank, have increased the pressure on limited urban infrastructure and services. Currently about 60% of our population live in urban areas. More than one-third of our population live in the capital city, Amman, and our three largest cities hold more than one half of the population. This is further aggravated by the disproportionate concentration of industry and services in these cities. Furthermore the attractions of urban life have been felt at an accelerated pace, with negative effects on rural life in general and agriculture in particular.

We have recognized the urgent need to influence this abnormal urban

practice are quite varied, reflecting the conditions of different countries or societies. But it seems to me that there has been some confusion over the fundamental issue of the roles of industrialization and agriculture in development. There are many in the Middle East region who believe that since industrialization and development are almost synonymous and since most developing countries were primarily agricultural in structure, the way to achieve development is to lay more stress on industrialization and to lessen the relative role of agriculture. In practice, this has sometimes led to the unfortunate but common situation where countries which are primarily agricultural cannot produce enough to feed their own people. They are obliged to rely on food imports from industrialized countries and thus suffer from what one may call food insecurity. This situation is mainly due to the bias in investment in favour of industry, although the high rates of population growth and cyclical weather conditions have been additional factors contributing to the anomaly inherent in this situation.

Perhaps it should be pointed out that one does not have to choose between agriculture and industry. The answer surely lies in a proper balance stemming from local conditions. The essence of development, I believe, is in making the optimum use of what is already available. Agricultural yield and production data for almost all developing countries point to a huge potential for increasing agricultural production, given relatively inexpensive inputs, not least of which are proper incentives and extension services.

In Jordan we have experienced a deficit in our food production and are now trying through our next five year plan (1981-85) to rectify the situation by making maximum use of what is available. In the Jordan Valley we hope to complete stage II of the Jordan Valley project by building dams and infrastructure so as to maximize production in an area of unique climatic conditions characterized by a warm winter climate favourable for the production of winter fruits and vegetables. These will be marketed both in Jordan and in the neighbouring countries. We shall implement suitable cultivation patterns in the highlands for rainfed agriculture. Plans are also afoot to utilize our extensive marginal lands for pasture development and livestock production. But a meaningful response to the heavy regional dependence on imported foodstuffs can only spring from a complementary role of capital, energy and natural resources in the region as a whole.

Our central position in the West Asia region has brought about some significant changes in our economic activities. Proximity to the oil-producing states has greatly influenced our labour market. The increased demand for skilled workers-to which I have already alluded-has resulted in strong pressures on domestic wages. Consequently, some development projects have faced difficulties owing either to the lack of skilled workers or to the regional spiral of competitive wages. It is estimated that more than a quarter of a million Jordanians are working abroad, mostly in the Arab oil states. To put this in relative terms, almost one third of our labour force is working abroad. We are, of course, proud of the contributions of our citizens to the development of our sister states for they represent a practical manifestation of our strong belief in

contributing positively in hard times. Hardships are viewed as a challenge to be overcome and not a fact of life to be accepted and endured.

Our formal planning effort in the early seventies commenced with a three year development plan whose main objective was to get the economy functioning again. The plan's main targets were to create job opportunities for the unemployed-and the underemployed-and to achieve an 8% annual growth rate of GDP. These targets were almost accomplished and the objective of reviving economic activity was fully achieved. Then came the present five year plan (1976-80) which is now in its last year. The main emphasis of this plan is on sustained expansion of infrastructure, particularly in transport, in addition to several large projects in agriculture and industry. The overall targets are close to being accomplished and an annual real growth rate of GNP of over 10% has been realized. However, the plan has suffered from two external factors: the escalating price of oil, and the relative labour shortage due to the high demand for skilled Jordanian workers in the neighbouring oil states. Our experience with planning amidst difficulties has convinced us of certain truths. Many of the lessons we have learnt are not unique to Jordan, and we feel that our experience can be useful in almost any country in the developing world.

The vector of stability anywhere in the world is the human being whose importance cannot be overestimated. Our initial desire to develop human potential was reflected in a heavy emphasis on education. Today about one third of our population are in schools, with over 70,000 of them in tertiary education. The literacy rate in Jordan is among the highest in the Arab world. In terms of skills, Jordan is actively participating in the development of neighbouring Arab states. Furthermore women are playing an increasing role in our society as workers, teachers and members of the legislature and of the cabinet. It is interesting to notice that a Jordanian lady is among the few women who are UNDP resident representatives. In purely economic terms, the human element is considered to be only one of the factors of production, alongside capital and land. But we feel that labour should not be equated with the other factors, for without the development of an indigenous labour force to initiate and participate effectively in development at the national level, a continuous development drive cannot be sustained. It is our belief that development cannot be achieved by proxy through large-scale imports of expatriate workers without a parallel development of the local labour force. Similarly, development cannot be sustained by simply contracting for turnkey projects utilizing the latest technology. In short, any development programme or plan not laying the proper emphasis on the growth of human resources is a contradiction in terms.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On a different level, we need to have a clear concept of the means of developing the various sectors of the economy so as to obtain the maximum benefit to the community. This is a general aim which is probably accepted by most if not all of those involved in development work. The strategies adopted in

These alarming facts and their implications demand recognition not solely in specialised reports but by a related sense of greater determination and higher motivation from us all. We are confused today more by the prejudices arising from fixed positions of vested interest in its various forms than by the measures needed to face this threat to the very existence of mankind itself or euphemistically to 'world peace and security'. The objectivity and impartiality of this forum, however, should promote like-mindedness and awareness not in the North-South context alone, but more relevantly in the South-South context on a national, regional and hopefully international scale. Programmes and policies for this purpose should be carefully designed and implemented, so as to create tangible results for the underpriviliged. Merely reiterating our belief in the concept without carrying it through would be tantamount to practising a form of development hypocrisy. To quote Henry George in **Progress and Poverty,** "that amid our highest civilization men faint and die with want is not due to the niggardliness of nature, but to the injustice of man."

Ladies and Gentlemen

As you all know, the lessons of the recent past have shown that development is a great deal more than growth. Sustained growth should be enhanced by positive structural changes in the social, economic and political fields to constitute the wider components of development. The current international emphasis on satisfying basic human needs is a step in the right direction, for it is the human being who is at the heart of the "humane imperative" known as the international development process. The human being should be the architect as well as the means for bringing about the required structural changes. He or she should also be the principal beneficiary of development.

The variables with which we have to cope are unfortunately linked with these and other miserable political crises of today's world and the uncertainties they carry.

Ladies and Gentlemen

Viewed objectively, my country - Jordan - is recognized as an example of development through adversity. It was torn by three wars in the last three decades and shaken by large influxes of refugees on a massive scale in a short period of time. While it does possess some natural resources, it cannot be considered rich in either minerals or agriculture. Compared to some of its generously endowed neighbours, Jordan is at a distinct disadvantage. The 1967 war deprived it of its West Bank and resulted in massive human suffering and forced migration, which in turn aggravated the pressures on health, housing and social services. The war forced Jordan to divert precious resources towards defense and towards preserving the identity of our Palestinian Arab people in the face of the changes enforced by the Israeli occupation. Up to the early seventies, post war instability meant that it was not possible to get production back to prewar levels. However, neither meagre resources nor the nature of our wider responsibility to others have discouraged our people from

EQUALITY BREEDS NO WAR

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, Distinguished Guests

To speak to you in the beautiful city of Tunis tonight on the occasion of the first Paul Hoffman lecture is a source of real pleasure. It is befitting for us all to honour a man who devoted so much of his life to helping the people of the developing world, through selflessly administering the United Nations Development Programme in its early years. To those of you who knew him well he spoke as easily on development as he did on golf, I would like here to follow in the former rather than the latter tradition. His qualities of dedication, compassion and respect for humanity, coupled with his deep knowledge and broad experience, are particularly required. To bring the people of the world together so that they can progress towards building prosperity and peace for coming generations, is a task which we must all strive to accomplish. We need men and women with the stature and global vision with which Paul Hoffman has inspired us. In shouldering this responsibility Bradford Morse represents with vigour and clear sightedness the continuity of a most deserving cause. To all of you of the United Nations Development community I would like here to express from the outset my sincere appreciation for your continuous and meaningful role in promoting the interests of the developing world.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Addressing such a distinguished gathering, whose interests broadly reflect the progress and welfare of the people of the Third World, I am reminded that ''our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind''. Though the realities of poverty, illiteracy, hunger and disease are well known to this forum and though we all realize the danger of the present situation of gross inequities of income and wealth, I would like to share my own brief experience and perception of the decade ahead.

I see my task today not of manipulating predictions of global development towards a particular vested interest, but rather of reflecting the deep concern we all share that awareness among policy makers comes too late.

The majority of the people of the world enjoy only a small share of the benefits of the international economic system. While I do not want to dwell on the appalling conditions in which hundreds of millions of people live in the Third World, I would like to recall one or two figures about the present situation. The world development report of 1979, issued by the World Bank, reveals that the gross domestic product per capita, in 1975, for low-income developing countries was about 2.5% of the corresponding figure for the industrialized countries; for all developing countries, GDP per capita was about 8.5% of the average for the industrialized states. Optimistic projections made in the same report show that in the year 1990, the relative position of the average person in the developing world will actually deteriorate. Worst still, similar projections show that in the year 2000, there will be at least 470 million people who, because of their absolute poverty, will ''whistle in a robber's face''.

SPEECH
BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

THE INAUGURAL PAUL HOFFMAN LECTURE
''EQUALITY BREEDS NO WAR''

GIVEN AT THE GLOBAL MEETING OF
THE UNDP RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVES

TUNIS, TUNISIA
10 JULY 1980

designated mark are going to be left out of aid programmes on the grounds that they have already reached a particular stage of development. However, we all realized that there may be little relation between GNP per capita and the level of development, especially if one accepts scientific and technological sophistication as an essential dimension of economic development. The discrepancy which exists between the level of development as measured by economic indicators and that which is gauged by the level of scientific and technological sophistication is one that your Conference would be well-advised to consider.

Finally, I would like to address the issue concerned with the assessment of science and technology policies. Needless to say, the success of such policies can be measured in terms of criteria endogenous to science and technology: the capacity to put scientific and technical information to productive use. Such an assessment is necessary but not sufficient. For what we have to recognise is that the ultimate aim of the application of science and technology is to achieve self-reliance and to ameliorate the quality of life for ordinary human beings. We would fail in our ultimate objective if the fruits of technology were only available to a few. A successful technology not only requires scientifically and technically trained manpower, but also a commitment by the mass of the people. Such a popular commitment would not be forthcoming unless science and technology makes a visible difference to the daily lives of ordinary individuals. I am confident that the Conference would not view science and technology policies as a matter of concern to scientists and technologists alone. For the international community has already recognised the necessity of linking together science and technology policies with the policies designed to distribute the fruits of economic development more evenly than has been the case so far. One could thus say that the objectives of the New International Economic Order, with which this Conference is intimately concerned, should also apply, within the various national contexts, to the economic and social well-being of individuals.

Mr Chairman,

We have all been talking of the need for international co—operation in the field of science and technology for a number of years. Regrettably, the attempts hitherto made at a constructive dialogue between those who can transfer technology and those who need to receive it, have led, more often than not, to ''confrontation'' rather than to ''co-operation''. The concept of ''inter-dependence'' between the North and the South has not been allowed to contribute adequately to real progress on basic issues. Rather, both sides have tended to abandon flexibility in favour of rigidity as regards their positions on fundamental questions. While the developed countries feel skeptical about the absorptive capacity of the developing countries, the latter worry about the lack of political will on the part of the developed to share the fruits of scientific progress. Both sides eye each other with suspicion, feeling that there are sinister ulterior motives behind proposals made by either side. At the same time, in some instances, political upheavals and instability in certain parts of the developing world have scared away the private sector which has so much to offer in the technological field and discouraged, consequently, the govern-

ments of certain developed countries. It has not been realized that such instability is not an isolated event, but a part of an overall process linked to some of the basic issues which have led the international community to search and promote a New International Economic Order. Without going into details of the North-South confrontation, let me say that it seems to be neither constructive to apportion blame, nor useful to indulge in the post-mortem of past failures. Although, admittedly, in previous international gatherings on related issues, satisfactory progress could not be made, I, for one, view this Conference both as a culmination and a fresh starting point. UNCSTD is part of a continuing and dynamic process, not an isolated event. I do hope that this Conference would mark the beginning of a new era-an era of ''tangible international co-operation in science and technology''. I also hope it would mark the end of the stage of proposals and a beginning of real action in international co-operation.

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I look at the decade of the eighties as a decade of great potential for mankind. In all the areas I have mentioned, as well as on the thorny issues you will be debating, progress must be made. It will not be made in a sea of tranquility. There will be problems, but let them serve as incentives for progress rather than as a source of discouragement. I hope your deliberations will lead to a better life for all of us in the years to come. If science and technology has decisively produced the means of mankind's potential destruction, then surely it is capable of coming up with the wherewithal of man's ultimate survival and well-being.

Thank you.

contribution, by means of its skilled manpower, to regional development, Jordan stands for a continuing commitment, thus supporting the maxim that development is not a prisoner of circumstances, but a process dictated by the will, diligence and innovative skills of a people bent on the pursuit of economic achievement and social equity.

