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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 7

**Development and international economic co-operation
(continued)**

1. Mr. RAJASOMBAT (Laos) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation, and I personally, would like to express our confidence in you and our warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the seventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

2. We wish also to extend our greetings to the authentic representatives of our brothers, the people of Cambodia. After a courageous struggle for their independence, the valiant Khmer people have the right to play their part and regain their rightful place in the concert of nations.

3. At the same time we deeply regret that, despite the desire of the majority of its members and the majority of members of this Assembly, the Security Council was unable to recommend the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam as full members of the United Nations, thus impairing the universality of our Organization.

4. My country, for its part, has come to this session strengthened by the knowledge that we have regained peace. Our deepest desire, in this post-war period, is to accelerate the reconstruction made necessary by 30 years of struggle against the imperialist forces of aggression. Now that peace has been restored we are undertaking a programme of reform and reorganization of outdated administrative structures in a climate of understanding and national unity. The last vestiges of neo-colonialist domination must be removed, the people must play their part in the responsibilities and decision-making that affect them, and there must be greater discipline and efficiency throughout the hierarchy. Our administration is being made more democratic. Peace-loving and freedom-loving, with the hope of a new life and convinced that its struggle is legitimate and that it is the master of its own destiny, the country is reborn.

5. My Government has immediately undertaken a programme of reforms designed to stabilize the living condi-

tions of the population, reconstruct our dismantled infrastructure and rehabilitate our ravaged economy.

6. But the needs are so great and diverse that our meagre resources cannot alone meet the high cost of an integrated programme of reconstruction and economic development.

7. That is why my delegation has followed the debates at this session with particular attention, and is particularly interested in the positive solutions which emerge from it for the benefit of hundreds of millions of human beings. Because of this we feel our heavy and unavoidable collective responsibilities.

8. This seventh special session is intended to concentrate our thinking and, above all, to rally us to action to deal with problems of vast range. As a whole they pertain to very diverse situations due to either the degree of development or the nature of the problems characteristic of different Member States. That is why my delegation would like to mention those problems as they pertain to the group of countries less fortunate than others: land-locked countries; the least developed among the developing countries; the countries most seriously affected by the present general crisis; and lastly, those which have experienced a terrible war in the recent past and which therefore must meet the tragic consequences of war conditions for their economy.

9. My country, because of a combination of unfavourable circumstances, suffers from all these geographical and economic handicaps.

10. My delegation is extremely interested in any measures which can make a concrete contribution to the establishment of a new international economic order.

11. As a land-locked country, Laos knows the importance of facilitating and promoting the transit of merchandise to and from Laos. It knows also the cost of transit operations, so much so that in 1970, for example, United Nations statistics assessed the cost of transit and transport operations in my country at some \$12 million. This is an exorbitant figure as compared with the volume of the external trade of my country and its resources, and is proof of the gravity of our situation. Many provisions benefiting land-locked countries are included in several existing conventions and arrangements. New, more liberal provisions, such as the establishment of a fund for the developing land-locked countries and the financing of part of the additional transit and transport costs, would obviously take account of the serious difficulties encountered by the disadvantaged countries, such as my own.

12. Measures planned for the countries most seriously affected by the crisis are noteworthy because of the

objectives sought. These are: to maintain intact, for their benefit, essential imports over the coming 12 months; grants or subsidies for the purchase of essential products and goods; deferred payment for the importing of these products; debt rescheduling with a view to cancelling them, obtaining a moratorium or revising the due dates.

13. The position of the Group of 77 concerning lightening the debt burden as a form of economic aid should be strongly emphasized.

14. My country hopes above all that these important and appropriate measures will not remain a dead letter.

15. Everyone knows of the results achieved during the five years of the Second United Nations Development Decade. However, some industrialized countries or members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] have not hesitated to develop their aid programmes to benefit particularly the least developed countries by endeavouring to get closer to financial aid targets and to draw on both the recommendations of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] and those concerning the Second Development Decade, particularly with regard to the volume of public development aid. The example provided by the members of OPEC, which in 1974 devoted approximately 2.5 per cent of their gross national product to development aid, deserves the highest praise.

16. Finally, reference should be made to the situation of countries which are emerging, disorganized and impoverished by a long conflict and wish to undertake a vigorous effort of economic reconstruction. This is particularly meritorious because it depletes most of their meagre resources.

17. The United Nations and its specialized agencies have not been insensitive during this post-war period to the fate of the Indo-Chinese peoples; its prompt assistance in various spheres has been added, where the need is greatest, to aid provided by other aid organizations, of both public and private origin. In view of the vast destruction and the large-scale action required, it is surprising to see the lack of enthusiasm, if not hostility, aroused by any action among those who spread the war and sowed the seeds of destruction. Such inaction has been vehemently condemned by our brothers of the non-aligned countries who, in a resolution [document A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, resolution XIII], decided to establish a solidarity fund for the reconstruction of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet-Nam, and who even now intend to draft a plan of action for concrete aid for the reconstruction of the Indo-Chinese countries. This constructive attitude of the non-aligned countries emphasizes our difficulties and symbolizes the solidarity uniting us when confronted with the enormous tragedy Indo-China has known. Because of its moral implications, its economic consequences and its political motivations, the war in Indo-China was and remains a tragedy common to mankind as a whole. The non-aligned countries, like the socialist countries and other friendly countries, well understand this and have given us firm support in safeguarding our fundamental national rights. Together with us, they assess the responsibilities borne by those who prepared, financed and waged that long and sad war of aggression against the peoples of Indo-China.

18. Quite obviously, aid for reconstruction and the various forms of urgent assistance in the post-war period have a high priority, and they far exceed the means which my country will have available to it in the short run. My country knows that final success will depend upon its own efforts. Its policy is, indeed, to implement programmes which will quickly make it productive, helped by its vast mining and forestry potential and its abundant water resources. Self-sufficiency is its goal, and it is working actively to achieving it.

19. Too frequently, the formulation of a principle is one thing and its implementation another. The specific example of the land-locked countries or of the countries most seriously affected by the crisis has clearly demonstrated that.

20. Much is said of interdependence among nations. Is not that the best proof that we must all maintain solidarity with one another? Whether or not a country has accepted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], its responsibility as a nation in the established economic order is no less and must lead it to prevent or to correct any great imbalance that arises in the distribution of wealth. Either it must readjust its largely surplus trade balance or it must embark on an aid policy to redistribute its resources and re-establish the balance. For it is a fact that all nations, large or small, rich or poor, play their part in the world economic balance.

