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*President:* Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM  
(United Republic of Tanzania).

## AGENDA ITEM 55

Development and international economic co-operation  
(*continued*):(a) Report of the Committee of the Whole Established  
under General Assembly Resolution 32/174

1. Mr. BA-ISSA (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is important to understand the dimensions and the meaning of the item we are discussing in the General Assembly. It is not by chance that this item has been transferred from the Second Committee, which usually deals with such topics, to the General Assembly. Throughout the past two years the Committee has dealt with this item analytically and evaluated it. The Committee of the Whole, which had a difficult birth, has unfortunately not been able to carry its work forward and make the progress we hoped for, since impediments were placed on its road by most of the capitalist countries. This has deepened the disappointment of the developing countries which had considered this Committee of particular importance because it was to bring the dialogue between the developing countries and the advanced States out of the vicious circle in which it had been and out of the dead end it had reached. This situation occurs at a time when the international economic crisis is worsening primarily as a result of the capitalist policies. Those policies attempt to maintain current economic relations which serve the interests of the countries that dominate and benefit from the international economy without giving serious and long-term considerations to the importance of setting up a new international economic order based on justice, equality, mutual interest and genuine interdependence.

2. Following the Second World War, the Western countries strengthened their domination over the international economy by expanding economic programmes among themselves and setting up a system of international institutions and transnational monopolistic companies which serve their interests. However, new developments imposed a new state of affairs, particularly after the decolonization movement in the 1960s in most of the developing countries, at a time when those countries tried to exercise their sovereignty over their own natural resources. In spite of the importance the developing countries have attached to true development, the response from the Western countries has been

limited and slow and, in fact, did not appear until the mid 1970s, when petitions turned into negotiations and when the capitalist countries realized that there was an urgent need to face the increasing economic crisis and that it was in their interest to do so. Unfortunately, they are still prisoners of the old mentality, which prevents them from assuming responsibilities, from effecting the necessary fundamental changes in their economies and from using resources without squandering them, in complete disregard of the requirements of true development.

3. This situation gave rise to most of the problems which we are discussing today and for which we are in unanimous agreement that a solution must be found. However, we meet every year to restate the same positions. The capitalist countries, which benefit from the continuance of the current system, call for patience, while the developing countries, which suffer the most from that attitude, call for a fundamental and speedy change and for concrete measures.

4. The Committee of the Whole since its establishment has reflected various attitudes. It has become a symbol and barometer of the negotiations in the various forums and of their success or failure. The crisis in the Committee began when some of the advanced countries questioned its competence and its role. In fact they also created problems at the beginning of its work, even about the adoption of its agenda. The developing countries have shown flexibility, patience and understanding in every case. However, it has become clear that most of the capitalist countries have not adopted their attitudes inadvertently or in order to reach speedy and positive results. They have resorted to various means of procrastination, manoeuvres and pressure, presenting purely formal proposals which in most cases are not compatible with the growing and burning need for a radical change in the framework of international economic relations. That change, going hand in hand with radical national measures, would achieve the qualitative and quantitative objectives for a balanced and sustained growth in the developing countries, which would provide their millions of inhabitants with a decent material and spiritual life and would create a just international economy for the benefit of all-concerned, without exploitation and control by the monopolies. The discussions in the Committee of the Whole at its last session, as at the previous sessions, should have concentrated on the means of achieving progress in the negotiations and the capitalist countries should have displayed the political will to take positive and practical steps to avoid losing our way in vain debates.

5. The continued backwardness of the developing countries threatens the international economy as a whole as well as peace and world stability. The Committee of the Whole has dealt with many of the burning economic issues, such as the review and reassessment of the basic factors affecting the international economy and particularly the economy of the developing coun-

tries and the special problems that these countries face by virtue of their backwardness, their geographical position or their potential. Following the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD held at Manila in May and June 1979, and on the eve of the preparations for the special session of the General Assembly, to be held next year, and the future international development strategy, we can only question the possibilities for the future and the dimensions of change. The economic situation in the developing countries is deteriorating in various degrees, and the gap between them and the industrialized countries is increasing daily. The international economic situation at present does not give us hope. The non-aligned countries at their last summit conference held at Havana<sup>1</sup> and the Group of 77 at the meeting of their Ministers for Foreign Affairs, which was held last September in New York, examined all these situations and affirmed the importance of continuing the dialogue on the various matters and within the framework of the United Nations. They also reaffirmed the need to set up the new international economic order [see A/34/533 and Corr.1, annex].

6. There have been two decades of experiment but the targets set in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] have not been reached. In fact, in some cases, backwardness has worsened and development, when it has taken place, has not been balanced or equally distributed. This imposes on the international community a new approach both in defining the quantitative or qualitative targets and the ways and means of achieving such targets; that new approach should do away with the pretexts whereby some shirk their responsibilities or procrastinate on their implementation. The developing countries must play their rightful role in the decision-making process which concerns the international community. They must also have their legitimate share in various important fields, such as international trade, finance and the development of industrial and technological capability.

7. The Group of 77 presented its ideas and its draft resolutions at the third session of the Committee of the Whole. It is regrettable that the Committee has not been able to reach a unanimous decision on the international negotiations taking place regarding economic co-operation for development on important matters such as raw materials, energy, trade, development and finance, whereby such negotiations should contribute effectively to implementing the new international development strategy for the next decade. The Committee of the Whole has also failed to reach a final decision regarding industrial development and the measures necessary for the most disadvantaged countries. Although there is recognition of the need to restructure the framework of industrial production, that restructuring is far from being carried out. We welcome the results achieved by the United Nations Conference transforming the United Nations Conference on the Establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization as a Specialized Agency<sup>2</sup> and we look forward to ratification of its new charter and to the participation of the industrialized countries in the Industrial Development Fund in order that it may carry out its tasks.

<sup>1</sup> Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979. For the Final Declaration of the Conference, see document A/34/542, annex.

<sup>2</sup> Held in New York from 21 February to 11 March 1978.

8. If these and other targets are not reached — and these are the minimum required for a meaningful and just change — we shall continue in a vicious circle, the results of which we cannot foresee.

9. The developing countries have affirmed the principle of self-reliance. The least developed of the developing countries, which are in the first stages of their economic development and which have a low *per capita* income, are the most needy and deserving of assistance in order to advance their development and face the effects of inflation and high prices, which absorb all their efforts and their resources. The decisions adopted at Manila at the fifth session of UNCTAD, relative to these countries<sup>3</sup> have set out the basic lines which should be followed for the short term and for the 1980s. The developed countries must abandon their reservations in order that those decisions may be implemented and that concrete results may be achieved.

10. We hope that the Committee will be able to make a new start in its consultations on the various proposals put before it with respect to its agenda, so that the dialogue may be continued. However, the developed countries must show a new spirit and a true will for co-operation in their dealings with the developing countries. We must all work in a manner that will offer the coming negotiations every opportunity for success in the interests of mankind as a whole.