Although a small country, we are situated at the cross-roads of different cultures and civilisations. We have tried to build an international dimension into our science and technology policies. Many of our problems are not peculiar to us alone, but are faced by the majority of other developing countries. Hence we feel that we can speak to you from a common vantage point of shared experience.

The crucial linkage to which I alluded earlier has several components. A proper science and technology infrastructure, the question of technology transfer, the choice of appropriate technology, the impact of labour migration across national borders on the science and technology policies of developing countries, the place of international technical co-operation, the assessment of science and technology policies and the social effects of economic development are but a few of the most relevant aspects of this linkage.

The obstacles facing the application of science and technology to development, particularly in the developing countries, are quite formidable. And the building up of a science and technology infrastructure in such a manner as to contribute directly to economic and social development is a much more complicated process than has hitherto been realised. It is an issue which has been neglected for far too long. Research and Development work is, of course, part of the answer, but it is not the whole answer. More relevant educational and training policies, a better understanding by policy makers of the role of science and technology in development, a more determined political will to take the necessary and sometimes very difficult decisions related to the science and technology structure, a greater willingness to adapt to challenging new concepts while preserving the essence of one's culture-these are all part of the complex and dynamic process leading to a more relevant structure for development.

I do not wish to add to the already voluminous literature on the subject of the transfer of technology. I would like, however, to highlight a few issues about which there is much concern in the developing countries. Among these are: the types of technology to be transferred, the terms on which they are transferred, and the long-term effects of technology transfer on the scientific and technological potential of recipient countries.

Let me state here that I do not view the transfer of technology as an issue of necessary conflict between developed and developing countries. Despite short-term disagreements and apparent disparities, in the long term, technology transfer is in everybody's interest. The experience since the Second World War clearly demonstrates that the transfer of technology among nations does not impede, but actually greatly enhances, international trade and economic cooperation. It is this consideration which, in my view, makes an international dialogue about the transfer of technology both feasible and ultimately extremely desirable.

means are bound to leave out some essential element. Among the problems which fall into this category are those concerned with the regulation of labour migration and the transfer of technology. These issues obviously require world-wide agreement.

There are areas, however, which though requiring international co-operation, do not require it on a universal scale. Some technological projects are difficult for certain countries to implement alone. Examples of such projects in our part of the world are dry-land farming, land reclamation and the development of adequate water resources. Such projects may require only regional co-operation.I also have in mind here the cooperation among Arab countries on scientific and technological projects. As an example, we in Jordan have active co-operation programmes in scientific research with several Arab countries with regard to problems of purely regional importance.

The United Nations General Assembly has already recognised the need for regional and inter-regional co-operation in the field of science and technology. Some of the ideas we have been working on in our region may be of interest to the countries in other regions of the world. There exist proposals for the establishment of an Arab Centre for the Transfer of Technology and a Euro-Arab Centre for Appropriate Technology. In both cases the aim is to set up specialised institutions which are inter-regional as well as international in their function and structure. However, these proposals have not gone beyond the stage of discussions. But they embody the principles emphasized by the United Nations General Assembly: the need for co-operation among developing countries to achieve collective self-reliance as well as between developing and developed countries.

The General Assembly has already recognized the need for the United Nations and its specialized agencies to adopt a coherent set of policies to further the process of formulating science and technology policies in developing countries. We hope that your Conference will lead to more concrete results in this field. It is also our hope that the specialized United Nations agencies would pool their resources and, after careful evaluation of a country's or a region's needs, work out a suitable science and technology programme. We believe that further assistance from the United Nations agencies to existing regional and sub-regional research centres would accelerate the application of science and technology to development.

Some international development agencies, such as the World Bank, have played an important role in financing the development of developing countries; there is a need, however, for some procedure by which aid policies of the international aid agencies, as well as those of developed countries, can be modified, with a view to expediting the flow of scientific and technical know-how to developing countries. There seems to be a tendency at present to channel aid towards the poorest of the developing countries. The principle is a judicious one, but we need to look at the possibe implications of its indiscriminate application. If international aid is to be given on the basis of an indicator such as GNP per capita, then some countries which lie above the

However, the transfer of technology must be determined by the socio-economic structure of the recipient country. Therefore, the process must allow for constructive change in economic and trade relations between nations. Likewise, the international division of labour is not a static phenomenon; rather, it has undergone continuous change in the last two decades. What is needed now is a more explicit recognition of this change. Indeed, it is precisely towards such change that the transfer of technology should be geared. I thus believe that the process should not be directed towards the limited objective of economic autarky. It should rather have the purpose of constructing a new pattern of economic relations among nations.

Regarding the terms of technology transfer, I merely wish to draw your attention to the fact that the terms likely to be arrived at through a process of bilateral bargaining are bound to be uneven, favouring the party which happens to be in a stronger bargaining position at any given moment. To avoid the misunderstandings that are certain to arise in the wake of such a process, we should all seek to promote an equitable international regulation not only with the diligence it requires, but, more importantly, with a measure of sympathetic understanding of the positions of the various parties.

Technology, however, is not a commodity which can be copied to exaction. As has been amply emphasized, the technology to be transferred has to be appropriate to the needs of the recipient country. We need to take into account here another dimension of technology transfer. The utilization of technology presupposes appropriate concepts and institutions. In most developed countries, technology is produced, disseminated and utilized on the basis of certain specific types of institutions-which may or may not exist in developing countries. The very conditions for the establishment of such institutions may be non-existent in many developing countries. In some affluent countries, technology is based on a particular concept of entrepreneurship-a concept motivated by economic and commercial considerations. Because of differing socio-economic stages of development and variant sets of national priorities, one might question both the possibility and the desirability of adopting such a concept in developing countries. Surely, what is required is a spirit of resourcefulness, whether state-directed or privately initiated, which one might call ''appropriate technology''.

The type of entrepreneurs which developing countries need are those who are flexible enough to take into account the special conditions of the countries in which they live and are capable of thinking in broader terms of national socio-economic development. I thus hope the Conference would not only devote itself to the determination of the type of technical information which is to be transferred, but also to the development of what I may term the social structure, on the basis of which such a transfer should take place. The aim, therefore, is not just to see to it that the right type of technical information is transferred to developing countries, but also to make sure that the transferred technology has the desired socio-economic impact. The development of local entrepreneurship is, in my view, essential to achieving such an impact.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates,

There are few occasions of greater moment for mankind, few gatherings of weightier potential impact, than this present undertaking in which we are all privileged to participate. There is nothing more important at this juncture of human history than the application of the world's collective achievements in science and technology to the cause of overall global development. It is, therefore, with a deep awareness of the far reaching implications of your deliberations that I address you today.

It would be presumptuous on my part to convey to you a sense of urgency or to press upon you a course of high moral purpose. You would not be here if these considerations were not uppermost in your hearts and minds. But I can and should urge you to make an all-too-necessary distinction. If it can no longer be said with Tennyson that ''science moves, but slowly, slowly,'' the impact of science on development, particularly in the developing world, has not always been expeditious or entirely beneficial. It is on the inherent linkage of science and technology to development that my message to you today is based. How to strengthen this linkage and make it the principal instrument of positive change at global level is the challenge that faces all of us here as well as in the corridors of decision-making around the world.

Before commenting on this issue, may I be permitted to fulfil the pleasant task of conveying to His Excellency the President, and the people of Austria, the greetings and best wishes of His Majesty King Hussein and the people of Jordan. To Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, I convey our appreciation for the dedication with which he has followed through on the General Assembly resolution of 1976 to convene this Conference. The determination of Mr. da Costa, Secretary General of the Conference, has been decisive in meeting what at first looked like an impossible deadline and in bringing the Conference to Vienna, not only on time, but at a level of planning and organization for which we owe him gratitude. Finally, Mr Chairman, I wish to express to you my sincere and well-placed confidence that you will guide the proceedings towards a fruitful and happy conclusion.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a singular privilege for me to speak on behalf of Jordan as one of the developing countries. I take the invitation extended to me to address the Conference as a sign of recognition of my country's commitment to the principles and objectives of the Conference, as well as to the role which developing countries such as mine can play in advancing the cause of science and technology in the service of national, regional and international development. Jordan was one of the first countries to engage in preparations for the Conference, through its National Science and Technology Policy Conference, held in Amman in February of last year, with participation by twenty-six countries and eighteen regional and international organizations. Jordan took part in several other preparatory meetings related to this present Conference. Both through attention to its own internal science and technology structure and its

ADDRESS
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
AT
THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

VIENNA, 20 AUGUST 1979

petitiveness. The entrepreneurs of the advanced world are keen about their public image in their respective countries. It is only shrewd, if they are in the international market, to give heed to their international image. I am quite sure that entrepreneurs in developed industrialized countries have long reached the national stage of knowing that the marketability of their products cannot continue for ever unchallenged. The prosperity of trade of developed economies cannot be sustained without giving proper attention to the technological needs of developing countries.

When speaking of adaptable technology, I cannot escape the notion of the reverse transfer of technology, or what is usually referred to as the brain drain problem. In Jordan this problem assumes special significance. It is estimated that over two hundred and fifty thousand skilled Jordanians are working abroad, mainly in oil producing Arab countries, the United States and some European countries. If the cost of training such people is computed, we can be proud of our contribution to the world in this field. This might be looked upon as one form of appropriate entrepreneurship. Jordan, acting as a regional entrepreneur, has supplied the Arab World with a much needed commodity. Needless to say, we are now importing labour to replace those who have left in pursuit of lucrative salaries abroad. In order to maintain our people at home, we need to expand our productive capacity and to overcome our technological problems. This is indeed an area which is presently being addressed. This concept does not conflict with the profit seeking mentality. It could direct this mentality to better respond to the special development needs of the region.

In this connection, I am glad to say that the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as UNCTAD, have taken up a proposal which I made at the ILO in 1977, to compensate labour exporting countries. Labour importing countries are expected to contribute funds to an international facility in amounts that are commensurate with their gains from migratory labourers. Developing countries would receive funds that are proportional to the loss incurred by migratory labour. However, those funds are earmarked for specific projects that would help developing countries make up for the lost labour, or improve their capacity to absorb more labourers into their systems. We are aware that this idea invited some exchanges of views at UNCTAD in Manilla last month. However, we hope to pursue this idea in a form acceptable to both exporters and importers of labour. This would be a welcomed gesture on the part of the world community indicating that human beings are at least as important a factor of production in the international market as capital.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The problems and prospects of free enterprise are many, and we are keen to benefit from your experience in the days ahead. For my part, I hope that solutions leading to genuine prosperity and stability for our peoples are promoted with the vigour they merit. I have no doubt that lasting solutions, as we search jointly for better forms of complementarity and co-operation, with the hope of at least a modicum of success, will have to be prepared and carefully implemented over a long period. I feel that the entrepreneuring relationship should, given the right spirit, become a contract of generation between us.

in real terms has shown a rate of increase annually over the period 1972 to 1977 of approximately 10 percent. Our imports have been increasing at an annual rate of approximately 45 percent for the period 1973 to 1977. The imports of the Arab World as a whole have shown an annual rate of increase of approximately 32 percent for the period 1974 to 1977.

Yet let me say with all candour that we are being penalised for our success. We are told that our per capita income has reached certain levels which deny us the right to soft loans or unrequited transfers. This means that we have to resort to international commercial borrowing which is only extended to self-liquidating projects, which may or may not be in conformity with our national choice. Such projects take a while to produce income sufficient to compensate foreign aid. We are being cut off in the middle of the road. We are buying time during which we need to explore further our resources and expand our productive horizons. I would like in this connection to reiterate the need for re-examining the criteria presently applied by donors and international agencies in development financing.

In the overall context of development, one of the main problems is the choice of appropriate technology. As you might be aware, this is a subject which has been a fundamentally important aspect of the North-South Dialogue, and indeed a subject of debate and controversy in various international fora. A year ago, in June, I suggested at the Second Arab-European Business Symposium in Switzerland that we needed a simple, adaptable and transferrable technology which would help us overcome the bottle necks which we face in our productive efforts. Believing that Jordan is an important part of the Arab region, and that she can play an effective role in the development of the region, I suggested the creation of the Euro-Arab Centre for Appropriate Technology (EACAT), with its headquarters in Amman. We feel that Jordan can be a shop window for countries working in the region, demonstrating appropriate technology leading to appropriate entrepreneurship, and meeting the needs of both the countries of the region, as well as our ''Partners in Development''. I am also aware of the new initiative of Universities in promoting entrepreneurial studies, and may I suggest that this idea could be linked with the concept of appropriate technology. In the Arab World this subject as a whole is assuming increasing importance in view of its growing share in world imports. This share amounted to 6 percent of world imports in 1977, compared to 2.7 percent in 1972. A sizeable portion of these imports consist of sophisticated technological products. This entrepreneurial proposition makes use of Jordan's resources, namely, educated people, geographical position, stable political system and cordial relations with the other Arab and European countries. Bearing in mind the immense scope of complementarity in the region, we feel that this proposal will further contribute to the development of the concept of appropriate entrepreneurship suited to the needs and resources of our region.