21. We welcome with interest the restructuring of the United Nations system with regard to its economic aspects. It results from a desire for increased effectiveness and greater order that experience has shown to be necessary. We would express the hope that the present reorganization will take account of the problems peculiar to small countries and of the need to arrange for greater flexibility in implementation. The proliferation of studies and the strict application of any given procedure cause many of the delays and lost opportunities for promoting their economic development.

22. In this connexion, it would be wise not to increase the number of aid mechanisms, as the numerous existing systems and procedures can still be profitably used; for, aside from the costs incurred, not infrequently the study committees and new facilities that are established serve as so many excuses for delaying or evading the examination of urgent but sensitive problems.

23. The frequent appraisal of achievements, as recommended in the Special Programme [resolution 3202 (S-VI), sect. X] with regard to the most seriously affected countries, is an excellent way of measuring progress and reviewing our responsibilities and our short-comings.

24. That is the only way we can all respond constructively to the dramas being enacted in many countries, dramas which perpetuate, whether one wishes to admit it or not, the exploitation of man by man. True international co-operation, in our view, should lead to the elimination of every form of exploitation or domination of man by man.

25. We hope, therefore, that our joint action will ensure that this international co-operation will not fail in its purpose.

26. Mr. STAVROPOULOS (Greece): Mr. President, I should like to associate my delegation with the tributes paid to your eminent qualities and to express our appreciation for the distinction and efficiency with which you preside over our meetings.

27. Our appreciation goes also to the Secretary-General for his enlightened address [2326th meeting], as well as for his personal efforts and his guidance in the preparatory work for the present special session.

28. I am very much moved, after having been for so many years a listener, at having the honour today of being a speaker here for my country.

29. I should like to express the sympathy of my delegation and of the Greek people with the Turkish nation in the sombre tragedy which they have suffered. We have ourselves suffered in this way and we know what it is like.

30. The importance of the United Nations task in promoting development and international economic co-operation cannot be overstressed. In the light of recent world events, economic co-operation among nations is of vital importance, both for developing and for developed countries. The world has become more and more conscious of interdependence among nations and of the dangers that lie in the prolongation of the world economic crisis.

31. A number of delegations have already expressed their views and commented upon the various issues we face in promoting the new international economic order. The views and positions expressed in this forum are not irreconcilable and this in itself is an encouraging fact.

32. There may be issues on which consensus will be slower to emerge. This should not necessarily be a cause for discouragement if nations have the political will required to progress on the difficult road towards world prosperity.

33. I shall now deal with some of the main issues to be taken up under the agenda.

34. We share the view that international trade, if properly organized, is an important instrument to raise standards of living in the developing nations. In this context we agree with the thrust of the proposals on an integrated approach to commodity problems put forward by the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD].¹ It is, however, important to realize that, pending implementation of the integrated programme, every effort should be made to explore the advantages offered by individual commodity agreements.

35. The present recession has underlined the serious problems that developing countries are facing in periods of falling world demand. Global schemes should, therefore, be devised to stabilize the export earnings of primary producer countries, preferably through the International Monetary Fund [IMF]. Indexation as a means of maintaining the real purchasing power of export earnings requires further

careful study. Such a study should particularly try to establish the impact of indexation on the balance of payments of developing countries which are net importers of raw materials, and to suggest mechanisms for counterbalancing adverse effects on their development process.

36. In the multilateral trade negotiations now under way, priority should be given to the elimination of barriers of all kinds to the exports of developing countries. This should be done on a preferential, non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal basis, so that net additional benefits would be ensured for the exports of the developing countries in accordance with the Tokyo Declaration.²

37. Effective steps should be taken by developed countries to improve the generalized system of preferences, so as to further the export interests of developing countries. In implementing the generalized system of preferences, any unequal treatment of developing countries which are at the same level of economic development is bound to lead to trade discrimination, which is incompatible with the very basis of the system and with the principles of the United Nations.

38. In promoting the exports of manufactures from the developing countries special attention should be given to the strengthening of their marketing network and to their ability to provide export finance. In the latter field of export finance, the group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD has come up with useful suggestions.³ We look forward to early discussions on this issue with the object of reaching constructive solutions.

39. Today, the vast majority of countries, and especially developing countries, face deficits in their balance of payments. There is still a danger that, in order to restore their external equilibrium, Governments may adopt restrictive policies regarding international trade. For this reason, the present situation requires a high degree of economic co-operation. Recourse to new restrictions on trade and other current-account transactions and artificial stimulation of visible and invisible exports are self-defeating policies.

40. To accelerate growth in the developing countries, reorganization of world trade should be accompanied by substantial increases in capital flows to those countries.

41. In particular, the problems of the least developed countries and, more generally, certain difficult sectoral developmental problems cannot be solved without substantial financial assistance. At the moment the transfers are scarcely sufficient to offset the flow in the opposite direction resulting from earlier borrowings and investments.

42. In view of this situation, it would seem to be a matter of urgency that rich countries should forge a new consensus and demonstrate a renewed sense of commitment regarding capital transfer targets. As the President of the World Bank has repeatedly stressed, a larger transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries is not only indispensable but also possible.

¹ See *Official Records of the Trade and Development Board, Fourteenth Session, First Part, Annexes*, agenda item 4 (b), document TD/B.498.

² Declaration of 14 September 1973 approved by the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held in Tokyo.

³ See document TD/B/552 and Corr.1.

43. We welcome, therefore, in particular the suggestions made by the UNCTAD secretariat for tripartite co-operation to speed up the flow of financial resources and technological and managerial know-how to the countries in need. We also hope that the seminar proposed by Greece and other countries, and scheduled to take place in Geneva next December,⁴ will come up with fruitful proposals to explore the opportunities offered by this new type of co-operation. At the same time encouragement should be given to another form of triangular relation involving co-operation among developing countries. Developing countries with surplus funds could usefully join forces with other developing countries having experience in industrialization in order to undertake together investment projects in yet other developing countries. Such endeavours could decisively change the international division of labour in favour of the developing countries.

44. Special attention should be given to a further reorientation of development assistance towards the needs of the poorest countries and of the poorest parts of the population in developing countries. In view of the disappointing experience in meeting aid targets during the first half of the decade, we may have to study realistic ways and means for more automatic mechanisms for the transfer of resources to developing countries.

45. The transfer of resources to the more advanced developing countries, where infant industries are threatened with being wiped out during periods of world economic crisis, could be substantially helped through arrangements to improve their access to the international capital markets. The current crisis has seriously damaged a number of developing countries' chances of raising long-term funds in the international bond markets. This is particularly disturbing today when, as a result of the deterioration in their terms of trade, the requirements of the developing countries in long-term funds are rising.