11. Mr. GHAFFAR (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We all know that the world today is facing many economic problems as a result of a series of economic factors, mainly the dreadful inflation which has been spreading over the years throughout various parts of the world. The reasons for the current economic crisis are related to the increase in the number of specific mistakes that have been made and the manner in which the world economic system has operated for many long years.

12. We can say that the current economic problems are not the result of the energy crisis or the increase in the prices of some raw materials, as alleged by some. The real reasons are rooted in the current economic system, the theories of which have been based on the international division of labour, whereby the third world provided raw materials to the industrialized countries, which re-exported them in the form of manufactured products.

13. That era has come to an end and reality now requires us to adopt new methods of dealing with economic and development problems which are compatible with the new reality. This means that we must be objective in seeking the true reasons for all the economic crises from which the developing and other countries are suffering, in order not to lose sight of the real question.

14. In this connexion, we think it would be an error to attribute the reasons for the current economic difficulties to the oil-exporting developing countries. That is not an objective approach. The rich industrialized

<sup>3</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), first part.

countries are attempting to put the blame for the economic crisis faced by countries throughout the world on the energy crisis, hoping to plant this false idea in people's minds.

15. However, if we look objectively at the matter we find that oil wealth is a two-sided coin. In order to explain this further, I would point out that the total gross national product of 22 Arab countries ranges from \$US 160 billion to \$US 170 billion, while the total gross national product of Italy equals that of all those Arab countries. The gross national product of five Arab oil-exporting countries – namely, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait and Libya – ranges from \$US 80 billion to \$US 90 billion, while the total gross national product of one small European country, the Netherlands, is approximately the same figure.

16. Thus we realize that it is not really a question of the energy crisis or oil wealth; it is a question of the need to accelerate a basic and fundamental change in the system of international economic relations in order to alter the bases on which current monetary and economic concepts have been established. We must change in a constructive and sincere manner the obsolete concepts on which the current economic norms have been based, otherwise talk about establishing a new international economic order will be mere palaver and vain dialectics from which no one will benefit.

17. Various statistics have indicated that the economic situation in the developing countries is turning toward a gloomy path bestrewn with crises and difficulties. As a result, we have become more and more pessimistic regarding the future. There are many logical justifications for this pessimism.

18. First is the failure of the International Development Strategy to achieve its objectives in the past decade, coupled with the fact that there are no hopeful indications of success in the meetings of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy which was entrusted with the task of preparing a new development strategy for the next decade, which begins in 1980.

19. Secondly, the developing countries during the past 30 years have succeeded in increasing their industrial production by only 7 per cent of total world industrial production.

20. Thirdly, the developing countries have asked the rich industrialized countries to set aside 1 per cent of their total gross national product for development purposes in the developing countries. Instead, those countries have decreased their assistance to a figure of 0.7 per cent. To make matters even worse, the decrease in some cases has reached a figure of 0.3 per cent.

21. Fourthly, the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 failed at its last session to reach a consensus on the items before it, and particularly on the item relating to industrialization.

22. The developing countries found themselves surrounded by reasons for pessimism at a time when they began to suffer from stultifying economic crises which adversely affected their over-all development plans.

23. For that reason the Group of 77 put forward the idea of international negotiations on various questions designed to accelerate the establishment of a new international economic order.

24. It is well known that the efforts made to implement this order in past years have not succeeded as we hoped they would. Thus, having reached such a dead end, we must define the matter once again accurately and truthfully. We must ask whether the rich industrialized countries really wish to establish and to contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order, whether they wish to change the structure of the present system which is based on unjust concepts, or whether this is simply a theoretical debate with room for manoeuvring.

25. If we want to pin-point matters, we must find the answers to these basic questions, because the new international economic order will remain dependent on theoretical academic forms unless we define matters very clearly and concretely.

26. The time has come for us to understand that all interests are mutual and common, because no one can live in isolation.

27. Thus the need to understand and be understood requires that those who have a real viewpoint and a broad outlook recognize the reasons behind contemporary causes and problems.

28. Once again let me say that the matter is a serious one and should not be taken lightly. Sincerity must be our slogan in the implementation of resolutions. The many resolutions and statements piling up at the United Nations do not feed those who are suffering from hunger in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

29. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the delegations from five countries from the Andean group – Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela – the signatories of the Cartagena Agreement<sup>4</sup>, which marks a solid phase of sub-regional integration within the fundamental unity of Latin America and therefore the whole of the third world. The report of the Committee of the Whole, which was set up pursuant to resolution 32/174 of the General Assembly following the objective and very welcome action of its Chairman, Mr. Stoltenberg, of Norway, has provided us with a summary of one of the crucial and most difficult tasks of the United Nations, that of reaching an understanding on specific aspects of the problems afflicting a world plagued by imbalances, inequalities and injustice, especially between the wealthy and the backward countries.

30. In its natural forum of this world Organization the Committee of the Whole has begun negotiations aimed at action, seeking not only texts which seemingly coincide with the words but clearly involve mental reservations, but new commitments which will enable us to dispel the unease and uncertainty which characterize the growing deterioration of the world situation.

<sup>4</sup> Agreement for Andean Subregional Integration, signed at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

31. It is for this reason that, as a timely and vigorous beginning, we have seen the initiative of the developing world, through the Group of 77, aiming at global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

32. This method of dealing with fundamental questions such as raw materials, energy, trade, development, technology and monetary and financial matters is precisely in order to get an over-all picture of questions which are closely connected and which can only be considered simultaneously in view of their interaction in the present economic situation.

33. Only in this way can the international community, once and for all, embark on the new international economic order, which has become nothing more nor less than the greatest and most historic challenge of our time, so that countries at various points on the development scale may participate in this world-wide endeavour and share the benefits, especially through the consolidation of peace, by giving the poor peoples greater access to the resources of our planet. Thus the industrialized countries, by showing a clear political will to negotiate, may get the benefit of making full use of their production capacities in the face of the astronomical needs of world development.

34. The developing countries have been waiting patiently, year after year, for the beginning of some understanding, which has always been postponed, while their weak economic structures have been undermined, especially by the effects of imported inflation which has a multiplying and prejudicial effect on the smaller countries.

35. Although we should note the fact that support has been given, in the initial stage of a long process, to the concept of the Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities and must recognize the attitude of those countries which have promised contributions to the "second window", we must regret the lack of enthusiasm of some industrialized countries concerning agreements on commodities and the need to set dates for conferences for the negotiation of conventions on such commodities.

36. It is necessary to strengthen international co-operation in the industrialization projects of the developing world and finally advance towards the targets of the Lima Declaration and its Plan of Action,<sup>5</sup> especially that of reaching a minimum of 25 per cent of world production by the year 2000.

37. The political will to negotiate can be tangibly demonstrated if the protectionist measures of the industrialized countries are eliminated, as they are the cause of a disquieting polarization of positions between countries of greater resources and technology and those of low income and limited participation in world trade.