As for the transfer of technology, we feel this should be renumerable to both the buyer and the seller. Technology is not transferred free, nor without reward to the seller. Nor should its transfer impose a threat on his com-

When an entrepreneur in a less-developed economy wants to introduce a new idea, he is expected to stumble against stiff resistance from those who want and strive to maintain the status quo. Even if the idea is accepted, the actual application encounters inadequate response and co-operation. Thus a successful entrepreneur has to take into his planning and implementation horizons, different variables and parameters than would his counterpart in a more advanced society.

Therefore an entrepreneur in a less-developed economy becomes by force of circumstance an agent of social and institutional change. We should not call a mere profit seeker in such less-developed societies an entrepreneur. Such profit can sometimes be attained by quick short-term ventures. It may command admiration in a profit-orientated economy because it encompasses some of the attributes of an entrepreneur. Yet the cumulative effects of such ventures in a less-developed country can be very negative and distortive. Entrepreneurs, however, are not created in a vacuum; if the environment is open, free and democratic, the chance of producing larger numbers of ''appropriate entrepreneurs'' is enhanced. Democratic environments take forms which vary from one society to another. The most desired, I feel, is a society where the public is given an opportunity to reveal its preferences. If its choices are met with the proper responses, the public counters that with the right sacrifice and participation. Thus, scientifically derived policies aiming at combatting inflation or recession, trade deficit or low national savings can be met more successfully.

In certain Middle Eastern countries, including my own, we are trying to promote the required environment where ''man'' assumes his natural position of being the agent and recipient of all development efforts within the framework of a democratic process. The result is the creation of a new class of entrepreneur whose efforts are directly linked to social change and welfare. Naturally, the entrepreneurs who are able to effect changes in attitudes are few: a second class of entrepreneurial skill is required. These are not agents of social change, but are the medium of that change with each in his own respective field. Those managers are usually available, but they need the guidance of an agreed-upon social vision. Once they are educated to combine their skills and aspirations with those of the society, their gains will be made with the maximum social gain.

As far as national planning is concerned, one of the serious problems in the Middle East and generally in the Arab World has been the emulation of alien models ill-suited to indigenous exigencies. In the early planning era, we in Jordan faced similar difficulties. Then came the brutal interruption of all development process due to war.

However, in the early seventies, we embarked on an indigenous planning period. The goals and objectives of the Plans, the framework, strategy and choice of the projects was the result of an integrated approach. I am glad to be able to say that in the 'seventies, our first economic development plan, and our second Five-Year Plan, have demonstrated a reassuring performance. Our GNP

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am sure that many of you wish as I do that we had less to read on problems and more on solutions. This evening I propose to share with you some of my thoughts on problems and prospects of free enterprise in the Middle East, a subject which is of direct relevance to your interests. I mentioned earlier the problems relating to instability and insecurity, which constitute a serious conditioning factor in the economic and commercial fields. This is not only because of the serious effects of such a state of affairs upon the political orientations of the countries concerned, but also because the heavy defence budgets constitute a serious obstacle in the way of socioeconomic development which is so essential for the health of free enterprise, particularly in the developing countries.

In terms of past history, free enterprise, with emphasis on social welfare, has been a permanent characteristic of the Moslem World. The prophet of Islam himself practised and supported it. Islam teaches liberty and equality and urges its followers to trade in freedom with fairness and social welfare as guiding principles. At the beginning of Islam, the Arab World geographically represented the crossroads of the world. The consequent trade brought with it the entrepreneurial spirit.

In more recent times, the Moslem countries including the Arab World have been exposed to internal convulsions and external ideologies and political pressures. The result in certain countries has been the emergence of regimes favouring the system of centrally planned economies. The traditional entrepreneurial spirit has consequently suffered. Unfortunately, due to the Middle East wars, the consequent problem of hundreds of thousands of refugees living in camps year after year, the social frustrations resulting from the general chronic instability in the area, have all contributed towards further radicalisation of masses. If this trend is not reversed, further blows to free enterprise in the Arab World may be expected.

It can be said, in general, that the Third World as a whole suffers from the phenomenon whereby poverty leads to social unrest and frustration, which begets radical attitudes. These in turn lead to dramatic and sweeping premature measures in all fields.

In one of your discussions at the 26th Congress last year, I was pleased to see the idea of ''appropriate entrepreneurship'' launched as complementary to Dr Schumacher's famous concept of ''Small is Beautiful''. Just as developing countries, including the Arab World, urgently need an ''appropriate technology'', so indeed do they need an ''appropriate entrepreneurship'' suited to the social and commercial environment of the country. One has to realise that in the developing countries such as my own, basic institutions are not adequately developed, private and public choices are limited, and prices and quantities due to market imperfections do not enjoy free mobility except within narrow ranges. The role of an entrepreneur in a developing society has to be an expanded one encompassing the objectives of the whole community.

I deeply appreciate the opportunity given to me to address this distinguished gathering on the eve of the 135th Session of your Council, which marks also the 60th Anniversary of the International Chamber of Commerce. The kind invitation extended to me to be with you on this occasion is a privilege for me and an honour for my country.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In between cocktails and dinner, I am expected to provide you with some food for thought. I hope I will be able to rise to the challenge, and contribute to your understanding of some of our serious problems while preserving the friendly atmosphere with which Mr Winqwist and our hosts at the ICC have received us.

The area from which I come is living a period of uncertainty and insecurity. The Middle East today is rich in problems and lacking in effective international support for comprehensive and just solutions. It is said that the true civilisation is where every man gives to every other every right that he claims for himself. As we search for peace and stability, it is on such a civilised solution that the peoples of the area still base their aspirations. The present state of affairs is not due to natural disaster, nor due to lack of opportunities. It is, we feel, mainly due to the fact that for the moment countries within the region, and those outside it, are neither domestically nor internationally in a position to identify and strengthen the points of convergence. On the one hand the perennial problems of peace have become more acute since the recent bilateral efforts have brought out more clearly the points of divergence both in form and in substance. On the other hand, many parts of the region are torn by internal strife, social unrest and a conflict of vested interests with resulting political transition and instability.

The region known as the Middle East comprises a group of countries in West Asia which not only enjoy the most strategic geographic location, but also share an immense scope of complementarity. This region has cradled three of the world's leading religions: Islam, Christianity and Judaism. It has produced in the past a large number of thinkers, saints and prophets. Today, this same region distinguishes itself mainly by producing the highest number of oil barrels, and by facing the most dangerous peace problems. One can today find in the Middle East all varieties of political trends from extreme left to extreme right. Orthodox religionists and traditional leadership co-exist with radical intellectuals and revolutionary Marxists; countries with centrally planned economies co-exist with those with market economies. In addition to this environment, is the fact that some of the basic issues involved in the search for durable peace between Israel and the Arab World have not been addressed. The euphoria of the bilateral treaty between Egypt and Israel is now melting, and it is becoming clear that the so-called peace efforts have only helped in damaging traditional alliances and in pushing countries in the area towards new polarisations.

ADDRESS
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

''FREE ENTERPRISE: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST''

TO THE COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

PARIS, 20 JUNE 1979

The attitudinal background towards joint action in the developing world as a whole, and the Arab world as a region of the developing world, has not been fully developed. The point has not been reached whereby co-operation, in the sense of a pooling of resources and data relating to such resources has a base line-be they human resources or natural-with the objective concern in a full and proper utilization of such resources to evolve a concept of complementarity.

In the early attempts of Arab economic integration emphasis was put on exchange of trade. But the similarity of industrial structures in the Arab World has narrowed the extent to which co—operation can evolve through trade. The capacity to evolve from a period of services orientation, trade and commerce, to a period of production on a regional basis with emphasis on exports, necessitates of course a more comprehensive regional approach in planning. Coordination and rationalization of technological transfers from the advanced countries to the region as a whole should receive the attention they deserve.

Jordan has participated fully in regional and international dialogues aimed at an improved international economic order and accelerated transfer of appropriate technology from North to South and between South and South. In the United Nations Conference on Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries (TCDC) recently held in Buenos Aires, I made the comment that although TCDC has been called ''a new dimension of international co—operation for development'' it is not in conceptual terms ''new''.

It is not new because centuries ago when the Arabs shared within the East and with the West their knowledge of science and technology, it was, in fact, a form of TCDC without the present terminology. Things have, of course, changed since, in the Arab World as well as elsewhere. But TCDC continued linking central and southern America, stretching from the East to the Muslim World, across Africa and over the Mediterranean to Europe until recent technological advances divided the globe sharply into North and South, widening the chasm between the haves and the have-nots.

I feel that to be realistic, planning for the future of Jordan must take into consideration the geopolitical constraints at the level of the Palestine Question, and, of course, the regional introduction of new elements such as the advent of oil on the international economic scene. Our planning aims not merely to establish projects and economic nodes: it aims at involving our people to rediscover virgin areas of our country in the same pioneering spirit with which other countries such as yours developed. From experiments like yours we have a great deal to learn.

West Bankers come over and sell their products-last year alone over $100 million worth-which are often competitive to the East Bank agricultural community. When I speak of the West Bank, I also include Gaza as we are also facilitators of export of their commodities. The Israelis have placed a virtual ban on their commodities competing with Israeli agricultural produce. We therefore have to find markets for them, and not only does this affect our own local market, but it means that they are taking back our foreign exchange and hoarding it in the West Bank to the tune of over $200 million.

Furthermore, with the Israeli annexation of Arab land, productive agricultural land, for example, of which over 80% has been annexed in the Jordan Valley, makes agriculture limited to an area just north of Jericho. This means that even on social services these people have started to eat up their basic capital which is hoarded Jordanian Dinars. They are entirely responsive to Israeli economic patterns; over 140,000 people, according to the Israeli Government figures are working in the Jerusalem area.

Certain sectors of employment are encouraged by the Israelis, but there is no health development pattern taking place in the West Bank at all and this makes it a very alarming relationship to have to maintain. Social services, education and health are not allowed to expand in the way that they were planned to, prior to the 1967 War.

Despite military occupation, East-West Bank relations triumphed over all tensions and difficulties precipitated by the 1967 War. Economic stagnation on the East Bank was overcome with the launching of the Three Year Plan 1973-1975, during which gross domestic capital formation reached a record level of 31% of GDP resulting in 6% annual GDP growth.

The Three Year Plan was followed by our Five Year Plan 1976-1980, which is currently under implementation. Our comprehensive planning is integrated with, and based on, our peoples' long-term social and economic objectives and aspirations. Our public sector co-operates closely with the private sector in building a better future for all members of society. Our labour unions participate closely in the drawing up of these plans. The Jordanian citizen is the ultimate target of development and the focus of all efforts expended by the Plan and by government institutions.

Emphasis on education and technical training in Jordan has enabled us to participate extensively in the development of the region as a whole through the supply of Jordanian skilled manpower. Of course, this manpower drain imposes additional burdens on us for which we, like other countries on the periphery of oil, are not fully compensated.

The manpower drain affects the whole range of skills and administrative and technical capabilities in the labour force and limits the development of the economy to the extent that manpower shortages emerge. This international mobility of labour has not been parallelled from the national view-point by a similar compensating mobility of capital. However, I will not dwell here on this point which is covered by some of the material provided by our delegation.

The Hashemite Kingdom achieved during the last three decades a high rate of social and economic progress. In fact Jordan has historically placed heavy emphasis on the attainment of rapid social and economic development. Despite the framework of regional instability, demographic dislocations and a large resource gap, impressive growth rates have been achieved. The burden of a large refugee population, which initially equalled about one-half of the settled population, has not prevented Jordan from pursuing its development policies despite the chronic instability pervading the Middle East.

During the fifties and sixties, GDP growth in real terms averaged 10% and 7% annually. The Middle East War of 1967 interrupted this process through the occupation of the West Bank and Jerusalem by Israeli forces. The three years leading to the 1967 War were tense years during which Arab concensus was achieved in a number of Arab summit conferences attended by Heads of State, and during which strategic issues, such as the uses of Jordan River water, which was one of the outstanding problems leading to subsequent tensions before the war, were inconclusively discussed.

The loss of the West Bank during the 1967 War, was the destruction of the dream of social and economic progress which had been envisaged by the Hashemite Kingdom, a dream that would have meant economic take-off in the 'seventies and total conclusion of the pattern of heavy foreign assistance directed to the Kingdom. The West Bank represented in the pre-1967 period small percentages of economic achievement, 16% of industry and 28% of agriculture. The main objectives of the Israeli occupation was to ensure that the occupied territories were not only politically administered, but also de-vitalized. The production and occupational structures of the West Bank and Gaza have been transformed or rather subjugated to suit the best short-term interests of the Israeli economy. Through selective measures, trade patterns have also been transformed to suit the requirements of the occupying power at our expense.

The picture of Israeli settlements has continued to grow and to stretch into a pattern of circles of control. In the northern area one finds an outer circle, where settlements with about 9,000 Israelis very conveniently fall into the biblical term Samaria in terms of the picture that Mr Begin depicts to the outside world. Then there is the central area: an area comprising 60 villages, 32,000 Arabs and nine Arab towns, which is totally excluded from the Israeli concept of negotiable West Bank. This central area of larger Jerusalem incorporates more than 40,000 Israeli settlers. The third circle of control is the southern area which the Israelis call Judea.

We continue to do all that we can to support our people in the occupied areas. All we have been allowed to do by the Occupation Authorities is to subsidize towns and villages-over 8,000 government employees, for example, and municipal and village services. This represents a considerable burden on the Jordanian economy. The money crossing over is not an investment. We have committed over the past ten years in the neighbourhood of £1 billion to the West Bank.

THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN: A PROFILE

It is with a sense of deep appreciation that I received your kind invitation to address this prestigious gathering of scholars of the Near East. The subject of my general survey which I expect will later be enriched by your observations, is, I hope, relevant to your understanding of my country's role today politically, as well as socially and economically.

In developing the context of my remarks I shall first turn briefly to the past, and then describe the major factors conditioning our lives since the 1967 War. The Hashemites, since the turn of this century, have striven within the Arab World to achieve the goal of Arab unity and self-reliance. Out of their commitment to the unity and integrity of the Arabian Peninsula have emerged political realities among which is the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which gained its independence in 1946.

To maintain our Arab identity on Arab soil in the wake of the colonial era, we have striven to assimilate the cross currents of ideas in this geopolitically vital area. Regionally Jordan's contribution to modernization and progress has been enhanced by the educational achievements of its people and their exposure to the world. When speaking of my people and of Arab identity, I would like to say that when the leader of the Arab Revolt went into exile in opposition to the concept envisaged by the Balfour Declaration, he was in a sense the first refugee for the cause of Palestine. The Hashemites have always avoided a narrow nationalist association in their identity with the Arab cause, and out of conviction have over the years developed an independent middle path. The Arab Revolt of 1916 and its political message directed at achieving freedom and social equity attained cautious acknowledgement at the Versailles Conference of 1918.

I shall not dwell on the origins of the Palestine Question for I believe that this subject has been studied in depth, but suffice it to say that what it was possible to redress in the 1920s and 1930s has become more and more unattainable over the past thirty years of the existence of the State of Israel. With the first shot fired in anger between Arabs and Jews in Jaffa in 1921, the area has become militant and compromise solutions and rational approaches less attainable.

My grandfather's initiatives in the 1930s and early 1940s attempting to stave off the danger of broad confrontation in Palestine were unsuccessful and his foresightedness caused him to sacrifice his life. It was in 1948 that in response to the call of the Palestinian people the Jordanian army (the Arab Legion) crossed the Jordan River to save Arab Jerusalem and the inhabitants of the West Bank. The two banks of the Jordan united by Act of Parliament on 24 April 1950, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan joined the United Nations in 1956. His Majesty King Hussein has always been committed to the totality of Palestinian rights and the articulation of the Palestinian voice beyond the borders of the Kingdom was insured by the creation of the PLO in Jerusalem in 1964 in a ceremony under his aegis.

ADDRESS

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL

OF

THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

AT THE SOVIET INSTITUTE FOR
ORIENTAL STUDIES

MOSCOW OCTOBER 18, 1978

towards promoting projects of regional scope involving pooling of resources. This could eventually lead to central regional planning and finally to a stage where through convergence of interests, developing countries sharing common interests could go beyond narrower considerations of sovereignty and domestic interests and pool resources for the development of the region or the sub-region as a whole. These ideas might, at present, appear utopian and far-fetched but I do believe that it is constructive to remain hopeful and optimistic without losing touch with reality.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates,

I have been greatly struck by the emblem of this Conference. It connotes 'a bridge across the South'. Let me venture to say that it is 'a bridge over troubled waters' and it is built on pillars which are still fragile. However, here in Buenos Aires at this Conference the developing world has reached the bridge; it must now be crossed. Let us hope that beyond the bridge lies the land of plenty, protected by a future of peace and prosperity. Allow me, in conclusion, to wish you all Godspeed in the crossing of the bridge.

Allow me, however, to highlight one aspect which is going to be the subject of your deliberations under agenda item 8. In terms of supply of human resources and brain drain, it is clear that the world at large still discriminates between labour and capital exports. There is need to compensate labour-exporting countries to make up for the loss of skilled people needed in the development process. At the 63rd Meeting of the International Labour Conference in Geneva, I had occasion to propose the establishment of an International Labour Compensatory Facility (ILCF). The General Assembly, at its 32nd Session, passed unanimously a resolution dealing with this subject. Considerable groundwork to translate the idea into reality has been done by ILO and UNCTAD. I would request the support of this Conference to carry forward the idea which already has the support and sympathy of countries directly concerned and should lead to a satisfactory international agreement regulating the flow of labour in a manner compatible with the interests and development efforts of contributing and receiving countries.

Mr. Chairman,

Jordan is deeply committed to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and is a staunch supporter of its development system. We greatly appreciate and are grateful for the valuable assistance we receive from it. Without wishing to be critical and because of our commitment to the UN development system, I would wish to make a few comments on it. We welcome the constructive suggestions contained in the draft recommendations relating to the system. Obviously, in the framework of technical assistance, the existing system needs further steamlining and adjustment to the demands of TCDC. Frankly, the developing countries could do with less reports and more action. After all, what is lacking is not so much ideas but the means to translate them into reality. A UN expert actually helping in a technical centre within a developing country is more useful than a dozen experts at the Headquarters analysing the economic trends of that country, important as such analysis may be. The work of the Regional Economic Commissions may need to be reviewed in this regard.

We participated in the effort of restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the UN and have followed with interest the measures already taken to implement the relevant General Assembly resolution. We would appreciate further speedy action in this regard at the regional and field level.

Turning to the practical measures already taken in the context of TCDC, let me say that we greatly welcome the newly instituted Information Referral System (INRES). In my travels to various developing countries, I have often been amazed by the lack of information on what each side can offer to the other in terms of technical co-operation. I can, therefore, hardly overemphasize the usefulness of INRES in facilitating the process of TCDC. Going a step farther, I would hope that a parallel pooling of information at regional level, possibly through the regional economic commissions could be the first step

Within the West Asia region, my country's experience of economic development has been an unusual one. Theatre of armed conflict three times within the span of a decade, subject to major demographic upheavals and to all the political problems that a war inevitably leaves behind, suffering consequently from serious socio-economic problems, Jordan has nonetheless forged ahead in its development plans with the conviction that, whatever happens in the area, optimism is practical policy. From the period of the First Three-Year Plan in 1972, through to the present Five-Year Plan, we have practically doubled our per capita income in current terms. However, this progress has its own dilemmas. For example, the credit-worthiness of Jordan has reduced its eligibility for soft financing from such institutions as the World Bank, while the benefits of development have been nullified to a great extent by inflationary pressures.

In this connection, we are also concerned about the patterns of distribution of the benefits of growth. We continue to explore, like most developing countries, ways and means, in public and private sector, of promoting more equitable and just distribution. One possible approach in our case is a fuller utilisation of our banking system, in particular our specialized credit institutions, to finance our social development-oriented projects. These institutions could be used also, in the case of labour-exporting countries, for making better use of remittances of workers abroad. At present, most of this rich financial source is used up in purchasing of luxury consumer goods which not only hamper overall development but also encourages inflation. An international understanding on better use of funds through regulation of labour flows coupled with incentives within labour-exporting countries for investment schemes with strong social content, would help greatly in meeting the challenge of balanced overall development.

Jordan is a country relatively poor in natural resources but rich in human resources. In our planning, we have remained aware of the social and human aspect. As His Majesty King Hussein has often said, ''Man is the centre of gravity in our development efforts.'' In developing our human resources, special attention is being paid to the role of women-a role whose importance needs to be more fully realized at regional and global level in the context of TCDC.

For decades, we have practised TCDC in terms of supply of skilled and semi-skilled workers to other developing countries of the area. At present, more than one-third of the country's labour force is employed abroad, mainly within the region in countries such as Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Some 66% of our engineers, 48% of agricultural engineers, 34% of medical doctors and 24% of pharmacists of Jordan are serving abroad. Similarly,technical assistance agreements have been signed, in the context of TCDC, with other developing countries of the region such as Egypt, Iraq and Syria. The details of various areas where TCDC is provided and received by Jordan are contained in the national report submitted to this Conference. I would not wish, therefore, to take your time in illustrating how deeply Jordan is committed to TCDC.

TCDC poses the challenge to break free from the past narrowly directed channels of intercourse among nations in order to open up the whole world as a resource to enable developing countries to solve problems of a magnitude and character never before tackled in an organised manner, in so short a time scale and with such limited commitment of financial resources.

Mr. Chairman,

I come from a region which has a unique variety of developing countries ranging from the least developed to some with colossal financial resources but inadequate technological structures-a region bedevilled by complex political problems-a region on whose stability depends,in a large measure, world peace and security. From the point of view of economic development through technical co-operation,the region has extraordinary potential. At present, some countries have sizeable financial resources but lack human resources while others have abundant human resources but lack financial resources.

The limited experience of technical co-operation,at regional and sub-regional level that the countries in West Asia have hitherto acquired shows clearly the immense scope of complementarity. I am sure that this Conference and the world movement to promote TCDC will give further encouragement to identification and implementation of projects, at regional level, which will eliminate duplication and spare the various countries concerned the isolated and costly efforts in favour of collective efforts leading to mutual benefit.

The Economic Commission for West Asia (ECWA) has already done considerable amount of basic research work in this regard. One of its recently completed studies relates to the feasibility of establishing an Arab Regional Centre for the Transfer and Development of Technology. This idea has the fullest support of my country in view of the dire need for such a Centre and the immense benefits that it could bring in the immediate future and on a long term basis. We do not feel that it should lead to the establishment of a prestigious bureaucracy. Rather, it should be a technical centre for analysis and evaluation, serving as a catalyst enabling each country of the region to make fuller use of its potential and of what others in the region have to offer. The Centre should help in the identification of 'appropriate technology' and facilitate the pooling of regional resources for promoting it.

Mr. Chairman,

West Asia is a region with an unusually rich combination of financial, natural and human resources, which have not been fully harnessed. There is, for example, the possibility of agreements at regional or sub-regional levels for industry-sharing programmes where the parties could pool resources to specialise each in a given complementary area of the chosen industry and the products of which would have preferential access to the entire market. I understand that the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has concluded successfully such an agreement in the field of agro-industry-a domain which has remained neglected for a long time in our area.

these objectives, we in the developing world have to, as it were, clean our own houses by removing what have been termed as ''attitudinal barriers.'' We should develop greater confidence in the ability of other developing countries and have faith in the principle of mutual help for mutual benefit. Many of us have to modify the conventional growth oriented development strategies and pay greater attention to their distributional implications. Many of our planners; trained and experienced in conventional planning, have to re-align their thinking in order to make a new departure. More attention needs to be paid to indigenous values and local conditions in the planning process. Additionally, the planners who are often unduly burdened by national, historic and political legacy tend to analyse more the shortcomings of the past than the possibilities of the future. This gives rise to the tendency to blame others for failure and hide behind slogans, thus blurring the perception of reality.

Naturally, beyond the weaknesses that the planners or policy-makers might have, there are real problems which hamper development through technical cooperation; for example, lack of adequate national infrastructures; artificial grafting of over-sophisticated technology; internal political conditioning leading to a search for short-term benefits rather than long-term planning; social and traditional hang-ups which serve as barriers to modern technology; lack of educational systems and training facilities geared to the promotion of satisfactory planning process, etc. TCDC is expected to help developing countries compare notes on these problems and learn from each other's experience for the mutual benefit of all. A beginning can already be made at this Conference for a critical self-examination with the conviction that understanding a problem is the first step towards solving it. We, in the developing countries, need help. But are we doing enough to help ourselves? Your deliberations in the coming days will, hopefully, provide the answer to this question.

Mr. Chairman,

I firmly believe that, given the necessary political will on the part of those who bear the responsibility of governing the vast populations of developing countries, the obstacles which might have hitherto seemed insurmountable, can be removed. It should be recognised that during a long period of time, stretching over centuries, ancient civilisations flourishing in what is today the developing world, and from whom humanity as a whole derived its first significant intellectual, scientific and technological innovations, were not only cut off from each other but also unable to continue the cross-fertilization of ideas and skills. This compartmentalisation of the total reservoir of humanity's knowledge resulted on the one hand in a certain stagnation among much of the world population and on the other, in the rise of a relatively small number of States accruing to themselves enormous power. Although these States have extended much needed and appreciated assistance to the developing countries, it has not been adequate enough quantitatively and qualitatively. Hence the present disequilibrium between the North and the South.

what might best be termed as the ''Fourth World'' - the world of the least developed-inhabited by those whose destitution is far greater than their ability to overcome it. Although their fate is receiving increasing attention since some years, much more remains to be done. TCDC can play a significant role in the international effort being deployed on their behalf.

Besides the group of the least developed countries within the developing world, there is a tendency at present, to form groups or clubs in order to promote or defend special interests. This leads further to mushrooming of group-oriented mechanisms which sometimes tend, by the very nature of their functions, to hamper the regional and international development process. There are the oil-producing countries, the island countries, the land-locked countries, countries grouped together on the basis of common commodities, etc. It is true that special problems need special attention. However, such fragmentation of the developing world should not lead to the fragmentation of its objectives or the weakening of its overall position. Similarly, there are countries, like my own, which are not islands, not land-locked, not oil-producing, etc. Such countries are still the majority in the developing world; their interests should not be considered peripheral, nor their problems neglected just because they have not yet formed a club.