46. On the other hand, all efforts should be made by the widest possible group of contributing countries to make fully operational and strengthen the financial facilities in the World Bank and in IMF devised to alleviate the difficulties caused by current-account deficits and fluctuations in the earnings of the countries exporting commodities. It is vital, therefore, further to strengthen both IMF compensatory financing facility and the "third window" lending scheme of the World Bank.

47. My delegation considers that all developing countries have an increasing role to play in the world economy and shares their concern over the international monetary system. To restore order in the international monetary system, special attention should be given to the volatility of capital markets. This volatility has greatly increased as a result of the spectacular growth of the Euro-dollar and Euro-currency markets and the emergence and proliferation of transnational corporations and banks. To this end, the Greek delegation in last week's annual meeting of IMF proposed the introduction of a code of operation aimed at reducing speculative capital movements and neutralizing their destabilizing effects.

48. At the same time, an adequate liquidity pool under international management should be established to provide the support required to avert liquidity crises. The establishment of such a pool could be combined with a properly devised system of international surveillance to ensure that credit commitments by Euro-currency banks are compatible with an adequate level of liquidity. The return to international monetary stability will undoubtedly benefit the developing countries.

49. Improved access by developing countries to scientific knowledge and advanced technology is perhaps more important from the long-term point of view than access to capital. This objective corresponds to basic norms of justice and economic and social equity. It is essential that the transfer of technology take place on fair terms and take fully into account the specific requirements of the recipient developing countries. Such matters could be regulated through the international code of conduct for the transfer of technology now under preparation by UNCTAD.

50. We believe, furthermore, that countries in a position to do so should make every possible effort to expand their assistance to developing countries in respect of research and development programmes, helping them to create their own technology to suit their needs in accordance with targets to be jointly agreed upon. The United Nations system could also be instrumental in this direction by utilizing in its work, as extensively as possible, the services offered by the research institutes of the developing countries.

51. The creation of a sound basis for industrial development is an aim shared by all developing countries aspiring to raise substantially the standards of living of their peoples. For this reason, Greece has fully endorsed the Plan of Action adopted by the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [UNIDO], held in Lima in March [see A/10112, chap. IV]. Consultations for the implementation of this Plan are now highly desirable. Such consultations could open the way for a closer co-operation between developed and developing countries which would enable the latter to acquire the know-how and managerial skills so much needed in their early stages of industrialization.

52. We believe that special emphasis should be placed on the issues relating to food and agriculture. The world food output, taken globally, seems to be well behind the target set for the decade under review, having progressed quantitatively so far by 2 per cent as against the 4 per cent quantitative target set for the period 1970-1980 and as against a population increase of 2.5 per cent. This discrepancy between food production and population growth is a source of great worry and anxiety concerning the future of mankind. To this end, measures should be taken to restore, as a matter of top priority, the necessary balance between these two factors. It is of the utmost importance that the resolution adopted by the World Food Conference last year for the creation of an International Fund for Agricultural Development⁵ be implemented in as short a time as possible. Meanwhile, and until that Fund is set up and is

⁴ Seminar on Industrial Specialization through Various Forms of Multilateral Co-operation.

⁵ See *Report of the World Food Conference, Rome, 5-16 November 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.3), chap. II, resolution XIII.

able to function, a prompt response is required to ensure immediate aid to those nations which lack the bare means of subsistence. All efforts should be made to reach the targets agreed on at last year's Food Conference. Along with these urgent measures, the necessary mechanisms should be set up to assure an effective system of grain reserves which would help to alleviate famine in the world in bad years and to reduce pressures on supply.

53. If our Organization is to play a decisive role within the framework of a new international economic order, an appropriate restructuring of the United Nations system is required.

54. I should like, therefore, to express our gratitude to the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System for its most interesting and constructive report entitled *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation*.⁶ My Government is carefully studying this report. A number of specific proposals contained in it are in line with our thinking. That goes, above all, for those proposals aiming at strengthening the role of the Economic and Social Council, as decided by the Council during its last session in Geneva this past summer. We favour the establishment of an intergovernmental committee to study the various aspects of this question.

55. We feel, on the other hand, that at this special session certain decisions of principle could be taken in the light of the Experts' report. These decisions of principle would relate to the reaffirmation and revitalization of the role of the Economic and Social Council, the strengthening of the United Nations Secretariat, and the over-all coherence of the United Nations system.

56. I cannot conclude without mentioning the important and constructive proposals that have been made by the United States [2327th meeting]. These proposals may be complex and they need much work and follow-up, but this does not detract from the fact that they are very generous.

57. In concluding, I should like to express the hope that the suggestions and proposals made during our session will not risk remaining unimplemented, as has unfortunately been the case so far with certain United Nations resolutions in the political field. An excellent opportunity to follow up the work of our special session is offered by the international conference on energy, raw materials and development which, we hope, will be convened before the end of this year. In this special session we have the ability, provided the political will is there, to give a new impetus to economic co-operation and to move mankind towards a compassionate global society where all men, irrespective of place of birth, can enjoy the fruits of progress.

58. Mr. CARDENAS (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to associate itself with the congratulations extended to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of this Assembly, a just tribute to your country and yourself.

59. Sixteen months have elapsed since the General Assembly approved the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] and the Programme of Action [resolution

3202 (S-VI)] for its application. Nine months have passed since the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] came into effect, an instrument of true historic importance in contemporary international relations.

60. However we cannot yet glimpse any sign of any change in the unjust international division of labour which still prevails among nations. Nor do the latest economic indicators show that there has been any serious beginning of the application of the sort of measures which would lead to the hoped-for goal of improving the distribution of world income and opportunities for prosperity.

61. Therefore, the main problem of the present time still persists, with its tragic and explosive reality, which is liable to disrupt international peace and security, and which is expressed in the tangible, eloquent fact of which we are all aware: that the developing countries, comprising 70 per cent of the world's population, obtain only 30 per cent of world income.

62. For some years now, and by various means, developing countries have been raising the problem, indicating its gravity and calling for a solution by means of genuine international co-operation. In recent years this movement has become more active and threatens to become an explosive movement of demand in the face of the persistence and exacerbation of the food crisis and the stagnation and despair of the majority of mankind. Very little progress has been made because of a lack of the necessary political decision and far-sightedness on the part of those who, taking advantage of and abusing historical circumstances and using all the strength of the policy of power, have achieved a high level of development. It has not been possible to achieve even the limited, modest objectives laid down in the programme for the First United Nations Development Decade, or to meet the aspirations outlined on the creation in 1964 of UNCTAD, or to achieve the goals provided for in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade.