38. The revealing experience of the initial exercise of the Committee of the Whole should be welcomed not only on account of its agreed conclusions on the transfer of resources in real terms to developing countries [see A/34/34, part one, para. 13] on food and agriculture [*ibid.*, part two, para. 18], on the constitution of UNIDO as a specialized agency [*ibid.*, para. 22] and of the very fact of having embarked upon real negotiations, but also because the Committee has clearly and

fully pointed out the definite discrepancies to the General Assembly, without attenuating their seriousness.

39. Therefore we should reaffirm the importance of the Committee of the Whole. Its mandate stems from this Assembly and can be interpreted in a comprehensive and dynamic way so as to direct the negotiations away from polarization and stagnation.

40. Certainly we must put an end to the sly game played in forums, where questions are always eluded so that they have to be dealt with at some future international meeting. Without detriment to the responsibilities of each of the components of the system, I think that the time has come to show clearly the path towards understanding by specific agreements in any one of those forums. Thus we may make progress, through the constructive use of the Committee of the Whole, towards that great opportunity for understanding that will be offered us by the next special session of the General Assembly and the opening of new negotiations.

41. A decided will for unity in this process motivates the developing world, despite any divisive tactics that may be used. That unity, which means co-operation for global entente, finds expression in the various contributions and ideas that emerge from many sectors, such as the important proposal that was put forward by the President of Mexico [11th session, para. 66] and which should be borne in mind, at the approximate time, because of its significance and importance.

42. At the same time our developing world, which is ready for North-South understanding so that we may embark upon a common world task, does not lose sight of its noble historical duty to bring about South-South co-operation, a duty which we should not ignore in our march towards self-reliance for the conquest of our own destiny.

43. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): For the second consecutive time, the debate in the plenary General Assembly on the report submitted by the Committee of the Whole on the new international economic order, which was established under resolution 32/174, leads us to make two preliminary remarks.

44. The first remark concerns the fact that the precise points reached after the laborious consultations of last year on the subject of the Committee's mandate have permitted it to function and to achieve certain results; true they are limited, but they provide a useful orientation for the negotiations being carried out in various United Nations organs. The second remark is that, in view of the present stage of the international economic dialogue and in the perspective of the special session of the General Assembly to be held in 1980, Member States must now adopt clear decisions on the orientation and content of future negotiations and on the preparation of the special session.

45. The period that has elapsed since the creation of the Committee of the Whole has shown, once again, that the establishment of the new international economic order requires that structural changes be made in the international economic system and that relations between States be based on foundations of principle and equity. This is, no doubt, a complex long-range process which is an integral part of the profound economic, political and social transformations of our time. At the heart of those transformations is the need to eliminate the phenomenon of under-development and

<sup>5</sup> Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation (A/10112, chap. IV).

the relationships of dependence that flow from it and to create an international framework that would be favourable to the efforts of the developing countries and to a wide co-operation among all States, in a spirit of sovereign equality.

46. The elimination of the profoundly negative phenomena resulting from imperialist and colonial exploitation and of all forms of subordination and domination in the sphere of international economic relations is now a *sine qua non* requirement to ensure the economic and political stability of the world, one that is fully in keeping with the requirements of historical progress. The grave phenomena of economic, energy and monetary crises give a new dimension to the state of under-development in which two thirds of mankind live and perpetuate inequitable relationships in which the wealthy get wealthier while the innumerable poor get ever poorer. As the Declaration of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77, dated 29 September 1979, properly stressed:

“The long, outstanding problems faced by the developing countries in the areas of, *inter alia*, trade, commodities, money and finance, technology, to which the Ministers drew the attention of the international community in their previous Declarations, are not only still present but, in many cases, have become more acute.” [See A/34/533 and Corr.1, annex, para. 4.]

47. The increasing economic dependence of the developing countries allows the recrudescence of the old policy of force and *diktat*, constitutes a constant factor of tension and sharpening of conflicts among States and is, of course, an obstacle to general progress. The continued deterioration in the world economic situation stimulates the fluctuation of prices and the instability in trade relationships; it aggravates inflationary phenomena and increases the burden of external debt; and it amplifies protectionist tendencies and makes more difficult access to technology and capital markets. All this shows very clearly the irrational character of the international economic system as it exists today and its incompatibility with the profound changes that have been made necessary by the technical and scientific revolution and the universal process whereby peoples affirm their independence.

48. To get out of the deadlock in which the world economy finds itself will require the concerted efforts of all Member States. We have the firm conviction that the States and Governments can, on the basis of the aspirations of their peoples, create conditions that will make it possible to resolve in a constructive spirit the problems of the world economy and resolutely to negotiate an advance towards the transformation of economic relationships. However, it is precisely in these circumstances that we must note with regret that the international economic negotiations have been very slow and that in some specific cases we have even seen regressions from the goals set at the beginning. The stagnation of the dialogue is directly reflected by the over-all results of the activity of the Committee of the Whole, which show that the Committee could not in fact carry out the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, which asked it in particular to stimulate the negotiations aimed at promoting a new international economic order, to facilitate the settlement of problems that were still pending and to follow up the implementation of already existing agreements.

49. In its analysis and its approach to the economic problems facing mankind, Romania is inspired by concepts that are part of its socialist system, as well as by the positions supported by the Group of 77 of which it is a member.

50. We believe that solutions can be found only by negotiations conducted in a spirit of understanding, by equitable international settlements that should be achieved with the direct participation of all States and not by recourse to force or confrontation. It is quite evident that the efforts of the developing countries themselves, the mobilization and total use of the human and material resources which are at their disposal, the strengthening of solidarity and co-operation amongst themselves, are factors essential for the elimination of under-development. The establishment of a new international economic order presupposes, at the same time, the creation of relations of equality and equity and respect for each nation's right to decide the course of its own economic and social development. It also requires an increase in the assistance given by the developed countries to the developing nations and the adoption of agreed solutions likely to ensure the most rapid progress of the latter and to contribute to general economic growth.

51. The economic situation prevailing in the world makes it incumbent on us to give new impetus to the dialogue aimed at finding agreed and mutually advantageous solutions. At this critical time, we must overcome our hesitations and abandon the inflexible positions of the past; we must show a spirit of innovation and openness in order to approach in specific terms the topics relating to the thorough restructuring of international economic relations. Otherwise, we shall not be able to hasten the elimination of disparities and the improvement of the general economic situation. Unfortunately, it more frequently happens that the developed countries, pointing to their own difficulties, hesitate to undertake specific commitments which would put into effect their political will to proceed with a fruitful dialogue. In our view, there is a clear incompatibility between that position and the reality of present-day relations of interdependence in the world. The problems having become global, their solution is possible only through the direct and effective participation of all States involved.