In the same vein, let me stress that individual efforts of countries should remain an important criterion for technical assistance. Good performance in the development effort should be rewarded, not penalized. Countries showing encouraging growth rates should not cease to be eligible for soft loans or similar concessionary treatment until they have reached a decent level of development. At present, such countries, suddenly deprived of certain privileges, hit simultaneously by inflation at home and recession abroad, lose incentive, get discouraged and start falling back in their development effort. The vicious circle thus created needs to be broken through a review of eligibility criteria applied for aid to developing countries.

The much used and abused term ''interdependence'' needs to be viewed in a different light. This Conference will, hopefully, help increase the awareness of the need to evolve an equitable interdependence to replace the existing ''hierarchical'' relationship between the North and the South. However, beyond helping the developing countries to negotiate more effectively in the context of a New International Economic Order, TCDC has other equally important self-contained objectives. Before turning to them, let me stress that TCDC is intended neither to replace the existing relationship between the North and the South nor indeed to be used as an argument against the continuation of North-South technical flows. In fact, more coherent and effective co-operation between developing countries will need and call for comparable technical support from the North since it will increase the absorptive capacity of developing countries for technical and other imports from developed countries.

The principal objectives of TCDC are to promote national as well as collective self-reliance and to enhance the effectiveness of international technical co-operation. However, before any progress can be made towards achieving

place.'' Some of them have, in fact, become poorer due to a variety of domestic and international factors.

In the World Development Report, released a few days ago by the World Bank, it is stated that some 800 million individuals continue to live in a state of ''absolute poverty'' which is described by the President of the Bank as ''a condition of life so characterized by malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, squalid surroundings, high infant mortality and low life expectancy as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human decency.''

Despite the lofty aims of the Development Decades and various strategies adopted to redress the inequities in the overall world economic situation, the fact remains that today two-thirds of the world's gross output is generated and enjoyed by less than one-third of the world population living in the developed countries. A third of the world's export of primary commodities other than fuel is supplied by the developing countries as compared to only one-tenth of the world's manufactured goods supplied by them. While there are more mouths to feed in the developing world, inflation coupled with world recession has only made these countries weaker in meeting the challenge of economic development.

Mr. Chairman,

Poverty has been defined as ''an economic condition that prevents you from going anywhere-except into debt.'' The outstanding external debt burden of the developing countries is fast reaching an intolerable level. It is estimated that, at present, almost seventeen per cent of the export earnings of the poorer non-oil developing countries go simply to debt-service payments. Although certain developed countries have taken positive steps to help alleviate the problem, much more needs to be done if the developing countries are to be enabled to make maximal use of their limited resources.

I do not wish to tax your patience with facts and figures on the sorry state of affairs in the developing world. I do, however, wish to emphasize that the disequilibrium in the world economic situation and the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries is not only unhealthy for the future of the world in economic as well as political terms, but also incompatible with basic human values.

Mr. Chairman,

Many years ago, a British statesman said that the world belongs to ''the few and the very few.' In a way, it might still be true. However, it is being increasingly recognised that the future of this world is largely dependent upon what mankind can collectively do for 'the poor and the very poor' who constitute the vast majority of the global population. Never before in history was the destiny of 'the few and the very few' so intimately linked with the fate of 'the poor and the very poor.'

Within the developing world, sometimes called the Third World, there is

TEXT OF THE SPEECH OF H.R.H. CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL*

...Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries (TCDC) has been called a ''new dimension of international cooperation for development. It seems to me that, in conceptual terms, it is neither ''new'' nor merely a ''dimension''.

It is not new because centuries ago when the Arabs shared within the East and with the West their knowledge of science and technology, it was, in fact, a form of TCDC without the present terminology. Things have, of course, changed since, in the Arab world as well as the West. But TCDC continued linking central and southern America, stretching from China and India to the Muslim world, across Africa and over the Mediterranean to Europe until recent technological advances divided the globe sharply into North and South, widening the chasm between the haves and the have-nots.

TCDC as a concept is not new but the terminology to promote it is new. In a Note submitted to the Conference by the Secretary-General of the Conference, it is rightly stated and I quote, Behind such terms as 'strengthening of institutions, 'information referral and exchange, and 'reorientation of capacities' stand precisely those processes that have provided the vital arteries of all human progress everywhere, at all times through the ages. Unquote.

TCDC is not merely a dimension but rather a movement in itself whose inescapable necessity has recentlybecome clearer to the developing world due to the difficulties in the North-South relations. This movement complements significantly the efforts to promote a New International Economic Order. The attempts at a meaningful North-South dialogue have hitherto led only to a series of monologues 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.' This state of affairs has brought about, inevitably, a greater awareness in the developing world of the need for national and collective self-reliance. It is, therefore, understandable that the Kuwait Declaration of 5 June 1977 characterized TCDC as ''a historical imperative brought about by the need for a new international order.'' This Declaration appropriately called TCDC ''a conscious, systematic and politically motivated process developed to create a framework of multiple links among developing countries.''

These multiple links are necessary not only to articulate the diverse thinking within the developing world and present a more harmonious position in the context of its relations with the developed world, but also, and above all, to explore new methods and means of improving and accelerating the development process itself. This is essential because while considerable progress has been achieved at global level during the last two decades, vast sections of world population have remained deprived of the fruits of this progress. The affluence of the developed nations has, on the whole, increased. The developing countries have, on the other hand, been ''running faster to remain at the same

SPEECH
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
AT
THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
TECHNICAL CO—OPERATION AMONG
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

AUGUST 30- SEPTEMBER 12, 1978.

contacts and achieved a great measure of success in that endeavour. Moreover, the Department has worked diligently on strengthening its ties with the various ministries and specialized public departments as well as with local, Arab and international women's organizations, with the aim of laying down the objective foundations of women's participation. Perhaps the clearest outcome of the work of this Department is this important Conference in which we share.

The challenges imposed on this country require all of us to work together as a unified group, which does not discriminate between any of its members and does not favour any one group except in so far as its positive and fruitful contributions make it worthy of recognition. The Jordanian woman is educated and competent; she is fully aware of her duties, responsibilities and potential. As we plan for the future, we fully recognize that this future is an indivisible part of the future of the entire Arab nation, and indeed of the whole world. We therefore believe that co-operation with our Arab brethren and with the international community is a prerequisite of our success. In this positive spirit and with a profound feeling of sincerity, we look forward to co-operating with you.

I wish your Conference every success.

Thank you.

sufficiently recognize their rights. This is not true. Islam urged a greater position of honour for the woman as mother than it did for the man as father; it specifically called for the education of women and gave them the rights of inheritance as well as ownership of business and property. Furthermore, fourteen centuries ago, Islam permitted women to sit down with men and share in discussions with them. A number of Muslim Arab women have achieved fame as poets, discursers and writers at a time when women in most other countries had barely achieved literacy. In addition, neither in our traditions nor in present-day culture do we find anything which prevents women from freely entering the labour market side by side with men.

In order to forestall any implication that we view women from an exclusively economic standpoint, let me say that we do not limit the participation of women in the development process to her role as a worker or employee. The Jordanian woman enjoys the right to participate in public life, since the law has granted her the right of voting and running for public office. Three women have recently become members of the newly established National Consultative Council; and although this number does not yet meet our aspirations, it represents a further step along the road.

We have also provided equal opportunities of education to Jordanian girls. The number of girls enrolled in the schools is still somewhat smaller than the number of boys, but the difference is extremely small and does not exceed that which obtains even in the industrially developed world.

The Jordanian woman is beginning to penetrate hitherto unfamiliar fields. For example, a number of working women have this year been selected to serve on the councils of labour unions. Similarly, the experiment of enlisting women in the ranks of the armed forces and public security cadres has proved extremely successful--a success attested to by neighbouring Arab countries. Furthermore, we have been witnessing a notable increase in the number of women with private business of their own, together with a greater variety of vocational and academic specializations.

We recognize the social and economic benefits which the participation of women in the labour market entails.

Early in 1976, I supervised a manpower seminar which was devoted to a discussion of the participation of women in development. A large number of specialists participated in that seminar and presented several papers which dealt with all aspects related to woman's role in development, such as the economic evaluation of that role, services which ought to be provided in order to facilitate the participation of women in the labour market, rural occupations and home handicrafts, part-time work, education, etc. The seminar arrived at a number of useful recommendations, most important of which was the establishment of a Department for Women's Affairs at the Ministry of Labour.

The Department began its work early in 1977 and drew up a comprehensive plan based upon the plans and programmes formulated by the seminar. To initiate avenues of co-operation, the Department made intensive international

The issue takes on a further dimension in Jordan in that it is burdened by a high birth rate (45 per thousand). This means that 50.6% of the Jordanian population are below the working age, estimated at 15 years. Furthermore, the high rate of education among males and females at the general secondary and university levels militates against a lagre proportion entering the labour market. The ratio of participation in the labour force is estimated at 21% of the population in Jordan. The principal reason for this lies in the fact that although the participation of women in the labour market is on the increase, it is still very low, since it does not exceed 10% of working-age females.

We have recognized that the solution to the problem of labour shortage in Jordan, which has had a negative effect on our development potential, will not be realized through imposing limitations on the emigration of labour, since we take pride in the freedom of movement and choice which our citizens enjoy. We have therefore concentrated on the principle of increasing supply, which means a greater integration of women in development activities. This decision acquires an added justification if we recall that the proportion of emigrants among working women falls well below the figure for men. A married working woman could, through the additional income she provides, deter her husband from seeking to emigrate.

If we compare the growth rates of individual income around the world with the degree of female participation in the work force, we will find a high degree of correlation between the two. But we must not place overdue emphasis on this conclusion lest we commit the mistake of interpreting growth on the basis of women's participation alone. The relationship between women's participation in the labour force and growth rates is characterized by a movement from the second variable to the first. The rate of women's participation depends, to a large extent, on the level of income and development prevalent in the country, at least in the initial stages of growth. Later on, the situation of a dependent variable and a constant one will not apply any more; it will rather be governed by major interaction between the two. Constant growth will increase the size of the market and will open up new working opportunities for women. This expansion will contribute to an acceleration and sustenance of growth. If we were to conduct a sectoral comparison in Jordan, we would find that the participation of Bedouin and rural women in economic life is greater than that of urban women. This explains the low level of participation by women in the Jordanian labour force, since the continuous process of urbanization accompanied by a constant flow of internal migration to urban areas has contributed to reduced female participation. But this state of affairs is gradually changing in the face of enhanced economic activities and the resultant expansion in the size of the market and the availability of more diversified working opportunities for both men and women.

I would like to point out here that many people acquainted with the Arab World in general, and with Jordan in particular, misunderstand the position and social status of women. They assume that Islam did not do justice to women or

in prices, which resulted both from imported international inflation and the increase in internal economic activity.

In spite of the relative scarcity of our resources, we in Jordan did not suffer at the beginning from the phenomenon of stagflation that combines between low investment and employment on the one hand and a rise in prices on the other. Our problem was confined to price increases accompanied by a notable rise in monetary liquidity and to a large excess in demand on the labour force caused by the shift of the investment curve inside Jordan and in neighbouring Arab states to levels no one could have expected. In spite of this, however, we were able to achieve real growth rates that amounted to 6% in 1967 and 1977 as compared to 1.5% in the developing countries and 2.5% - 3.5% in the developed countries.

Thus the question that poses itself is how we could continue along the path of development and progress?

I believe that the essential factor is the availability of the generally educated, mature and productive human being , particularly within the framework of a linkage between vocational training and real working opportunities. The human being is the source of our pride, the core of our advancement and the ultimate target of our planning. This fact has been recognized by His Majesty King Hussein, the leader of this country and the motivating force behind its progress, who emphasized the necessity of paying special attention to the human being in all walks of life. This wise leadership, coupled with the awareness of the citizen, has imbued the Jordanian individual with a sense of security which has eluded many in other countries. It has given the Jordanian individual, wherever he lives or works, a sense of belongingness and participation. And I do not say this out of mere pride, for the human being is a relatively abundant resource in Jordan if compared with our other resources. I recall here the conclusion arrived at by the Nobel Prize economist Kuznets that education, training and investment in the human being explain over 70% of longrange growth. The case of Jordan is the best illustration of this proposition.

The development process will not gain continuity and acceleration if we do not rise to face the challenges of the present era. Owing to the factors I mentioned earlier, we have moved from being a society which enjoys an abundance of manpower to one which suffers from relative manpower scarcity, compounded by an increasing brain drain. Available statistics show that there are 305 thousand Jordanians working outside Jordan, 95% of whom are males. Statistics also show that the rate of Jordanian emigration during 1977 and the first four months of 1978 is estimated at 2500 persons a month, that is, 83 persons a day, most of whom fall in the educated or skilled category. This of course is not limited to Jordan alone but to many other Arab states, even those that have a problem of over-population. An ECWA study has shown that over 160 thousand university graduates from Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen (over 30% of whom came from Jordan) are presently working in the oil states of the Gulf. Therefore the problem of the emigration of the labour force is not limited to any one Arab country but is common to most Arab countries.

ding only projects of demonstrable economic feasibility and assured returns. Under this criterion, social projects are less able to acquire the funding necessary for their execution. However, social projects, which are difficult to measure in terms of actual returns, are no less important than economic ones. In fact, the need for such projects has continuously increased to the extent that their neglect would threaten the viability even of economic projects.