63. The serious process of inflation which began in 1972-1973 was followed by a fact of greatest historical importance. This was the decision of the members of OPEC, the producers of a natural resource, oil, which until that point had been exploited freely, without concern for the finite nature of reserves, to claim decision-making power over its exploitation and its price, transferring that power from the transnational companies to the sovereign States which possess the resource. The influence of this factor on an industrial structure based upon technologies which had been making improvident use of an artificially cheap resource, made quite clear the fact that economic interdependence is an unchallengeable reality, the common interest a vital necessity, and mutual co-operation a categorical imperative.

64. The dialogue we are pursuing today is the most obvious demonstration of the results of this vitally important fact in the history of the relations between the third world and the countries which have achieved full development. In this uncertain and discouraging background, which forms the backdrop to the lives of the people of the developing countries, we are witnessing the first positive signs.

⁶ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7.

65. My delegation views with satisfaction the constructiveness of the proposals submitted to this special session of the General Assembly by delegations from developed States. We understand that the proposals put forward by the spokesmen of those States, which are being studied together with the proposals presented by the Group of 77, to which we give our total support, to the extent that they are in fact in keeping with the spirit which appears to underlie them, provide a proper basis for this Assembly to decide to put into effect measures which will be necessary to make a reality of the birth of the new international economic order by means of free and frank negotiations which will banish once and for all the climate of confrontation which has prevailed recently.

66. We would like to endorse the words uttered at the beginning of this debate by our Secretary-General, when he said:

“The reduction of the gulf between rich and poor represents the greatest challenge to international statesmanship and vision. It is the experience of history that no society in which the few have wealth and the majority live in poverty and without hope can remain stable. This is more than ever true of our world society today.”
[2326th meeting, para. 117].

67. Within national societies social injustice cannot persist indefinitely; it will be eliminated sooner or later by violent or peaceful means. Nor, in the international community, can the current unjust order prevail any longer. We are on the threshold of a situation which is becoming intolerable. If we put the necessary corrective measures into effect in time we shall avoid a situation in which subsequently they would be achieved at the cost of indescribable suffering.

68. The new world to which we aspire should be governed by the principle of interdependence. Effective interdependence is interdependence which puts an end to the dependence of peripheral countries on the powerful countries occupying the centre and recognizes the sovereign equality of all States in participating in the solution of the major problems of the world, thus making it possible for all to play an active part in taking decisions which affect their destiny and their role in the international community, eliminating the distinction between performers and mere spectators.

69. But interdependence in the field of international co-operation entails, further, the recognition that every State assumes responsibilities in proportion to its economic capacity. Consequently, it is the developed States which have founded their wealth on the basis of the existing unjust and unequal economic system, which should assume the major responsibility for making effective the new international economic order, because it would be wrong to transfer this responsibility to the developing countries or to penalize them with a burden of obligations beyond their real resources when they have only just begun to exercise their rights. The contribution, then, must be strictly and truly proportionate to the actual relative capacity of each State. An elementary principle of justice and equity is that he who has more should give more.

70. The new international economic order should fundamentally be a reordering of reciprocal relations of inter-

dependence and the achievement of new measures for prosperity on the basis of combined interests. In this new order the powerful should not be able to dictate to the weak and the community should be in a position to impose its standards of sovereign equality on all, to support those which need it most and to establish goals of prosperity in which everyone will have equal opportunities and means of acceding to them.

71. Ecuador calls for international co-operation in the achievement of development as an inescapable duty, but it bases its development programmes on its own efforts. There can be no question of any kind, therefore, about our sovereign right to own and use the natural resources in our soil, subsoil or territorial sea of 200 miles. We have, however, recently been subjected to threats, pressures, coercion, sanctions and discrimination in the system of tariff preferences which have aimed at altering or restraining the serious, dignified and independent historical process in which we are engaged.

72. As a result of this firm intention and this determination to develop to the utmost our own efforts and resources, we have participated actively in bold schemes for integration, such as the Andean Pact,⁷ in which we are attempting to rationalize our production by means of appropriate sectoral programmes and to establish common rules for the transfer of technology and the treatment of foreign capital, and to take an interest in new schemes, such as the Latin American Economic System, which would co-ordinate policies and promote specific projects and programmes of common interest.

73. Ecuador is a developing country of the third world which is facing many problems and urgent needs in the process of change which it has undertaken. For the solution of these problems we will require vast financial and technological resources which we lack. New resources coming from our region in the recent and limited production of oil, which amounts to less than 0.04 per cent of the world production of this commodity, have hardly given us the opportunity to begin to construct the minimum of economic and social infrastructure, which we lacked in the past because of the prevailing unjust colonial and neo-colonial systems in the international economic order. Recently we have had to adopt economic measures involving temporary sacrifices in order to be able to plan better the bases for future prosperity.

74. In our opinion, the issues selected for consideration at the current special session are precisely the ones which warrant the most urgent attention within the global contest of the process of development, and for which urgent measures should be taken to make possible the steady growth of the economies of the developing countries at this period of instability we are traversing.

75. The deterioration of international trade has brought the countries of the third world to a critical situation; fluctuations in commodity prices have been violent, and food and commodity prices remain unstable. This requires a new arrangement of the world economic structure, of trade

⁷ Agreement for Subregional Integration (Cartagena Agreement), done at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

among nations and of the conditions for that trade. Therefore, it is only within an integrated programme of basic commodities that we can achieve agreements which will be of benefit to the producer and to the consumer countries. Ecuador considers that this integrated programme should lay down guidelines, principles, objectives and techniques of a multidimensional scope, which would embrace not only price policies but also the indispensable trade aspects, such as the diversification of exports, access to markets and the distribution of products by producer countries. All this would make it possible to achieve the objective to which we are all aspiring: stability in export earnings. Therefore, we believe that this special session should produce measures of action that would lead UNCTAD, as a matter of priority, to prepare the integrated programme of basic commodities which would form the basis for future specific agreements on products which lend themselves to this kind of treatment. We believe that it is just and necessary to increase the participation of the developing countries in transport, marketing and the distribution of their primary products, activities which at the present time are largely still in the hands of transnational companies, which operate without any control in their application of restrictive practices. It is therefore urgent to adopt a code of conduct which would govern their activities.

76. In order to ensure a stable equilibrium in the prices of products exported by developing countries—represented fundamentally by raw materials and basic commodities—vis-à-vis the prices of the capital goods and manufactured goods that they import, Ecuador believes that it is imperative for the international community urgently to adopt agreements which would make possible an improvement in the trade relations of the developing countries to protect them against the adverse effects of world inflation. Therefore, we would encourage UNCTAD to continue its studies of systems of indexation in order to achieve concrete results at the latest at its fourth session, to be held in Nairobi next year.