52. The valuable time lost in recent years attests to the fact that any further delay in achieving solutions will jeopardize the economic and political stability of the world, the very prospects for the progress of mankind. We must act firmly and discharge our historic responsibility to eliminate under-development, economic dependence and all other forms of foreign domination in order to establish international relations based on equality and equity.

53. It is in the light of these considerations that we assess the prospects of dialogue and the role which the General Assembly and the Committee of the Whole will have to play in future. We attach considerable importance to the establishment of an institutional framework that would make it possible to provide assistance to the developing countries and develop practical measures for the creation of a new economic order. We feel, therefore, that the General Assembly, at its special session to be held in 1980, has an important part to play in this regard. We believe that Member States must con-

tribute as much as they can to ensure the success of that session. It is in their own interests to do so, because complex economic problems can be solved only within the framework of general socio-economic development. In our view, the forthcoming special session would be a milestone if the Assembly adopted practical measures to eliminate under-development, speeded up the progress of the developing countries and set up completely new economic relations throughout the world.

54. To attain those objectives, the special session must be well prepared, particularly since, in conformity with the decision already taken in implementation of resolution 32/174, States will be represented at that special session at the highest level. That will, of course, confer the necessary authority on any measures adopted and will mean that the States have full political responsibility for their implementation.

55. In our view, the special session must be organized on a broad, democratic basis by an organ of the United Nations entrusted with the task, with the participation of the developing countries, the socialist countries and the developed market-economy countries Members of this Organization. We believe, as many other delegations do, that such a basis can be provided by the Committee of the Whole, which possesses all the attributes of a democratic forum and also enjoys all the necessary authority.

56. The scope of the 1980 special session will depend to a large extent on the impetus it will be able to give to measures aimed at the establishment of a new international economic order. The content and value of its decisions will be determined largely by the adoption of the international development strategy for the coming decade. We therefore favour intensification of the efforts to elaborate that strategy. Those efforts must be given highest priority so that the document in question can be submitted and adopted at the special session.

57. The scope of the phenomenon of under-development, the aggravation of the economic situation, the interdependence among nations and the interrelationship of the problems facing mankind demand global negotiations on those problems which are of the most pressing importance to the whole international community. Hence we have noted with satisfaction the response to the proposal made by the members of the Group of 77 to launch, on the occasion of the next special session, a round of global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations. We hope that at the end of this debate, it will be possible for us to agree to entrust the Committee of the Whole with the task of preparing, in exercise of its functions related to the preparation for the special session, the necessary recommendations concerning the procedure, duration and agenda of the forthcoming comprehensive negotiations.

58. Socialist Romania has constantly supported the consideration, within the framework of the United Nations, of all essential problems relating to the establishment of a new international economic order. This position has been illustrated by the messages addressed by the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, at important meetings organized under the aegis of the United Nations, such as the fifth session of UNCTAD and the recent United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development. In the spirit of this posi-

tion of principle, we have supported the concept which is basic to the idea of holding global negotiations and which was launched at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana. Like other countries of the Group of 77, we attach particular importance to such negotiations, and feel that they must be aimed at finding solutions to the urgent problems of international economic life and at speeding up the economic and social development of the developing countries. The forthcoming negotiations should be directed towards specific action and an integrated and simultaneous approach to the main topics and themes of the world economy and of international relations.

59. The scrupulous preparation of those negotiations within the Committee of the Whole, with the direct contribution of all Member States, will help to prevent the procedural and other obstacles that have hampered other international negotiations of this type. The definition of specific topics that will be the subject of the general dialogue and the fixing of agreed dates for that dialogue are essential if those negotiations are to yield concrete results as regards development, raw materials and energy, trade and the financing of economic growth. The guidelines and measures to be adopted in those fields will be a decisive factor in the evolution of the world economy during the rest of this century.

60. In our view, the negotiations must help to bring about the necessary changes in current relations and machinery so as to promote a more equitable and more effective international division of labour.

61. In order to accelerate the economic growth of the developing countries and stimulate the economies of all States, it is necessary to increase their industrial capacity and their exports of manufactured goods for which they have the necessary infrastructures. At the same time, it is important to make appropriate adjustments in various economic branches of the industrially advanced countries. The implementation of the industrial development programmes of the developing countries, in accordance with structures determined by their own resources and by the present level of their technology, together with the creation of an appropriate infrastructure, will allow those countries to make the most of their potential and of their creative abilities and to participate equitably in international trade. Special attention must also be given to the adoption of concrete measures designed to increase the agricultural production of the developing countries, particularly through irrigation, improved soil and mechanization in order to satisfy the needs of the populations concerned and to stabilize the world market of food products.

*Mr. Kodjovi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

62. The present crisis in raw materials and energy requires a rational management of those vital resources in order to speed up the harmonious development of each country. The implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, including the adequate functioning of the Common Fund as one of its essential elements, must accompany the solution of the problems that concern the participation of producing countries in the transformation and commercialization of products, the expansion of the scope of the agreements on these

products and the conclusion of compensatory agreements that would be favourable to the developing countries that import raw materials.

63. Energy is now a matter of priority and here, in our view, efforts must be made to intensify exploitation, to improve the technology of exploitation and to rationalize the consumption of existing resources as well as rapidly to develop new and renewable sources.

64. The pursuit of the objectives of the new international economic order requires, in addition, the establishment of equitable relationships between the prices of primary commodities and those of industrial products, and between the prices of fuel and energy and those of other products, by eliminating arbitrary fluctuations and ensuring remunerative and equitable prices for the producers as well as for the consumers.

65. The expansion of international trade depends on the elimination of protectionist and discriminatory barriers and on the general application and improvement of the principle of preferential treatment for developing countries; it also depends upon the elimination of obstacles that now impede the exports of the manufactured products of those countries.

66. We must agree on the measures which are needed to regulate the activities of transnational companies in the developing countries and ensure that those countries have access to the achievements of science and technology, including the provision to them of increased technical assistance.

67. These objectives cannot be dissociated from the need to restructure the international monetary and financial system, which must be rendered more democratic so that it may guarantee the equitable participation of all States in the decision-making process. The judicious settlement of the external debts of the developing countries and the assurance regarding increasing and continuous transfers of financial resources to those countries are important conditions not only for the speeding up of their economic growth but also for the stability of the whole world economy.

68. The activities of the Committee of the Whole so far in fulfilment of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly and the work that has been devoted to the preparation of the future international development strategy, have very clearly shown that the obstacles that impede the realization of tangible results are not institutional in character. The States members of the Group of 77 have demonstrated their will to proceed to an authentic dialogue in order to achieve solutions with regard to measures to promote the new economic order. The recent meeting of Ministers of the Group of 77 launched an appeal to the other States Members of the United Nations, inviting them to respond positively and constructively to their proposals. We hope that this time their appeal will be heard.