This state of affairs is abundantly clear in the case of Jordan. The distribution of population, economic activities and vital public facilities tend to favour the Amman region, which includes 56% of the East Bank population and over 85% of the economic projects and facilities. Such a situation cannot but have its adverse effect on the probabilities of growth. Until it becomes possible to effect a better geographical distribution of population and economic facilities, social needs and facilities must continue to be met and secured in the other regions of Jordan. Projects designed to meet this objective cannot be implemented without sufficient funding.

Furthermore, I should state here that the continuous Israeli aggression imposes upon us excessive military expenditures, whose magnitude becomes all the more apparent if weighed against our limited resources and in the light of our role in stemming Israeli expansionism. This burden has almost managed to deny us the fruits of the growth we have achieved. In addition, since the beginning of 1973, we have had to cope with two-digit inflation. Two groups of factors, one internal and the other external, have together caused this disequilibrium--both economic and social. Internally, we have concentrated on organic development based on the setting up of the basic infrastructure including bridges, roads, communication lines and buildings, without developing a clear concept of the social and human dimensions resulting from such overemphasis, and without paying sufficient attention to the social and functional returns of infrastructural projects. And the effects of this disequilibrium did not become apparent until we started to undergo inflationary pressures imposed from the outside. In 1973 the Arab World faced a third war with Israel, which was followed by the well publicized increase in world prices of oil. Jordan, with its limited resources, was a neighbour to very wealthy sister Arab states, which endeavoured to benefit from the opportunity which presented itself and adopted ambitious development programmes. In 1976, those states, like us, had formulated five year development plans whose total expenditures were to exceed $170 billion in the period between 1976-1980. Although our economy began to experience the heat of the situation and a disruption of some of its basic constants, with a resultant inflow of new and largely unfamiliar variables, we realized that the cost of growth is influenced by a set of basic factors and constraints. In the labour market, for example, demand for Jordanian manpower began to increase in such a way as to nullify the tremendous efforts that went into its training. Thus we moved from being a society suffering from unemployment to one afflicted in the labour force at all levels. Perhaps the fundamental reason which enhanced the demand on the labour force was the internal development thrust that was activated by the Three Year and Five Year Development Plans. The second new variable was the sharp rise

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure at this meeting of the Regional Conference for Arab Women to greet and welcome all of you in Jordan-a country which in the course of carrying out its sacred mission has been characterized by a persistent struggle in the face of major challenges.

I am happy to see such a large representation of ladies, well-known for their sincerity, dedication and enlightened minds, together with a select group of experts on modern development in this area, working hand in hand as partners in development.

I would like to express my gratitude for the efforts of the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Western Asia and their continued support in the context of effecting a proper linkage between economic and human planning, which should be part of our aspirations for the future of our area. I wish you a happy and fruitful stay with us in Jordan.

I welcome you in this country, which, since the early days of its establishment, has faced numerous challenges that cannot be subsumed under any one heading. There have been challenges of a military nature, represented in continuous external aggression that robbed our people of their lands and homes and imposed on us an additional burden of care and constant preparedness. And there have been the challenges of nature, represented in a relative scarcity of resources, in addition to a rainfall shortage which in some years, meant that basic drinking needs could hardly be met. But in spite of all of this, we have firmly faced these challenges with a determination to overcome all difficulties and achieve our human, social and economic objectives.

If growth rates are to be measured by increases in annual income, we have achieved in this respect a large measure of success, which has been recognized by the reports of international bodies such as the United Nations and the World Bank. This indicator, however, does not reflect the entire picture of growth and of the suffering that goes with it, for, like any other indicator, it conceals many of the facts of life. I am reminded here of the interesting definition of the word ''average'' propounded by a student of statistics: ''One's head could be immersed in snow, one's feet implanted on a boiling surface, yet one's average bodily temperature could still be 37°''.

It is true that we take pride in what we have accomplished, but it is also true that success breeds further challenges and casts some shadows over the future.

Perhaps the most outstanding difficulty in this regard is the problem of financing. You know very well that financing opportunities are gradually shrinking. International bodies have become less generous in offering assistance, especially to those countries whose national figures show a notable increase in income. For example, Jordan is now considered eligible for loans rather than direct assistance. And even in the case of loans, we frequently find ourselves forced to resort to international credit markets which insist on fun-

SPEECH
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
AT THE REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR
ARAB WOMEN

MAY 30 - JUNE 4, 1978

technology is of particular relevance and importance to a large majority of nations represented in this Conference. Although this question has been and continues to be the central subject of discussion in other relevant forums, may I be permitted to say here that we applaud the efforts of ILO to articulate the problem of 'technical choice and innovation for developing countries', and to promote the identification of àppropriate technology'. Basing myself on our experience in Jordan. I would like to emphasize that our aim is not to imitate other people's technology: we need an appropriate technology able to meet our specific needs. Jordan is actively evolving a national science policy which would hopefully help narrow the gap between those seeking technological know-how and those ready to offer it. Monopolizing knowledge under whatever rationalization is a direct violation of disciplined human relations. We realize that conscious and deliberate efforts are called for and we are glad that the resources of ILO are available to us in these efforts.

Resolution 3362 (S-VII) adopted by the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly called for ''the creation of suitable indigenous technology'', ''the establishment of an international centre for the exchange of technological information for the sharing of research findings relevant to developing countries'', and ''the establishment of an industrial technological information bank''. We would like to see ILO, in conjunction with UNCTAD, UNIDO, and other UN bodies concerned, promote the translation into reality of the ideas launched by the General Assembly. For its part, Jordan stands ready to provide active support to any initiative that might be taken in this respect.

Mr. Chairman,

We believe in the intrinsic value of cross-fertilization of ideas that takes place in Conferences such as this one. This is why I ventured, even at the risk of unduly taxing your patience, to share with you our experiences and thinking in domains of direct interest to ILO. Through the years, this Organisation has steadily but surely contributed towards the amelioration of the socio-economic environment in which we live. I have no doubt that it would continue to do so under the leadership of its Director-General. We, in Jordan, have a vested interest in a strong ILO which has proved to be a reliable partner in our development efforts. It is, therefore, with a deep sense of gratitude and sincerity that I thank you for the opportunity to be here and extend to you my best wishes for success and satisfaction in your deliberations and in the future work of your Organisation.

Thank you.

In the developing countries, planners are increasingly beginning to feel the crying need for the provision of basic social services. However, with the current credit squeeze, projects directly linked to social development are not receiving the required capital funds desperately needed for their implementation. When seeking funds to execute such projects, one is constantly asked for feasibility proofs. However, as is well known, social projects are difficult to translate into clear cut profitable terms.

Although capital donors are not unaware of the need for such projects, they are often reluctant to finance them on the grounds that the projects are not self-liquidating. Obviously, the standards of living cannot be improved without these social projects. A change in the attitude of capital exporters is, therefore, called for in this regard. I should like to point out here that although developing countries benefit from the export of their surplus labour in terms of remittances, yet these remittances invariably result in an increased demand for imported consumer rather than capital products, from industrialized countries.

In Jordan, we realized very early in our development plans that a dinar spent on social services had a much higher social return than a dinar spent on economically feasible projects. Having been closely associated with the development process, I was sometimes surprised to discover how relatively small amounts properly spent on social projects could improve conditions at large. I would therefore suggest that part of the funds from the proposed International Labour Compensatory Facility (I.L.C.F.) be used as soft loans to participating developing countries for the purpose of promoting and financing social projects. For many developing countries, the benefits gained from such projects would not only lead to the amelioration of living conditions but would also help narrow the gap between rural and urban centres, thus eliminating one of the major causes of intersectorial migration.

Mr. Chairman,

The expanding role of ILO in the field of technical co-operation; the success of the World Employment Conference resulting in the Declaration of Principles and the Programme of Action adopted by consensus; the identification of 'Basic Needs' and the promotion of ways and means to satisfy them; the elaboration of strategies for eradicating mass poverty and unemployment; all these elements indicate a trend in the evolution of ILO as an institution which we welcome and support. The tripartite constituency of ILO is particularly suitable for constructive probing into some of the major problems facing the world in its search for a New International Economic Order. The conclusions reached by the world community in the course of the Special Sessions of the General Assembly are being scrutinized for the purpose of practical implementation, in various forums inside and outside the UN framework. However, on its part, ILO has a valuable role to play in our search for speedy and satisfactory solutions to various urgent problems, and I am sure, we will not be found wanting in our support to ILO's efforts.

In the over-all context of technical co-operation, the question of transfer of

has come to give labour exports the attention and consideration traditionally accorded to capital transfers. In order to do this, there is need for an international agreement on the movement of labour whereby proper remuneration and treatment are ensured. This links up most appropriately with the current international concern over the issue of human rights and further commits us to the fundamental principles defined and promoted by ILO. Through such an agreement, the flow of labour could be regulated in a manner compatible with the interest of contributing and recipient countries. It would aslo ensure that labour contracts are drafted so as to include minimum decent treatment, wages, and security. What I have just said naturally applies equally to the outflow of highly skilled labour. The familiar phenomenon of brain drain must be harnessed, regulated and controlled if we are to keep developing countries from becoming anaemic economically, socially, and intellectually.

In this over-all context, I would also like to propose the establishment of an International Labour Compensatory Facility (I.L.C.F.). It could be elaborated along the lines of the Trust Fund for Compensatory Facilities of the International Monetary Fund. The proposed Facility would draw its resources principally from labour importing countries, but in a spirit of solidarity and goodwill, other ILO members may contribute to it. The accumulated resources will be diverted to developing labour-exporting countries in proportions relative to the estimated cost incurred due to the loss of labour. I am certain that if the will to carry out this proposal exists, a set of operational formulae could be found to facilitate its performance. I believe that there is urgent need for a realistic approach to the problem of social unrest caused by the imbalance in the relationship between capital and labour, and which the present proposal is expected to alleviate.

Similarly, it seems to me that it would be useful if, under the auspices of ILO, a study of the present conditions of life and work of migrant workers could be initiated. I am sure that such a study would not only be valuable to the labour importing and exporting countries, but might also help in the articulation and implementation of global policies and standards in this regard. May I therefore propose that this Conference look into the possibilites of following up on this matter.

Mr. Chairman ,

It is generally recognized that material development loses its value if it is achieved at a high social cost. The squalor of suburbia, particularly in developing countries and the sub-human living conditions of vast rural populations are too well-known to be described here.

ILO has, through the years, done valuable work in promoting ways and means of mitigating social disequilibrium in developing countries and in impressing upon planners the fundamental importance of social aspects of development as distinguished from purely economic aspects. The World Employment Conference last year paid considerable attention to this problem as is clear from the Declaration of Principles and the proposed Programme of Action that emerged from it.

This attitude was warranted not only by philanthropic motives, but by the facts of life which make our economy. Besides the fundamental role of human resources inside the country and one-third of the labour-force outside, there are more than 35,000 Jordanian students attending colleges outside Jordan, excluding the 7,000 inside Jordan. The role of Jordanian women is being strongly emphasized in other than traditional fields. Our skilled and highly educated citizens are actively contributing to the development of neighbouring Arab countries.

It would be relevant to mention at this juncture that our esteem for human efforts stems from our religious heritage; a heritage which derives much of its essence from the great religions of the World which are cradled in the Middle East. Islam, as a way of life, rather than a religion, introduced a new equilibrium in society. It emerged at a time when man's dignity was at a low ebb, and it elevated him to a place worthy of him. Fourteen centuries ago the Prophet Mohammed preached human rights, and abhorred discrimination among human beings. It was he who insisted on the payment of real wages, equal to the effort exerted,, and emphasized the work ethic. Islam introduced and promoted the concept of social security, adding thus an important dimension to the harmonious development of society.

With our confirmed belief that man's well-being and performance are interdependent factors, we, in Jordan are trying to promote the welfare of our people. There is, of course, still a discrepancy between our goals and the actual performance but we hope to overcome it through purposeful efforts, particularly if we are aided by the necessary support of the international community. It is not charity that we ask for, but solid objective aid that would assist us in continuing with our positive role as a stabilizing force, both at regional and international level.

Like many countries represented here, Jordan is poor in natural resources but rich in human resources. Since the primary resource of my country is the human element, our planners have naturally had to pay considerable attention to this important factor in national development. We feel that there is a pressing need for a set of formulae to be elaborated and adopted at a universal level in order to ensure that the terms of trade between capital and labour do not degenerate further in favour of capital. Unless this imbalance in terms of returns is discouraged, the gap between the rich and poor countries is bound to further widen and may, in the foreseeable future, reach intolerable limits.

It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize here the obvious fact that labour is at least as important a factor of production as capital. It is becoming increasingly clear to planners around the world that man is the primary development factor and capital occupies a secondary position. The issue is fortified if one looks at the cost incurred in preparing capable human beings and that of accruing capital. In many developing countries, qualified labour is getting to be in chronically short supply. Thus, economic conditions should be, but are not, tipping the exchange rate between labour and capital in favour of labour. The world at large still discriminates between labour and capital exports. The time

I am glad to be able to say that since the inception of the previous Development Plan, we doubled our per capita income in current terms. Unfortunately, this progress brought along its own dilemma: while it reduced, on the one hand, our eligibility for soft financing from institutions such as the World Bank, its benefits in real terms were, on the other hand, nullified by inflationary pressures. Obviously, the uncomfortable position of ''running faster in order to remain at the same place'', which is the fate of many developing countries, needs some redressing on the part of those who have the means to do so.