77. Access to the markets of the developed countries for raw materials and basic commodities, manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing countries can be strengthened only by means of effective measures for the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers which affect the products that developing countries are concerned to export. This is a subject which received appropriate attention in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and also in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. It is therefore paradoxical that those who advocate free access to international markets should be the first to impose discriminatory restrictions, such as those contemplated by the United States Trade Act of 1974, which affect the rights and interests of developing countries that have grouped together, or are thinking of doing so, in producers' associations in order to protect the prices of their raw materials. The generalized system of tariff preferences admits of no qualification whatsoever, whether it be political, economic or of any other kind.

78. Although it is true, as was said by a representative, that "a better world can be built only on the basis of negotiation and compromise and not on the basis of

confrontation, which will inevitably sow the seeds of new conflict"—and if this phrase accurately reflects the objectives that we wish to put into practice—then it is imperative that, as a first stage in the construction of a new international economic order, we should eliminate from international relations the remnants of an unjust and persistent policy of economic coercion and discrimination.

79. In the field of industrialization, Ecuador believes that the Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation approved in Lima in March this year [*A/10112, chap. IV*], should guide all activities that will promote the industrial progress of the developing countries through multilateral and bilateral co-operation. The industrial countries which possess capital goods and technology should contribute to the expansion of industry in the developing countries, in the light of the measures and goals which are set out for this purpose in the aforementioned Plan of Action. Furthermore, my country believes that UNIDO, which hitherto has been an intergovernmental organ of the United Nations, should as soon as possible become an autonomous specialized agency, with its own financial resources, so that it can accomplish the objectives laid down in the Plan of Action approved at Lima. In this respect, we should like to express our support for the creation of an intergovernmental committee charged with the task of studying and preparing draft statutes with a view to transforming UNIDO into a specialized agency. As such, UNIDO would be in a position to expand its operational activities and action-oriented studies in the sphere of industrial development. At the same time the financial resources and technical assistance which the developing countries need from the United Nations system in order to achieve their industrial development may be channelled through it.

80. The transfer of technology should go hand in hand with industrial financing. On this subject, my country attributes particular importance to the selection of appropriate technology in keeping with the particular conditions of each developing country. In other words, the technology should use the manpower and other resources of the country and ensure the best possible social benefits when it is applied. We also support the creation of an industrial technology information bank which we believe to be indispensable for the benefit of the developing countries so that they can make use of the technology that they consider to be of real use for the development of their own industries.

81. My country has embarked upon the elaboration of policies for the rational use of its renewable and non-renewable resources. With regard to the first, we would in particular like to mention the resources of the sea, in relation to which we have adopted policies and principles in vigorous defence of our use and conservation of them. To this end we have proclaimed and defended the principle of a territorial sea of 200 miles, and have incorporated such principles in our legislation to defend our fisheries resources from the depredation of international fishing fleets.

82. With reference to our forestry resources, with the assistance of the United Nations we have embarked on policies for their rational exploitation.

83. In agriculture, the principal concern at the present time is to achieve sustained growth of output, in order both to reduce our food shortages and to intensify our participation in international markets for agricultural products and to contribute in this way to the elimination of the grave problem of food shortages throughout the world. We have embarked upon intensive programmes of mechanization and rationalization through the massive importation of inputs and the granting of technical assistance to producers, and have continued a programme of social reforms in agriculture to facilitate the modernization of this sector.

84. With regard to non-renewable resources, Ecuador will continue to proclaim its inalienable right to dispose of them in the way best suited to its own sovereign national interest. Since such resources are limited, Ecuador reaffirms its right to adopt, as a matter of sovereign right, the policies of production, marketing and conservation which are most in keeping with its own development needs.

85. My delegation welcomes the fact that at the Joint Annual Meeting of the World Bank and IMF, through the Interim Committee⁸ and the Development Committee⁹ decisions were adopted designed to achieve objectives which would help the developing countries, whose concerns have been expressed in various international meetings and are set forth in the working document submitted by the Group of 77 [A/10003/Add.1, annex I].

86. I should like to mention, in this regard, the establishment of a new mechanism for intermediate-term financing, the creation of a so-called "third window," within the World Bank with the primary purpose of giving credit on very favourable terms to the relatively least developed countries.

87. Similarly I should mention the establishment of a special trust fund with proceeds from the sale of IMF gold and other possible sources of financing, in order to provide assistance designed to solve balance-of-payments problems, particularly of those countries which have low *per capita* incomes.

88. My delegation would also like to express its wish to see the implementation of other financial measures which will make possible the transfer of real resources for the benefit of the least advantaged countries—such as increasing access to capital markets, the improvement of the features of the Compensatory Financing Facility and the direct transfer from the industrialized countries of financial resources to reach the goal suggested by the developing countries of a minimum of 1 per cent of gross national product by the end of this decade. We hope that these measures will be favourably received by those who have to apply these instruments and are seeking the balance and reform of the economic system.

89. The present underrepresentation of developing countries in organs of the International Bank for Reconstruction

⁸ Interim Committee of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund on the International Monetary System.

⁹ Joint Ministerial Committee on the Transfer of Real Resources to Developing Countries, established by the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

and Development and IMF, institutions which take vital decisions on monetary matters, cannot continue. The responsibility should be better shared in direct proportion to the new facts of the contemporary balance of power.

90. Ecuador welcomes and expresses gratitude to the Group of Experts which prepared the report entitled *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation*. In principle, Ecuador supports the ideas and recommendations in that report for the adaptation of the United Nations system to current realities. However, we should like to make it quite clear that, in applying the measures suggested by the Group of Experts, particular care should be taken to avoid duplication of efforts in the various organs and bodies which make up the United Nations system, so as to establish appropriate co-ordination between the work done by the many sections of the United Nations Secretariat and that of special programmes, inter-governmental organs and the specialized agencies.

91. We should like to say that we find the efforts undertaken in other spheres, outside the United Nations, to find solutions to international economic problems most praiseworthy. However, we share the view that these efforts should be made in accordance with the principles and general guidelines which have been or may be laid down in the future by this Assembly. Similarly, the results of these efforts should be submitted to the Assembly for approval so that they receive the valuable endorsement of the international community in its legal assembly.

92. We are moderately optimistic about the result of this Assembly session, which could, finally, mark the beginning of the construction of a more just world.

93. This is the message which the Nationalist Revolutionary Government of Ecuador has charged me to convey on this occasion, a clear reflection of the beliefs of a society committed to domestic and international social change.

94. Mr. GUTIERREZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like on behalf of the Government and people of Bolivia, to add my voice to the expressions of sorrow over the catastrophe suffered by the noble and hard-working people of Turkey. Disasters of this nature truly put human solidarity to the test, and I feel that on this unfortunate occasion we are all unanimous in our deep sympathy for the people of Turkey suffering from this recent earthquake.