69. The topics of the forthcoming global negotiations, to which Romania attaches particular importance, encompass the major problems of development and the necessity to increase international economic co-operation. The work that the Committee of the Whole will be called upon to do to prepare for the special session in 1980 will bring with it an intensification of the efforts

that are being made in their specific spheres of competence by the appropriate organs of the United Nations and will also foster the preparation of the new international development strategy with a view to accelerating the advent of a new international economic order.

70. In conclusion, I wish to express the conviction that our present deliberations will make it possible to lay the foundations that are necessary to undertake in the coming decade, a concerted and effective effort to do away with the scourge of under-development and ensure economic stability and progress for all countries. To this noble effort, undertaken in the name of the most exalted ideals of mankind, Romania stands ready to associate itself to the fullest possible extent and with the necessary political will.

71. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): The very fact that item 55 (a) is under consideration in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly shows the importance that is attached to the dialogue between the industrialized and the developing countries.

72. The difficulties of international economic co-operation have been aggravated by the crisis that prevailed since the beginning of this decade. The success achieved in certain areas of this co-operation and the problems raised by economic interdependence have been fully discussed in the general debate, in the Second Committee, and also at the last session of the Committee of the Whole, so any repetition at this time would be tedious.

73. It is, however, important to stress that the discussions have shown that energy has a very important place in the general context of the economic problems now facing mankind. That of course increases interest in the North-South dialogue, to the extent that the latter deals with the problem of energy within the context of economic relationships between the developed and the developing countries. Consequently, the essential task of the international community is to see to it that that dialogue progresses speedily.

74. The delegation of Greece has already expressed its support in principle for the proposal of the Group of 77 for a new series of global negotiations. We want to stress that the Greek authorities are studying with much interest the proposals made by President José Lopez Portillo concerning the elaboration of a world energy plan [*11th meeting, paras. 66 to 68*].

75. We are convinced that the new phase of negotiations now envisaged could effectively contribute to the establishment of the new strategy for development, provided that the objectives and the means of attaining them are clearly determined, taking into account the aspirations and preoccupations of all the countries involved.

76. The next special session of the General Assembly may thus be called upon to proceed to the launching of the global negotiations, after the adoption of methods of procedure and of a decision on their objectives which the Committee of the Whole, on the basis of an appropriate mandate, would elaborate, taking into account the present and future needs of the international community in specific spheres and sectors and defining the priorities which should be accorded them.

77. It is obvious that the body in charge of the preparatory phase and the body responsible for negotiations must be open to participation by all States. It is equally important to use the United Nations system effectively, bearing in mind, however, that new initiatives should not be an impediment to negotiations that have already been undertaken in other forums and that we should avoid an overlapping of responsibilities.

78. We profoundly hope that, if all the economic partners show a constructive spirit of co-operation, the global negotiations will bring about the establishment of a new system of economic international relations based upon equity and common interest. In this new system, special importance should be attached to the problems of the least developed countries and of those that have been most seriously affected by the economic crisis, in accordance with the new programme of global action that was adopted at Manila during the fifth session of UNCTAD.

79. In conclusion, I would pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Stoltenberg, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Norway, for the effective way in which he has discharged his task and for the report that he has presented to us.

80. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): The North-South gap is getting wider—in direct proportion to the frequency of United Nations conferences intended to reverse this trend. That observation was elaborated upon in an article published on 6 September 1979 in the British periodical *New Scientist*, as part of its analysis of the results of the recent United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development.<sup>6</sup> Cynical as it may sound, it is one which, sadly, is shared by most of us. It serves as objective criticism both of the results which the North-South dialogue has so far failed to achieve and of the methods which have been adopted. It is also a reflection of the generally negative assessment of output from our tremendous labour here at the United Nations on political and economic matters. Increasingly, of course, these two aspects can no longer be viewed in isolation.

81. On this occasion we should at least embark on a frank and objective discussion of the report of the Committee of the Whole, which provides us with a suitable opportunity to investigate not only the substance but equally the methodology of the present "dialogue"—always assuming that current negotiations do qualify as a "dialogue", which my delegation is increasingly beginning to doubt.

82. From the perspective of the Committee of the Whole, the achievement in substance is flimsy. We are hard put to it to give that achievement an aura of specificity. Those of us who wish to derive comfort from the contents of the agreed conclusions of the Committee during the past year, on transfer of resources and on food problems, seem unable or unwilling to face up to realities. And yet discussions on these two subjects were the solitary highlights of the Committee's work during the past year. On the subject of industrial development, and on the question of special categories, discussions never reached even the pretence of a solution.

83. At the barest minimum, it was to be expected that the deliberations of the Committee would have permitted the international community to take stock of the point the discussions had reached in the various sectors under survey; this in turn would have served to promote movement, if not within the Committee itself, at least elsewhere.

84. Early in the year, the discussions on the question of transfer of real resources initially had raised some hopes that at least this minimal objective would be achieved. Even though the Committee's agreed conclusions on resource transfer did not include elements additional to what had been achieved in earlier discussions, there was nevertheless an indication that the conclusions would form the base from which negotiations at the fifth session of UNCTAD could proceed.

85. Furthermore, this expectation had the additional attraction of linking the work of the Committee of the Whole with other facets of the over-all dialogue. On this, as on so many other aspects, the fifth session of UNCTAD proved a tremendous disappointment.

86. With our expectation so shattered, the role of the Committee of the Whole thereby degenerated into an irritating exercise in banality—that of reopening, in isolation, issues on which discussion had already been closed elsewhere. In these circumstances, there can be little surprise that such a role could not long be maintained, as the breakdown during the September session amply demonstrates.

87. It may be pointed out that the Committee of the Whole had an inauspicious start; that it took longer than a whole year merely for an agreement to emerge on its real functions; and that in any case the compromise on the functions which was reached last year was too tenuous to prevail.

88. Those considerations, set against the passage of time and the efforts expended, lead us directly to a fundamental question: is the attempted dialogue failing because of the absence of an appropriate approach, or is the failure one of substance? If we had only the results of the Committee of the Whole to evaluate, then the question of methodology could more easily be solved. But the deficiencies in the Committee are only symptoms of deficiencies persistently enduring elsewhere.

89. I have already mentioned the disappointment with the fifth session of UNCTAD. Taking a longer-term perspective—as we should in the closing months of a development decade—we can see that whatever methods have been explored, whatever initiatives have been introduced, all have resulted in equally dismal failure, far short of agreed objectives and even further short of actual requirements.

90. The United Nations system, since its very inception, understandably has been preoccupied with the issues of development. In the decade of the 1960s a second generation of structures, most notable of which were UNCTAD, UNIDO and UNDP, came into being to undertake tasks which, it was felt at the time, the first generation of organs was not equipped to handle.

91. During the present decade, the inadequacy of the whole superstructure was manifested, resulting in the

<sup>6</sup> Held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August 1979.



call, in the course of the seventh special session of the General Assembly for a restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system [*resolution 3362 (S-VII), sect. VII*], and in the increasing frequency with which major negotiations were entrusted to *ad hoc* world conferences on specific subjects. Other ideas were also explored, the most radical of which—radical because it attempted to divorce the dialogue from the United Nations system—was the Conference on International Economic Co-operation held at Paris. It is in this longer perspective that the record of the Committee of the Whole should be analysed.