The unhealthy economic and social effects of inflation are well-known and I would not wish to go into details except insofar as the labour market was affected by it. Obviously, inflationary pressures brought real wages below nominal level. Our ability to compensate our workers for the loss was constrained by our limited resources. Under the mounting pressure of rising costs of living, workers were easily lured by lucrative salaries abroad. Unable to resist the temptation, skilled and semi-skilled workers continued to leave the country. This labour drain reversed the traditional picture, and we found ourselves in Jordan in dire need of labour, compared with our previous surplus. This shortage of necessary skills had its impact in turn on our ability to implement our development plans. In order to illustrate the extent of migration in Jordan, I need cite just one figure: it is estimated that one-third of Jordan's labour force is currently employed outside the country.

Additionally, the consequences of labour shortages are not confined to higher wages. They are causing a massive internal migration movement from rural to urban centres. Differences in income and services between these two sectors is emptying our villages and rural areas and overcrowding our cities. Greater Amman now hosts more than fifty per cent of Jordan's population. As is well-known, such a population distribution causes agricultural output to degenerate and imposes severe social and service constraints in large cities. This situation is clearly inimical to our principal development objectives.

When our Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) was elaborated, all these parameters were fully borne in mind. While planning to attain a real growth rate of twelve per cent per annum, we also tried in the plan to seek equitable distribution of income and services on individual and geographic levels. This led to a two-pronged dilemma which is probably found in most small developing countries. If we give priority to directly productive ventures, our social balance may by jeopardized. On the other hand, if we concentrate on responding to emerging social problems, we shall have little resources to improve our productive means. Economic theorists may construct elegant models revealing a utopian solution, or may engage in lofty arguments over the choice between balanced versus unbalanced growth. The hard facts of life may not coincide with all that theorization. We are trying to improve our productive capacities and maintain an equitable distribution picture. The two goals cannot be incompatible in our planning and implementation horizons. This, however, does not nullify the existence of a trade-off between the two, and our search for the optimum combination has never ceased. To arrive at this satisfactory point, we are utilizing our most precious factor of development, namely: man.

In the domain of development economics, I believe that what applies to my country is relevant to a significant degree to other developing countries. It is the opportunity of exchanging views and sharing our experiences with others which enhances the value of a conference such as this. I, therefore, propose to briefly describe the problems that we in Jordan face and the aspirations that we nurture.

Both geographically and politically, as well as in its economic and social structure, Jordan has a rather unique position. We have never had the time to stereotype ourselves and our social achievements, under a particular slogan. The reason for this has probably also been that our central location to the demographic upheavals caused thrice by war in the Middle East, has made our political role a demanding one. We realized that to survive, our resources had to be equated more realistically to the role expected of us. Psychologically, it was a cruel blow to the economists and planners that, although our real growth rate of seven per cent had been one of the world's finest prior to 1967, war and destruction had once again triumphed.

It may be easy to hypothesize that prosperity would naturally follow the peace that has eluded our area for so long. Yet, living year-after-year in an atmosphere of uncertainty and unrest, we came to realize that prosperity through economic development would not follow the advent of peace, but should appropriately be the forerunner of it. 'Since war first begins in the minds of men,' we directed our efforts to giving our people, through social welfare and economic development, that peace of mind which the international community expects of us when calling upon us to resolve our regional differences. This is why we tried to parallel the Development Decade with one of our own and which, during the first Development Plan ending in 1975, attracted the sizeable investments that we had envisaged, as the ground work for our current Five-Year Plan.

I do not wish to belabour the political aspects of the situation now prevailing in the area. There are certain aspects however, which are of direct relevance to the work of ILO and which deserve to be briefly mentioned. Like the overwhelming majority of nations respresented here, we, in Jordan, are very concerned about the occupied territories and the labour conditions therein. We realize the difficulty and, indeed, the undesirability of promoting piecemeal solutions and feel that, in the final analysis, the resolving of the problem of labour conditions in the occupied territories lies first and foremost in a just and durable settlement of the Arab-Israeli confrontation. His Majesty King Hussein has reiterated time and again that like the other Arab states, we seek a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis on the basis of a complete Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. However, until that stage is reached, we seek the support and understanding of all concerned for ameliorating the conditions of Arab labourers in the occupied territories.

Despite the political and demographic handicaps too well known for me to dwell upon here, Jordan was able to forge ahead in its development efforts and

before since we are becoming increasingly aware of the hazards of confrontation between poverty and prosperity and the fragility of the dialogue between the South and the North.

In a world full of conflicting interests, it is easy to fall prey to pessimism. There is all the more need, therefore, to strengthen our faith in the value of international organisations such as ILO. No country, however big or small, should treat them as peripheral to its vital interests or neglect them because they might not seem to serve as useful adjuncts to national policies. Universality both in terms of membership and financial or political support is essential for an international organisation to be effective and fulfil adequately its mission. Neither internal conflicts nor differences between nations should be allowed to adversely affect this universal character. I hope and trust that ILO will continue to enjoy the universal support that it needs and deserves.

Mr. Chairman,

I have stressed the importance of the role of ILO because, through years of experience, we, in Jordan, have learnt to appreciate this organisation as a valuable partner in our development efforts.

It has provided useful expert advice and I would like here to record our deep gratitude for it. With ILO's assistance we are also in the process of elaborating a new all-encompassing social contract to further promote human welfare at all levels of the population. New legislation relating to all aspects of social security is now at an advanced stage of preparation. When completed, it should enable Jordan to accede to a number of ILO conventions and thus bring us closer, in several domains, to international standards. Already, to the greatest possible extent, we are practising the tripartite principle and thus following the ILO pattern. In regular manner, the representatives of labour, the employers and the Government get together to solve problems of common concern. Similarly, the problems of industry are not left exclusively in the hands of industrialists and the monopoly of the decision-making process is broken by direct involvement of labour in all matters of direct concern to it.

In its work, ILO has addressed itself to some of the most critical and fundamental sectors in the context of the New International Economic Order which all nations, big and small, are today trying to promote. I am sure I will be speaking not only on behalf of the Arab world, but also the whole membership of this organisation when I say that the efforts made under the auspices of ILO in this regard are not only necessary but a sine qua non for the improvement of the over-all situation of today's troubled world. The most significant aspect of ILO's work is that it is exclusively addressed to man and not to machine. No serious economic planner can today neglect the fundamental position of human resources in any economic scheme. In the context of Jordan's economic plans, His Majesty King Hussein has consistently asserted that ''Man is the centre of gravity in our development efforts. He is the agent of development and he is the beneficiary.''

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Director-General, Distinguished Delegates,

I deem it an honour for my country and a privilege for me to be given the opportunity to address this Conference. I should like, therefore, to express, first of all, my deep gratitude for the kind invitation extended to me by Mr.Blanchard. In a way, the International Labour Conference is the annual manifestation of the common will of the international community to promote human welfare in the field of labour and employment and to strengthen the ties of inter-dependence that bind together all States, big and small, in today's world. To speak about the hopes and aspirations of the people of Jordan and to share with you our thinking on issues which are the subject of your deliberations would, therefore, be to fulfil the purpose of this gathering.

During recent years, in forums inside and outside the United Nations system, sustained efforts have been made for a meaningful dialogue between the developing and the developed nations. Seldom in recent history has the urgency of such a dialogue been felt as acutely as during the last few years. The tripartite structure of ILO lends itself, in a unique way, to the promotion of such a dialogue.

Many years ago, Bertrand Russell, in an essay which he appropriately entitled ''The Need for Political Scepticism'', wrote what is still true today and I quote: '' .... international finance and international labour, if they could overcome their mutual distrust, could at this moment agree on a programme which would take the national parliaments several years to carry out and would improve the world immeasurably.''

And he concluded: ''Knowledge exists, and goodwill exists; but both remain impotent until they possess the proper organs for making themselves heard.''

Mr. Chairman,

I think that although times have evolved and the context is different, ILO continues to have the capacity to be one of such organs. I am certain that what will be said here in this Conference will be heard if it represents the consensus of the international community to improve the lot of man.

The record of ILO for over half a century is one of the most distinguished. Having become 'operational' even before the League of Nations, this organisation practically pioneered multilateral technical assistance. In fact, the term 'technical assistance' appeared in an ILO report already in 1920 and I understand that it was Albert Thomas himself who introduced it into the report. Much has changed in terms of global politics and policies since those times, but, sadly enough, many of the human problems such as poverty, hunger, and unemployment have remained much the same.

More than thirty years ago, in a similar Labour Conference, held in Philadelphia, the international community, in unison, declared that: 'Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere.''

Today we feel the poignant truth underlying this statement more than ever

ADDRESS
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF THE
HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

TO THE
63RD MEETING
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

GENEVA 10 JUNE 1977

measure to the success of the Three Year Plan explains why in the coming years special attention is to be paid to development of the private sector.

It is indeed in the context of the fundamental contribution of the private sector in a free-enterprise economy that the value of the present conference should be principally assessed. Since, in Europe, modern technology is largely controlled or owned by private businesses or enterprises I need hardly emphasise the fundamentally important role the European private sector can play in Jordan. This could not only involve direct investment but also joint research projects covering such important economic activities in the country as natural resources, agriculture, development of water and power as well as training and upgrading of manpower, both qualitatively and quantitatively in order to make it capable of assimilating the technologies involved in the various fields of production and services. Mention may also be made here of the role of multinationals which is receiving increasing attention around the world. I should like to refer here to UNCTAD Resolution 97 (IV) relating to 'National Corporations and expansion of trade in manufactures and semimanufactures' which, **inter alia,** makes constructive recommendations for strengthening the development processes in the developing countries.

Jordan has undertaken special efforts to encourage private business in the United Kingdom and generally in Europe to take a more active interest in the investment possibilities that the country offers. The planning and implementation policies of the Government take fully into account the apprehensions and pre-occupations that private businessmen can have when embarking on investment in developing countries. It is natural that a private businessman should expect a reasonable return and repatriation of his money, access to foreign exchange markets for purchase of raw materials and some guarantees against competition during early stages of production. In Jordan, not only can private business receive sympathetic understanding of these apprehensions but also can benefit from relatively efficient services in terms of advice and guidance in the investment field. We would therefore welcome concrete proposals in all fields of relevance to Jordan's development in which private business in Europe may be interested. This may include, in particular, construction, agriculture, food production, pharmaceuticals, etc. Most of the projects in the framework of Jordan's Five Year Plan have already been elaborated by the planning machinery of the country and quite a few are already in the process of full implementation.

Despite constraints imposed by the situation in the neighbouring regions of the country and despite political set-backs imposed by recent history of the area, Jordan's record of performance in national development is more than satisfactory. This is due not only to the leadership of His Majesty the King but also the faith of Jordanians in their future. We would be gratified to see you share this faith and be our partners in development.

tainable. Concurrently, inevitable inflationary pressures may be foreseen. However, the record of development planning in Jordan and the experience gained through the earlier Three Year Plan justify the high degree of development aspiration, as reflected by the Five Year Plan.

Even though the emphasis in the plan is on the commodity producing sectors special attention is paid to the field of agriculture and irrigation. A seven per cent annual rate of growth in agricultural production is foreseen. This is not out of line with the pre-1967 record of Jordan. In this context we attach special importance to the Jordan Valley Development Scheme which will receive about 20 per cent of total planned investments. The successful implementation of this multi-purpose scheme would have an exemplary value in the area in terms of mobilisation of agricultural resources, development of manpower on the farm and provision of services and housing facilities for rural communities in the Scheme area. We would certainly welcome an active interest from abroad in this Scheme and support from technical, socio-economic and financial points of view would be highly welcome.

Turning now to the all-important question of human resources, let me say at the outset that Jordan enjoys a unique position in that its human resources play an important role not only in the development of the country but also of the region. In fact, the regional demands on Jordanian human resources are such that there is pressing need for increasing and strengthening the educational and vocational training facilities of the country. This is why the Five Year Plan lays special emphasis on the development of human resources including not only adult education and literary programmes but also expansion of training opportunities in the areas of managerial and administrative personnel.

The participation of women in the labour force of the country remains fairly low. It is for this reason and in order to increase the scope of available human resources that the plan emphasises in particular the role of women in the development process.

Since the ultimate recipient of the benefits of national development is the individual human being, it is only natural that fundamental importance should be attached to the direct involvement of individuals in the economic and social development of the country. In this connection mention may also be made of the de-urbanisation process that Jordan is now encouraging in order to make more equitable use of national territory, enhance chances of durable human settlements in a better environment and, above all, avoid the unmanageable problems presented by congested urban agglomerations around the world, and, in particular, in developing countries.

Jordan's faith in its citizens and in the fundamental value of its human resources and infrastructure serves as a motivating force for the encouragement provided to the private sector which allows individuals to grow economically and socially without artificially imposed constraints. It also explains the importance attached by the Government, in the context of transfer of technology, to the training and preparation of suitable and productive manpower. The substantial input of the private sector which contributed in no small

Obviously our purpose is not to blindly copy advanced technology of the developed nations but rather to adapt modern technology to our economic needs and national aspirations.