95. Mr. President, I should like also to express my congratulations to you upon your well-deserved unanimous election to preside over the Assembly at its seventh special session. Your name will go down in the annals of this world forum for having had the singular privilege of guiding its work at the stage when the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States was adopted, and it will be of even greater importance if at this present historic juncture we are able to crystalize in concrete, positive formulas the complex questions considered in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

Mr. Sevilla Sacasa (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

96. We are witnessing an historic process more far-reaching and of even greater importance than we could have

expected. It is no exaggeration to say that we are not here to listen to petty disputes involving private interests or to stir up existing rivalries.

97. Contrary to what might have been imagined by the victors of the Second World War—that the time had come to distribute the booty rather than to create a new international order—this Organization which was conceived by them is acquiring ever greater significance and ever-growing depth.

98. We are truly on the threshold of a new era; this is the dawn of a universal unity never before dreamed of. Perhaps this solidarity is due to the mind-boggling advances made in the exploration of the universe, culminating in that handshake in outer space between men of differing ideologies—a symbol of sincerity and a prelude to the establishment of a new order.

99. From the simple but lofty concept of a League of Nations, the only positive outgrowth of the First World War, we have come to the exciting reality of our United Nations, inspired by the Charter of San Francisco.

100. Unity is the greatest and most fundamental accomplishment to which man can aspire. Indeed, it has accompanied him on his journey through history, ever since the first primal act, to the formation of peer groups growing out of the institution of tribes, down to today's modern States.

101. That unity, however, is most difficult to achieve in the complex constellation of nations. What we have accomplished is practically a miracle of history, an outstanding triumph of generosity over the selfishness inherent in mankind.

102. Without wishing to appear vain, we can say that we have behaved more nobly than the religious themselves. While recognizing substantial unity in their prophecies and fundamental beliefs, they, unlike us, have been unable to achieve union. They have been unable to make this great historic leap in time and space.

103. It is good not to lose sight of the fact that the United Nations, though this was not even posited by its creators, is ahead of its time and is concentrating in one place all the vast area of the entire earth.

104. Yes, we are achieving universal government. In seven hectares of the island of Manhattan, the world's sceptre is being raised. We have a type of executive in the Security Council; we have a parliament in the General Assembly; we have ministerial structures in the other bodies. The Organization's work is done in meetings and is carried out by specialized bodies throughout the planet.

105. This is the great challenge before us. We must know whether we are able to move forward on this noble path, consolidating the councils of our Organization, or whether, on the contrary, we shall bring to it our intransigence and growing impatience, thereby promoting its slow and gradual dissolution.

106. If we can accept the idea that our Organization represents and constitutes a kind of great confederation of

nations with the political will to ensure enforcement of its decisions, we shall find ourselves in the midst of fraternal universality in a safe harbour of lasting peace.

107. We must achieve this. We must live without fear of the strong, who must refrain from looking covetously at the developing countries. It is necessary for there to be a final resolution of the imperial image exuded by the major Powers, which is demonstrated in their voracious, parasitic appetite for developing countries.

108. In order for us to convert into reality this lofty intention to unite, truly to achieve harmonious existence, the present and future great Powers must renounce the thirst for universal domination. They must be convinced that none of them is able to imprison 4 billion human beings today and others in the future. They cannot imprison the vast land mass, the immense seas and space. It depends on them alone whether we all live in peace and pursue a wise policy of mutual beneficial co-operation.

109. We must become accustomed to seeing our countries as national States making up a great universal state that will be entrusted with our destiny. We must create in each Government an awareness of collective responsibility that will make it impossible to exploit the weak, to subject others, or to destroy this, our historic project. In forging this awareness we must make a great structural change.

110. The great Powers are united by the fear of war, catastrophic in its scope and with uncertain results, and by their common interest in dividing up the world into spheres of economic advantage. They play the game by their own rules. The other developed countries are joined by the common desire to continue to grow and compete. They harbour a secret desire to become major Powers and to change the present balance of power.

111. However, we must recognize that the countries of the third world are weighed down by the fact that they are developing countries, quite irrespective of their ideological differences and different religions. They are inspired by the well-being of man and the welfare of their peoples rather than by any political labels. That is the key to union, and that is why they are great. That is the very reason why, within the Group of 77, the very essence of the United Nations must be found. It can gradually become a universal state of a binding nature.

112. Nothing and no one can destroy the prevailing solidarity of the countries of the third world. Defeat unites more than victory; pain more than happiness; suffering more than pleasure; poverty more than wealth; exposure to the elements more than shelter. Those who unite in adversity in no way diminish their autonomy. Those who have been held back cannot now permit the destruction of the world Organization, which shelters them, and which enables them to have a frank and open dialogue with the representatives of their rich and powerful brothers.

113. Since it is a general aspiration of man, the tripartite concept of peace, justice and development must flourish in the countries of the third world. Only a dominator or expansionist can ask for war, desire injustice, or seek backwardness and stagnation.

114. If we do not accept the fact that there is unity in plurality among our nations, a phenomenon common in nature and the universe, and we are unable to respect some one else's individuality, that would mean that everything said here will be swept away by the wind and that none of our decisions would be sincere and valid. We would merely be characters in a play which, God forbid, could end in catastrophe.

115. If, indeed, there can be no desire for peace without meaning, i.e., without liberty, without justice, without dignity, then peace cannot be ensured by preparing for war, as the Romans thought. It is impossible to review history without learning from it. Girding for war leads to war.

116. But who would dare to stop manufacturing arms? Who would risk discouraging the invention of new and more lethal destructive elements? Armament is one of the largest, most complex and profitable industries whose closing would produce a severe and progressive economic and financial crisis. Perhaps States that are producing war *matériel* could transform their war industry into a peace industry. What do they say to that? How could we guarantee the territorial status of States without weapons? Perhaps the only solution is to build through this Organization, not only a new international economic order, but also a juridical structure that would safeguard the political geography of the world.

117. We believe this can be done, and we have taken an important stride forward in recognizing the interdependence of all nations. No one can stand alone in a kind of national self-sufficiency. Everything one States does has repercussions upon others. Interdependence is a clear and objective fact. In order to continue to make progress, we must be aware of our union, and we must therefore act in solidarity to attain our desires. This awareness must be increased, despite the fact that all the aims of the International Development Strategy have not been achieved.

118. In this spirit we would be able to solve the essential problem of international relations, that is to say, development and all of the wide range of questions relating to it. It had been said that trade is the most important mechanism in development. And this is what the core of the question before the developing countries is: namely, the constant deterioration in the terms of trade to which the eminent speakers who have preceded me in this debate have referred.