92. The fact that, at this point in time, after so many and so varied approaches have been explored, the developing countries have found it necessary to propose yet another method of approach, may in itself give an insight into the nature of the crisis. If no single method has worked in the past, surely we are entitled to conclude that the crisis must be one of substance and not of approach, and hence we should devise appropriate remedies. What form could the proposed global negotiations take which would guarantee the effective thrust forward which has eluded so many other initiatives in the past—that effective thrust forward which will veritably reverse the prevailing trend of an ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor peoples of the world?

93. Even in reiterating our fundamental objective, we are aware of its immensity. Without really deriving any comfort from what has been achieved so far, we have to believe that the failures have resulted more from the immensity of the task which confronts us than from any fundamental unwillingness on the part of any one of the protagonists to pursue a fruitful dialogue. Any alternative belief is unbearable to contemplate. Recognition of the immensity of the task, however, is not enough; our contributions to its solution must be stepped up accordingly, no longer through obstructionist tactics, but through genuine collective efforts. There can no longer be any room for doubt that economic solidarity is indispensable to the preservation of peace.

94. Inspired by what is therefore an aggressively optimistic philosophy, the developing countries are proposing the launching of a new round of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, which would involve an integrated and action-oriented approach to major issues in the field of raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance.

95. This proposal originates from the summit Conference of the non-aligned countries which was held at Havana early in September. It has been endorsed and promoted by a ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 held in New York at the end of September. It seeks essentially to mould the residue of past activities into an effective programme for future action. In particular, it places the dialogue directly where it belongs—right at the heart of the United Nations system.

96. There is no question here of creating new institutions. Rather, our essential objective is to ensure that the disparate activities of the international community on economic questions are woven into one coherent initiative, the primary task of which would be the bringing into reality of the New International Economic Order.

97. In spite of all protestations to the contrary, experience has shown that it is unfortunately still the exception rather than the rule for the major developments in international economic relations to pay more than lip-service to the principles and objectives enshrined in the major General Assembly resolutions on the New International Economic Order. Events over the course of the last few months on such major issues as trade, money and finances are only the latest manifestations of this frustrating reality.

98. Furthermore, it is the expressed intention of the developing countries to ensure that the dialogue proceeds in a balanced manner over the whole spectrum of issues related to development. The significance of the inclusion of the question of energy in the proposals of the Group of 77 should not be underestimated.

99. It should also be recalled that, at the summit Conference of the non-aligned countries at Havana, the question of energy was studied in all its dimensions, those pertaining to North-South co-operation as well as those relating to South-South co-operation. These different dimensions are applicable to all the major issues proposed for inclusion in the new round of global negotiations. It is my country's earnest hope that, as these negotiations proceed, the concept of collective self-reliance among the developing countries will be given its proper perspective as a development which deepens and strengthens North-South co-operation and will not be regarded as an element which creates tension and division.

100. Over the years all of us have become adept at rationalizing with impeccable logic the initial positions we have to apply in the discussions. Inevitably the exercise practically always stagnates at this initial phase, and eventually degenerates into the ritual of a sterile intellectual exercise. It would be easy for those of us who are so inclined to lead future discussions into a similar impasse over this new proposal. But we should avoid this development.

101. We could conceivably come back next year to split hairs over the precise meaning of this or that formulation which will no doubt emerge at the end of the current deliberations. But we want to make it clear right now that it is not a paper resolution which the Group of 77 is after. We are seeking a resolute commitment to action.

102. The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] introduced in all its clarity a new approach to the concept of development. Even as late as the 1960s development was seen as a corollary to growth at the top. Midway through the 1970s, the international community agreed upon a charter giving the concept of global structural change priority over the concept of lopsided growth in the approach to development questions. We have not yet managed to translate this new concept into real action. I imagine that it will be the primary task of the coming decade to do so. If this is to be the case, however, we have to act, and act now.

103. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): My delegation has heard with great interest the comprehensive and perceptive report presented by the Chairman, Mr. Stoltenberg, on the work of the Committee of the Whole during the current year. We should like to express our appreciation

and gratitude to him for his untiring efforts to assist the Committee in its central role of providing impetus for the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

104. The purpose of this General Assembly debate is to revive the momentum of the North-South dialogue and thus achieve progress in our collective efforts towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The practical outcome of the negotiations since the sixth special session of the General Assembly has been dismal for the developing countries. The policies pursued by the advanced nations have hampered rather than helped the development of the developing countries: economic conditions in many developing countries have reached the stage of grave crisis and possible breakdown; the industrial countries are themselves confronted with the gravest post-war combination of inflation and economic stagnation; people everywhere are in ferment and seek new structures and new methods which can generate economic growth and progress for all nations on an equitable and stable basis.

105. It is now apparent that this pervasive malaise can be overcome only within a global perspective and an integrated framework, encompassing all the major elements involved in international economic relations. The current Chairman of the Group of 77 presented, at the outset of this debate [40th meeting], the proposal of the developing countries to launch a new round of global negotiations, a proposal which emanates from the highest level—the decisions of the summit Conference of the non-aligned countries at Havana. The purpose and rationale of the proposed global negotiations have been explained by a number of representatives of the developing countries who have spoken before me. I shall not repeat what they have stated. I should, however, like to make three points with regard to this proposal.

106. First, the global negotiations should be aimed at achieving a break-through in the more important areas of North-South relations, namely, raw materials, trade, development, energy and finance. They should not be restricted to issues which are of transitory relevance or are being effectively dealt with in other international forums. As the leader of the Pakistan delegation said in his policy statement during the general debate:

“It is our expectation that such global negotiations . . . will lead . . . to significant progress, including the conclusion of agreements for a substantially increased and automatic flow of resources to developing countries; the progressive and full liberalization of market access for the exports of developing countries; the adoption of comprehensive adjustment policies by the industrialized countries to eliminate support for their non-competitive industries; monetary reform to ensure international control of world liquidity; the establishment of a link between the creation of special drawing rights and development assistance; and the democratization of international economic decision-making.” [15th meeting, para. 104.]

107. The second point I should like to emphasize is that the progress made in each of the important areas will, we hope, be balanced and equitable. The develop-

ing countries should not be expected to compromise or concede on major points of principle. They expect a solution in which each side will make a contribution designed to revive global and equitable economic progress in accordance with its economic capabilities. Thus, it is our belief that the negotiations on the various areas should proceed in a simultaneous, parallel and integrated manner so as to ensure balanced progress on a broad front. This can best be ensured by organizing the global round in a unified forum to avoid dispersal of either the issues or our efforts.