In this connection, it is with hope and confidence that we view the efforts now being made by the international community to develop a code of conduct as indicated in the UNCTAD Resolution 89 (IV) adopted in Nairobi.

Looking at the Arab world as a whole it is clear that development needs and possibilities vary from country to country. The pre-occupations of some countries with substantial surplus funds are quite different from the problems of others which cannot depend totally on income from natural resources. In the case of the former category a more sophisticated type of technological input is called for, and the normal considerations of foreign aid in the traditional sense would appear to be irrelevant. As for the category to which Jordan belongs, the framework of international aid and co-operation is comparable to that normally prevalent in developing countries. This disparity within the region calls for collective effort primarily at regional level. It is gratifying to note that in recent years, the structure of inter-Arab economic and financial relations has gained increasing strength, and Arab countries which need foreign aid are receiving increasing attention from more affluent neighbours within the region.

Similarly, the pattern of inter-Arab trade relations is also becoming clearer. However, as regards relations of the Arab world as a whole with Europe and the rest of the world, there is still need for institutionalisation and streamlining of durable and meaningful co-operation. This need is even more acute in the private sector which supplements the official relationships. A pre-requisite for any effort to solidly establish such co-operation is the availability and free-flow of information and the possibility of more personal contacts. Clearly, conferences such as this can play a very important role in this regard.

Turning from these general considerations to the specific development experience that Jordan is going through, let me highlight the main objectives of the Five Year Plan which was launched this year. The Plan is intended to achieve four overall goals:

Firstly, realising a 12 per cent annual growth rate in the gross domestic product (GDP), which is expected to be achieved by concentrating on the commodity-producing sectors, thus bringing about a basic change in the structure of the national economy.

Secondly, equitable distribution of development gains among the population in the various regions of the Kingdom.

Thirdly, augmenting the reliance of the Government budget on domestic revenues through increase in such revenues at a projected annual average rate of 16.5 per cent.

Fourthly, reducing the trade deficit and thus decreasing practically by half its ratio to GNP at market prices.

Obviously a high annual rate of growth in GDP may not be easily ob-

In the context of co-operation between Europe and the Arab world the obvious themes that come to mind are, on the one hand, the use and role of Petro Money and, on the other, investment opportunities in the Arab world. Much has been said and written, at all levels, about these rather fashionable subjects. However, from our point of view the question that requires most urgent consideration is that of the ''transfer of technology''. In Nairobi, UNCTAD reaffirmed once again its conviction that national technological capability is a cornerstone of economic development and emphasised the importance of transfer of technology and the need for international co-operation in this area. Perhaps the most comprehensive listing of basic principles in this domain is contained in UNCTAD Resolution 87 (IV) adopted in Nairobi. A comprehensive framework in this regard would involve inevitably action by developing countries on the one hand and co-operation from the developed countries on the other.

In the context of co-operation from the developed countries, UNCTAD recommended,**inter alia,** that developed countries:

— Encourage their enterprises and institutions to develop technology appropriate to the needs of developing countries, disseminate such technology to them on equitable terms and conditions and undertake in these countries research and development projects of interest to them;

— Assist in organising training programmes in developing countries for improving the scientific and technological skills of the personnel of these countries;

— Support the establishment of centres for the development and transfer of technology especially at the national level and also assist in the establishment of such centres at the sub-regional and regional levels where appropriate.

These recommendations are very relevant to the needs of developing countries including the Arab world and it would be useful for us to discuss the ways and means of implementing them in a realistic and constructive spirit.

In general, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development recommended, **inter alia,** that all countries:-

— Improve the availability and quality of technological information needed to assist developing countries in the selection of technologies relevant to their needs as a matter of high priority;

— Promote and undertake increased international co-operation and activities relating to technological research and development in the fields such as industry, agriculture and energy ... etc.

These considerations are particularly pertinent in the context of Jordan and other Arab countries and the specific instances of Jordan's complementary role in this regard might well be of interest in our forthcoming discussions. Here again it would be most useful if in our discussions, we could identify and elaborate upon areas where the European Economic Community in general and Britain in particular could play a role.

We are keenly aware of and grateful for the continuing interest of the countries of the European Community in the development efforts of Jordan which I had occasion to witness myself once again during the Jordan Development Conference held in Amman a few months back to launch the Five Year Plan (1976-1980). Both on the bilateral and on the unilateral levels our relationship with the Community continues to grow in intensity.

For the two Development Conferences that we have had in Amman and for the overall development efforts, we adopted the motto ''Partners in Development'' which is reminiscent of the well known Report of the Commission on International Development prepared under the Chairmanship of Lester Pearson. We adopted the motto with a view to highlighting it at two levels: at the **national** level, it was meant to represent the fruits of partnership between the public and the private sectors and at the **international** level it was intended to emphasise the mutually beneficial partnership that can and must exist between the developed and the developing nations.

In outlining the strategy for strengthening international Co-operation, the Pearson Report fixed certain fundamental objectives which are, **inter alia:**

— To establish a better partnership, a clearer purpose and a greater coherence in development aid;
— To promote mutually beneficial flows of foreign private investment;
— To create a framework for free and equitable international trade;
— To redirect technical assistance....etc.

A great deal of effort has been made by the international community during the last few years to promote these objectives. The debates at the Special Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and more recently the resolutions and decisions adopted at the Fourth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Nairobi bear testimony to the collective will that now exists at the international level to promote and strengthen international co-operation in an equitable manner. These efforts as well as the dialogue between the North and the South and discussions at regional and national level are manifestations of increasing awareness of the need for a New Economic Order if not of dramatic successes to achieve such an Order.

Mr. Chairman,

Without entering into theoretical aspects of an international economic order suitable for an interdependent world community and without entering into technical details of national planning as experienced by developing countries like my own, I would merely like to briefly comment, at this stage, on some themes that might be discussed at length during this conference. In so doing I propose to move from the general to the specific, from the international and regional level to Jordan's own experience in recent years with which I have been closely associated.

May I, first of all, express my sincere thanks for the kind invitation extended to me to address this distinguished gathering. The efforts of the European League for Economic Cooperation and its British Section to expand and intensify the relations between Europe and the Arab world are a source of encouragement to all of us. Although the economic and political realities of today's inter-dependent world continue to sustain the Euro-Arab dialogue at government level, there is clearly a continuing need for this dialogue to be concretely and actively supported by increased commercial and financial contacts in the private sector. It is for this reason that we in the Arab world greatly value and welcome opportunities such as this gathering. My close association with the process of economic planning in my own country has only increased my awareness of the importance of discussions such as are proposed at this Conference. It is, therefore, with eagerness that I look forward to the ideas that would emerge from our meetings.

Talking of ideas, I am reminded of what Lord Keynes wrote more than forty years ago in his classic work entitled ''The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money,'' and I quote:

> ''..the ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist.''

I am not sure which defunct economists Lord Keynes was thinking of but I can think of one who is buried here in London's Highgate Cemetery and on whose gravestone is inscribed one of his sayings:

> ''Up 'til now philosophers have only **interpreted** the world in various ways. The point though is to **change** it.''

This defunct economist (named Karl Marx) is very much alive in half the world although it is becoming increasingly clear, at least to the other half of the world, that the ''change'' he talked about need not be a change of values and ideology. It can also be a change of ''attitudes'' and this is what we in Jordan and, generally, in the Arab world are trying to achieve: a change in the world's attitude towards us and a change in our attitude towards the world, in order that, on the basis of a mutually beneficial relationship, a better future may be constructed.

It is of this future that I propose talking today and it is only appropriate that I should be doing so here in this country in view of the long-standing and close relationship which has always existed and continues to exist between the United Kingdom and Jordan. Britain's historical role in Jordan is well known and need not be dwelled upon. Since the emergence of Jordan as a political entity, Britain has brought vital assistance, first through budgetary aid which was phased out in the late sixties and since then, through a significant level of capital aid and technical assistance. When Jordan launched, after an interruption in its development process caused by the war in 1967, its three year development plan (1973-1975), Britain provided project aid and technical assistance amounting to some £12 million.

SPEECH
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
CROWN PRINCE HASSAN BIN TALAL
OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
AT THE ELEC CONFERENCE

LONDON NOVEMBER 9, 1976

Address by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, ''The Prospects of Joint Arab Action: Growth and Belonging'', the text of a lecture delivered as part of the activities of the first cultural season of the League of Arab States, Tunis, Rajab 5, 1401 H. / May 8, 1981 A.D. 81

Address by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, ''The Arab World and Islam: Carrefour Des Nations'', at the University of Paris-Sorbonne, May 11, 1981. 91

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Speech by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, ''Towards a Dialogue of Cultures'', at the Symposium Encounters between the Cultural Communities of Africa, Europe and the Arab World, Avignon, France, Monday, March 22, 1982. 181

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''The world at large still discriminates between labour and capital exports. The time has come to give labour exports the attention and consideration traditionally accorded to capital transfers. In order to do this, there is a need for international or regional agreements on the movement of labour whereby proper remuneration and treatment are ensured.''

. . . . .

''If the eighties are to witness a change in production quantitatively and qualitatively, the results must be reflected on the Arab nation as a whole, not only in terms of increased growth, but also in terms of an increased sense of belonging.''

. . . . .

''There are many in the Middle East region who believe that since most developing countries were primarily agricultural in structure, the way to achieve development is to lay more stress on Industrialization and to lessen the relative role of agriculture. In practice, this has sometimes led to the unfortunate but common situation where countries which are primarily agricultural cannot produce enough to feed their own people.''

. . . . .

''Good performance in the development effort should be rewarded, not penalized. Countries showing encouraging growth rates should not cease to be eligible for soft loans or similar concessionary treatment until they have reached a decent level of development.''

His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan

''The much used and abused term- 'Interdependence' needs to be viewed in a different light. There is a need to evolve an equitable Interdependence to replace the existing 'Hierarchical' relationship between the North and the South.''

. . . . .

''The transfer of technology is not an issue of necessary conflict between developed and developing countries. Despite short-term disagreements and apparent disparities, in the long-term, technology transfer is in everybody's interest.''

. . . . .

''Jordan has full confidence in the strategy of Self-Reliance, a genuine strategy, but for this strategy to have depth and continuity it must be reinforced by confidence and faith in national and collective inter-reliance.''

. . . . .

''The fact that Jordan belongs to the developing world means that we should share our hopes and experiences with the peoples of that world so as to add a new dimension to our co-operation with them. Jordan must also narrow the gap between our thinkers and decision-makers to ensure the application of creative ideas.''

. . . . .

''Jordan as a member of the developing world believes that there is a need to clean our houses by removing what has been termed as 'Attitudinal Barriers'. We should develop greater confidence in the ability of other developing countries and have faith in the principle of mutual help for mutual benefit.''

. . . . .

''The issues that the post-Amman summit era will witness will be those of the latter part of the twentieth century. Hence, they can be dealt with only through the style and language of the epoch-if, that is, the Arab World chooses not to remain on the margin of the times or behind world events. The language of the epoch is scientific research related to the daily events and problems of Arab Life.''

. . . . .

FOREWORD

His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal symbolizes the guiding force behind Jordan's social and economic plans and its efforts to build a modern, humane and progressive society. HRH has been relentlessly devoting his efforts to foster economic and social development in Jordan under the guidance of His Majesty King Hussein. During the past decade The Crown Prince has addressed many national and international fora supporting a vision of a united Arab nation in which Jordan can participate on equal terms in working towards a better future, for a world with peace, prosperity and justice. His lucid style and scientific analysis have lent clarity and convincing force to his views. It is my deep conviction that his speeches contain an informed analysis of local, regional and international issues, although they do not exhaust his intellectual contribution which has included many meetings, seminars, and discussions with local and foreign communities, in addition to several books and articles.

On the local scene His Royal Highness has been conducting a process of free and open discussion of current issues with the participation of a wide spectrum of Jordanians. This democratic process has deepened the sense of belonging and responsibility among the people of Jordan. Reading these speeches one can acquire an accurate picture of Jordan's uphill endeavours to build the country into a model developing society which can play a constructive role in the world struggle against injustice and backwardness.

On the regional and international scenes, HRH has been a strong advocate of complementarity among the countries of the region, and stressed that cooperation among the Arab countries is a must for their survival and development. Similarly HRH has called for cooperation among the developing countries themselves as a prerequisite for self-reliance and progress. Further, HRH has been a strong believer in cooperation and inter-dependence between the industrialized North and the developing South, for the benefit of both.

It is my belief that these speeches provide a documented record of a selection of HRH's views on some economic and social issues and of many ideas of relevance to Jordan and the Arab World. I hope that this collection will prove to be useful to anyone interested in the development of Socio-economic thinking and its relation to the changes that have taken place in Jordan and the region over the past decade.

Bassam Saket, Ph.D.,
Director, Economics Department,
Royal Scientific Society
and
Economic Advisor to HRH
Crown Prince Hassan

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I would like to thank the printing press of the Royal Scientific Society for their help in producing this document. Several staff members of the Economics Department of the RSS havecontributed time and effort in bringing out this project, and this contribution is duly acknowledged.

CHALLENGES THOUGHTS & VISION

HRH CROWN PRINCE HASSAN
SPEECHES 1977_1982

EDITOR
DR. BASSAM SAKET

This document was financed by a generous grant from the Amman Chamber of Industry.

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