119. Twenty years ago, as party head, I expounded what today is the crucial need of all peoples. I did so in connexion with the stabilization attempted at the beginning of the second half of the 1950s by IMF to break the galloping inflation resulting from radical structural changes in the control of minerals, in land-holding patterns and in the situation of servitude of the rural population. We have had to remove three zeros from our currency; we have had to freeze wages and salaries. These are meagre wages indeed, as the cost of living could not be officially controlled, and unavoidably rose.

120. Now, I must express our full agreement with the proposal made to reform the present international

monetary system and to give developing countries full participation in the decision-making process in finance organizations. Gold is to be substituted by special drawing rights in order to avoid periodic fluctuations in currencies and to protect the economies of developing countries.

121. When the above-mentioned monetary crisis occurred we submitted that stabilizing the par value of our currency would not ensure a healthy currency because there was a considerable increase in the price of the manufactured goods we were importing. Thus our industrial diversification became more expensive. It is a handicap to be a monocrop economy and not to seek new currency sources in industry. Without cherishing any illusion of being able to compare ourselves with the developed countries, there should be a relative industrialization in developing countries which, by making more foreign-exchange earnings available to them, will enable them to attain a reasonable degree of well-being and sovereignty.

122. This symbiosis should be most apparent in agriculture. A people which does not produce the bread that it eats and which does not process it for better and broader consumption or for export must continue to be ever more dependent. This should lead us to move from agrarian reform, distributing land to the dispossessed, to the agro-industrial revolution. Several countries have done this successfully. After a determined plan of agrarian reform dedicated to social justice, now we must develop agro-industry, not only to improve internal consumption but also to increase exports.

123. The international co-operation sought, therefore, must be focused upon increasing the land's productivity and the processing of its commodities. This is precisely the goal sought by the establishment of an International Fund for Agricultural Development, as proposed by the President of Mexico, Mr. Luis Echeverría Álvarez.

124. With regard to the serious damage we have suffered due to the changes occurring since 1952 in the terms of trade, it is necessary to establish international norms, as has been suggested from this podium by the eminent Foreign Minister of Brazil, Mr. Antonio Francisco Azeredo da Silveira [2327th meeting], which would make possible agreements to regulate the price of goods purchased and sold and, as other speakers have said, the establishment of regulatory machinery.

125. On the other hand, price stabilization is not an ideal. It would be in relative terms if, together with the prices of raw materials there was a stabilization of the prices of manufactured goods. But there is also the ineluctable phenomenon that in capitalist countries the labour force is constantly struggling, quite legitimately and quite properly, with the forces of capital in order to obtain better wages. These losses, or the lower profits, suffered by the industrialists are compensated for by increasing the cost of exports. This is due to the fact that the manpower in developed countries receives satisfactory wages. In other words, the bonanza of the workers in the developed countries is not being paid by the large companies there but rather by the workers in the so-called "agricultural countries" where there is cheap labour due to exploitation and poverty and where the people consume more and save less.

126. I should like in this Assembly to salute the initiative taken by President Hugo Bánzer of Bolivia to bring together the Latin American countries producing commodities. He spoke from the House of Liberty of Chuquisaca in the capital of the Republic to the distinguished President of Venezuela, Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, to the First Lady of the Philippines, Mrs. Imelda de Marcos, to the Vice-President of Colombia, Mr. Julio César Turbay, and to other great statesmen, and to the Bolivian people there. This is what he said: It is an imperative political requirement for the Latin American countries to come together ever more closely in a community of goals and feelings.

127. Let me refer to another concern expressed by my President. He rallied the Bolivians around the idea of an outlet to the sea. This is a great historic challenge to which he is committed. And when the diplomatic relations with Santiago were re-established, which had been broken for more than 11 years, he brought up with his Chilean opposite number, Mr. Augusto Pinochet, our national request to obtain a port on the Pacific under Bolivian sovereignty.

128. But this is not everything. President Bánzer, from the historic tribune of Chuquisaca, the cradle of American emancipation, made the same appeal to the continent when he called attention, in the five points he proposed, to the need to resolve, on the basis of an oft-repeated Latin American consensus, Bolivia's speedy return to the sea.

129. Bolivians, who are thought of as ingenuous, "innocent", as the country itself, seek solutions to their disputes on the basis of understanding. We have never used force vis-à-vis our neighbours and never shall. We should like to find constructive arrangements with them which are mutually beneficial. Anyone who says Bolivia supports the use of arms would be telling a falsehood.

130. Negotiations with the authorities in the La Moneda Palace in Chile must be pursued. It is impossible that the good faith and great civil integrity with which the Bolivian President has made his proposal, thus demonstrating to the world our readiness for an enlightening and constructive dialogue, should be disappointed.

131. There are new winds blowing in America. One can see this from the vote taken in the Organization of American States [OAS] on 6 August, our national day, on the occasion of the adoption of a declaration expressing the understanding that the whole continent has of the reason why our country is land-locked. What a good omen and an expressive manifestation of the human spirit would be the acknowledgement of Bolivia's right to have access to the Pacific coast.

132. This question directly affects the situation of land-locked developing countries. The United Nations General Assembly, in various principles it has laid down, and other international bodies of the most diverse kinds have acknowledged the fact that because of this lack of coastline, the land-locked countries are hampered in their development and in the free exercise of their sovereignty.

133. In this regard we should point to the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on special meas-

ures related to the particular needs of the land-locked developing countries [A/10203]. This report refers to their transit problems and the establishment of a special fund to benefit them. It was requested by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session [resolution 3311 (XXIX)] in compliance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1755 (LIV) and in consultation with UNCTAD.

134. This excellent report does include some important points and it advocates the adoption of measures which would be beneficial to land-locked countries, but this is not all. The land-locked countries themselves will present their own views and will press them consistently and forcefully, especially since they are related to the utilization of the sea-bed as the common heritage of mankind. These States must know how they will have access to this exploitation and how they will benefit from it. But all nations must recognize that, concomitant with the justice they advocate, the solidarity they promise and the common fate sought by all, they must aid land-locked countries to obtain their own ports.

135. It has been said here that the development of weapons promotes feverish preparation for a third world war. Even the spectre of a thermonuclear conflagration has not dispelled such fears. Reference has also been made to statistical data showing the astonishing sums spent on the trade in all types of weapons. Proof can be found in the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization.¹⁰

136. Who can stop this weapons vortex which leads those participating in it to delusions of grandeur and Cæsarian dreams of conquest? What is sad is that no one learns from the experience acquired by others. Meanwhile young men filled with vigour and idealism are sacrificed on the altar of the god of war, Mars, by those who believe they are predestined to triumph and dominate the others.