108. Thirdly, the negotiations should be completed within a specific period of time, otherwise they may turn out to be another device to delay the practical realization of the aspirations of the developing countries. The Pakistan delegation feels that the negotiations should be allowed one year from the time they are launched, at the special session of the General Assembly on international economic co-operation, which will be held next year.

109. It is only within the discipline of the conditions I have mentioned that the proposed new round of negotiations can succeed and make a substantial contribution towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

110. It is clear that, in proposing the new round of negotiations, the purpose of the Group of 77 is not to detract from the significance that we attach to the preparations for a new international development strategy for the 1980s. My delegation continues to hope that the conceptual differences that have emerged in this context will be overcome, resulting in an international consensus for a truly global co-operative endeavour for the development of the developing countries. It is vital that the negotiations on the new strategy be completed in time for it to be launched at the 1980 special session of the General Assembly.

111. Furthermore, we hope that the global negotiations will not impede in any way the ongoing work in the various technical forums. If anything, the global round should provide new political impetus and give momentum to the work being done elsewhere.

112. Both the statement of the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Stoltenberg, to the Assembly [40th meeting] and the report of the Committee [A/34/34] bring out clearly that among the outstanding issues which the Committee did not succeed in addressing successfully, are the problems of the most seriously affected, the least developed, the land-locked and the island developing countries. It is a matter of deep regret and indeed a sad reflection on the state of international development co-operation that the problems of the most disadvantaged groups of developing countries, though universally recognized as grave and immediate, have been left without attention for so long.

113. It is more than five years since the General Assembly, at its sixth special session, agreed unanimously on a Special Programme for the difficulties of the most seriously affected countries [resolution 3202 (S-VI), sect. X] as an essential and integral part of the New International Economic Order. Unfortunately, little has been done to ameliorate the conditions of these countries, while the advanced nations, who were able to utilize the various levers

of world economic power, have adjusted to the economic events which led to the convening of the sixth special session. I would only quote Mr. McNamara, President of the World Bank, who said that during the 1970s:

“Income grew the least where it was needed the most: in the poorest countries, containing over half the population of the developing world.”<sup>7</sup>

He also emphasized that in the poorest countries, which had a growth rate of only 4 per cent,

“ . . . per capita income grew at only 1.7 per cent a year . . . . It means that for hundreds of millions of individuals—already trapped at the bare margin of survival—‘growth’ in income was two or three dollars a year.”<sup>8</sup>

114. Mr. Maurice Williams, Executive Director of the World Food Council, informed the Second Committee on 8 October that the *per capita* availability of food in these countries had actually declined during the 1970s.<sup>9</sup> These cold statistics translate into moving reality the affliction of millions of hungry and undernourished children, of countless men and women condemned to a short and brutal life.

115. During the past few years, the most seriously affected countries have faced unprecedented external deficits ranging between \$9 billion and \$15 billion a year. Although development budgets were cut to the minimum, they have been forced to borrow heavily to meet the rising costs of imports of food, energy, fertilizers and industrial goods to meet the essential minimum needs of their people and to prevent complete economic disruption. The total external debt of the poorest 48 countries has mounted to \$50 billion, which is almost 40 per cent of their current gross national product. Their external debt has grown at the rate of 14 per cent a year, a rate much higher than the growth in either their gross national product or their exports. An increasing number of these countries have a debt-servicing ratio of more than 25 per cent.

116. There can be no greater irony than the fact that, according to the 1979 report of the World Bank,<sup>10</sup> the poorest 48 countries are obliged to transfer well over 2 per cent of their gross national product to the developed countries in repayment and servicing of their debts, while the rich nations do not provide more than 0.31 per cent of their gross national product to developing countries as a whole.

117. In its annual report for 1979, IMF describes the current predicament of the poorest countries as follows:

“External positions of low-income countries were severely strained . . . and most of them do not have effective access to the international financial markets—nor to the flows of direct investment capital— . . . they have little scope for accommodating a rise in their current account deficit through further reduction of reserve accumulations.”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> World Bank, *Address to the Board of Governors by Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank*, Washington, 1979, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Second Committee, 9th meeting, para. 3, and ibid., Second Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

<sup>10</sup> World Bank, *1979 Annual Report*, Washington, D.C., 1979.

<sup>11</sup> International Monetary Fund, *Annual Report 1979*, Washington, D.C., 1979, p. 25.

This is due to the fact that most of these countries have foreign reserves barely sufficient to cover two months imports.

118. The immediate problems of the economically desperate nations cannot await consensus on the new international development strategy or the outcome of the global round of North-South negotiations. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that early and resolute action will be taken in a spirit of international solidarity to respond to their plight. Unless this is done, the efforts to revive the dynamism in the world economy will be illusory.

119. Pakistan has advanced several ideas for an immediate plan of action to redress the urgent difficulties of the most seriously affected countries. An appropriate proposal on this subject will be submitted shortly on behalf of the Group of 77. The current Chairman of the Group of 77 has indicated the Group's intention to present draft resolutions on the problems facing the most disadvantaged groups of developing countries under this important item. It is our firm hope that this Assembly will endorse these proposals and that urgent action will be taken to implement the measures contained in those draft resolutions. This is the minimum that the international community can do if the reality of the poverty, hunger and disease which afflict hundreds of millions today has any relevance to our deliberations in this world Organization.

120. Mr. THIEMELE (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): Last year, when the question of development and international economic co-operation was examined by this Assembly, the Ivory Coast delegation was wondering, in view of the prevarication and the constant switching of positions that went on, whether the States Members of our Organization still had the political will to carry out this major endeavour of restructuring the world economy so as to respond to the fundamental needs of the present world. My delegation had cried out then:

“Can we, with impunity and even heedlessly, postpone the examination of the questions which are most essential to the new economic order from one meeting to another, from one forum to another, and especially from one year to another?”<sup>12</sup>

121. One year later, we are obliged to note that our apprehensions of last year have become certainties, especially as voices more authorized than ours, in particular, those of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, have confirmed that the failure of the international economic negotiations has been due mainly to difficulties of political nature.

122. Indeed, since the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which adopted the Declaration and the Programme of Action of the establishment of a new international economic order, and despite many attempts in many forums, the international community has been powerless to apply the smallest specific measure in the direction of the necessary restructuring of the world economy.

<sup>12</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 37th meeting, para. 52.*

123. The year 1979 will have confirmed that the dialogue, started in 1974 under the pressure of the four-fold increase of the price of oil, was considered by certain protagonists as being a useful and not very costly game, insofar as it allowed for the maintenance of the former state of affairs without obliging them to make the efforts that are indispensable for a more realistic and responsible understanding of the future of our planet.