137. I am referring to these things because comments have been made in American newspapers of an unheard-of desire for weapons in the two coastal countries of the southern horn of South America. A pact of non-aggression is proposed for the area because the potential for war there exists. This possibility arises when Bolivia takes up the sacrosanct cause of return to its ancient coasts won by the victorious swords of Bolívar and Sucre. But my country—let me make this quite clear—wishes no war. We have bitter experience of wars that we have suffered without having provoked.

138. But while such things are occurring or apparently are being readied in the southern part of South America, one can see that the United Nations better understands problems in other parts of the world than it does the significant question of the Pacific, which involves Bolivia, Chile and Peru and which, in a word, jeopardizes harmony and peace in America. The United Nations cannot act like the fireman who waits until there is a fire and someone rings the alarm.

139. The fact that Bolivia is land-locked—which has been given the express attention of the OAS—must be con-

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 1A*.

sidered, just as the case of the Panama Canal has been considered. The Panama Canal is another issue which offends and will offend the spirit of the American continent as long as it is not returned to the country to which it belongs.

140. If the Government of Chile agreed to give Bolivia the access to the sea it seeks, in exchange for compensation which is not of a territorial nature and which is in accordance with its interest in integration and development, I am convinced that not merely America but the entire world would salute the agreement.

141. Conditions are favourable to achieve this. Negotiations are pending between La Paz and Santiago. Peru has become the world headquarters of the developing countries. It should act in consonance with true brotherliness and meet the imperative and historical challenge of our times. The United Nations must become aware of the maritime aspirations of Bolivia, because of the development and peace we all seek.

142. Bolivia is in international terms a democratic country. There is no discrimination between ideologies or human races. Old resentments do not cloak our aims. Its present government, which was created as a result of the revolution of 19 August 1971 at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, has acted with wisdom and prudence. Although it is nationalist by inclination, it has pursued a dialogue with the socialist countries. It has sought mutual co-operation with them as it has with other peoples.

143. Now that development co-operation has been spoken of, we must be magnanimous enough to recognize the most important examples of it. My country has received substantial aid from the United States of America to meet the difficulties caused by the economic crisis we have inherited from the past and to implement an extensive investment plan the implementation of which is the responsibility of the President. The Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries, has made available its effective co-operation with regard to mineralogical and other questions. The Federal Republic of Germany has contributed to the erection in Oruro of a tin foundry. Tin is the very foundation of our national coffers. The Government of Japan is now making an exhaustive study of the whole technical and trade infrastructure to establish a modern zinc refinery which will also ultimately produce fertilizers. This has been undertaken in conjunction with the World Bank, which would like to make very great investments in my country in view of the favourable conditions it offers.

144. Another demonstration of technical and financial assistance among developing countries is the recent agreement signed in La Paz by means of which the Government of Brazil makes available to Bolivia \$60 million for industrial projects and studies, for the establishment of a national development fund and for the promotion of centres of development in economically depressed areas. The Government of Venezuela is financing an asphalt highway between Orán, Tarija and Potosí, and the Argentine Government is working on the roadbed of a railroad from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Trinidad, the capital of Beni, crossing two thirds of eastern Bolivia.

145. In a great democratic gesture to ensure American brotherhood, the Government of La Paz has voted in favour of the lifting of sanctions against Cuba, thereby laying aside old quarrels.

146. With regard to access to markets, we support everything that has been said here by the brilliant diplomats and statesmen gathered here. Let us add only that Bolivia is open to foreign capital. We urgently need increased investments to promote an accelerated industrialization of our country. A law to this effect has been promulgated. The spirit of this law is that the right to profits must include our right to development and that the exploitation and industrial processing of our raw materials cannot impair our sovereignty.

147. The Malthusian Law of the geometric progression in population growth and the arithmetic progression in food growth is also a matter of concern to this Assembly. It could not be otherwise in view of the existing population explosion and the natural disasters ravaging harvests and devastating productive areas, such as in Africa.

148. I believe that we all agree on this vital matter. The effort of the developed countries should be directed towards increasing their food production capacity and the international co-operation requested for development should be focused on programmes which will produce commodities. This is the only option open. Our basic responsibility is to ensure the survival of mankind.

149. I should like to mention an additional thought deserving of general concern. There is an ecological imbalance in the man-land relationship. The land of the Old World is reaching saturation. In the New World and in Africa the opposite occurs. There are vast spaces inhabited by a small population. If we cannot agree to satisfy the hunger of millions of people, disaster may be the result.

150. Either we use our heads to rationalize the life of man on our planet, beginning by ensuring to him minimal conditions in consonance with his human dignity, or else we open the door to disaster. A time will come when thanks to science and technology man will migrate in great groups, like migrating birds seeking an environment in which he can survive. This wave would be uncontrollable, but it could not be considered as either an invasion or a conquest. Land, together with the sea, must be put at the service of mankind.

151. With regard to science and technology, it is a pleasure for me to repeat here the words of the President of Bolivia on the solemn occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic: "Progress must become the common heritage of mankind."

152. We should stress some of the ideas that have been put forward on the matters before us. The international division of labour, for example, cannot constantly work against those nations which produce commodities and ensure others the monopoly of the industrial system. There must be co-operation with the former in the pursuance of a rational programme of diversification based on the creation of new industries.

153. A matter which will require time, understanding and careful thought is the indexation of prices to avoid periodic slumps in the balance of payments. Future economic and financial crises will work to the good of neither the rich nor the poor. Developed countries can no longer arbitrarily impose the prices they want. Developing countries have proven that union gives them the strength to defend themselves and make themselves felt in markets.

154. While there are no frontiers in human feelings, and if we are indeed imbued with a true desire to co-operate, the large countries should begin to teach us the lesson of solidarity by eliminating the tariff and non-tariff barriers to commodities. Science and technology must be transferred in consonance with our national needs. Resources on soft terms must be made available for development. There must be a generalized system of non-discriminatory preferences. Special reserves of commodities must be established to protect prices and markets. An intergovernmental committee must be set up to study reforms which should be introduced in the United Nations. We support the proposal made by the United States that 1976 should be devoted to that purpose. Nations must meet their aid commitments.

155. If this is done a corresponding goodwill will be found on the part of the developing countries. Positive political stability in the world will be strengthened, and the gap between countries created by so many inequalities and economic differences will be bridged.

156. I should have liked to have spoken at greater length but time is pressing and I can no longer continue abusing your patience in listing to me. On behalf of my Government I should like to support the proposals of the Group of 77 and to express our support for the concrete proposals of the United States. I believe that the important proposals made by other States should also be taken into account. In the statements which have been made, one can see relevant concepts, valid initiatives and solid principles which should be subscribed to by all of us.

157. We are convinced that if we are unable to reach general agreement today we shall do so tomorrow; and if we ourselves do not do it, then our sons will do it; and then, in turn, their enlightened descendants will.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.