124. Thus, the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, after remaining paralysed for one year because of an artificial quarrel about its mandate, was not able to make any notable progress in the North-South dialogue, either because it failed in its attempts to reconcile differing points of view—as was shown by the questions of industrialization and those of the least developed among the developing countries—or because it adopted so-called agreed conclusions, which in fact were only wretched substitutes for decisions that had already been taken but which had never been applied, as was the case with regard to problems regarding the transfer of financial resources and food and agriculture. The general atmosphere of the discussions, as well as the arguments advanced for the refusal of certain demands by the developing countries, did not enable the Committee of the Whole, despite the praiseworthy efforts of its Chairman, to respond to the expectations of the General Assembly which, in paragraph 4 of the above-mentioned resolution called for the Committee to provide “impetus for resolving difficulties in negotiations and for encouraging the continuing work in these bodies,” and to serve “where appropriate, as a forum for facilitating and expediting agreement on the resolution of outstanding issues”.

125. The eloquent report submitted by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Stoltenberg, of Norway, makes it superfluous to go into the details of the conditions in which took place this debate, which is so crucial to our peoples.

126. Thus also, again within the United Nations, the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, just a few months away from the beginning of the third United Nations Development Decade, has still not been able to come to an agreement on the preamble of a text.

127. As for the fifth session of UNCTAD, which was held last May at Manila, that merely enabled us to cut short a rather promising impetus which was started at Nairobi three years earlier, since at that meeting no precise commitment was reached on the various questions dealing with trade and development on its agenda. The condemnation of protectionism and the adoption of a special programme to help the less developed countries among the developing countries cannot make us forget essential failure.

128. Even the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, which was recently held at Vienna, in which the developing countries had placed very real hopes, only produced a mouse, so to speak, in deciding essentially on the establishment of an intergovernmental committee and an interim fund.

129. Neither can we fail to mention the negotiations on raw materials. Here I should like to cite, by way of

example, the recent negotiations on cocoa, held in Geneva in July last. They failed because of the systematic refusal of the developed consumer countries, whatever their socio-economic system, to accept a minimum price which would guarantee the producers in the developing countries an income that would be proportional to their production efforts, as if they were not also human beings, just like the workers in the developed countries.

130. During this time, what has become of our economies, and particularly those of the underdeveloped countries?

131. Besides the crisis that the world economy is at present experiencing—a crisis which seems to be the most serious since the world lived through the great depression and is characterized by slow growth, emergent protectionism, generalized inflation and disastrous instability in trade for which even the most developed countries do not seem to have any remedy—the developing countries are suffering particular problems bequeathed them by the present economic system. As producers of raw materials, they are helpless witnesses to the continuing deterioration of the terms of trade, thus, the prices of their raw materials continue to be fixed by greedy speculators, whereas the prices of the manufactured products which they import regularly increase, as they are pegged to the standard of living in the industrialized countries. Then, as users of external capital, the developing countries have seen their indebtedness grow to absolutely bewildering proportions—more than \$350 billion, with a debt service of \$40 billion per year. Finally, as importers of energy products, most of the developing countries have been called upon, since 1973, to devote larger and larger sums of money to taking care of their needs in oil, to the detriment of other essential services for their people, such as the provision of education and health facilities and productive investment.

132. Is this really a situation which can be perpetuated without perturbing the fragile balance of the world of today? Is there not a risk for all of us, particularly for the minority of wealthy countries, if the majority of the world's people are pushed to the brink of despair?

133. The developing countries, for their part, are aware of the stakes in the process of restructuring embarked upon in 1974 and wish to make their contribution in the most resolute and sincere fashion, through a political dialogue designed to avoid such a catastrophe. It is for this reason that they adopted, at their level, a programme of action which was designed to allow them, as a group, to be collectively self-reliant, through the development of a multiform co-operation which would be beneficial to them.

134. Here I think it is appropriate to praise the decision taken by the African Heads of State to hold at the beginning of 1980 a meeting that will be devoted to economic problems in order to embark upon a dynamic process of co-operation among members of the Organization of African Unity and especially to specify the content of the African contribution to international economic co-operation.

135. That is also why, in the face of the repeated failures of the North-South dialogue, the developing

countries propose that we start, within the United Nations system, comprehensive and far-reaching negotiations on international economic co-operation. These countries propose that we start, within the United Nations system comprehensive and far-reaching negotiations on international economic cooperation. These negotiations would be action-oriented and would deal with questions relating to raw materials, energy, trade, development and monetary and financial problems. The importance of this proposal, adopted at the highest level by the developing countries, cannot escape anyone. We do not wish to establish a new forum, but we wish rather to bring the present economic negotiations out of the dilemma in which they are at present. We do not wish to settle everything at one time, but we do desire to have the fundamental issues presented correctly and earnestly examined. We also believe that the Committee of the Whole can serve as a useful framework for the preparatory work for these global negotiations in order to resolve the questions of procedure and organization which will not fail to arise between now and the time of the special session which will be held by the General Assembly in 1980.

136. It is only thus that we may together—the developed and the developing countries—begin a real dialogue aimed at seeking mutually acceptable solutions to problems connected with the present international economic system.

137. Such solutions cannot be found unless a genuine political will exists within our Organization and in particular among the developed countries. The latter, it appears to me, have so far adopted an incomprehensibly defensive attitude in the North-South dialogue whereas, in the face of the present situation of the world economy, we should all react on the basis of our interdependence and solidarity in order to protect our respective interests from a possible shipwreck from which no one would escape unharmed. The industrialized countries have on several occasions furnished proof of this. We could mention in particular the economic summit meeting held at Tokyo in June 1979 at which, within a few days, the great Western economic Powers were able to adopt concrete measures against protectionism and inflation and to provide for a response to the constant rise in oil prices, which phenomena, if they continued to develop, could harm the major interests of those countries.

138. Why, in the face of the serious problem of restructuring the world economy, can the international community as a whole not react in as responsible a way and adopt the measures which alone can make possible the establishment of a new, more just and more equitable economic order, and thus a real guarantee of the future of mankind?

139. That is what is at stake in the North-South dialogue which we should encourage with faith and determination in order to ward off the demons of confrontation and narrow egoism and build a more united and more humane world.

140. Mr. DARSA (Indonesia): In his statement last week [40th meeting], the representative of India, the current Chairman of the Group of 77 for 1979-1980, expounded the underlying reasons why the Group of 77 proposed that the general debate on the report of the

Committee of the Whole should be held in the plenary Assembly.

141. We fully endorse his view that it is indeed important that this Assembly, as the highest political forum for global issues, should seek new and fresh initiatives for imparting new impulses to the process of the North-South negotiations which have become stalled.

142. This has indeed become a matter of urgent relevance in view of the serious world economic crisis we are experiencing and which stems primarily from the persistent structural malfunctioning of the existing international economic system. Sluggish growth, persistent inflation, high unemployment and continuing disarray in the international monetary system characterize the world economy. The developing countries have been particularly affected because they have to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of adjustment. There is a deep sense of frustration and helplessness at what can be done within the present international economic order. Recently published international reports, including those of the World Bank and IMF, as well as the World Economic Survey 1977<sup>13</sup> promise no immediate relief but point only to further deterioration.

143. Because of the asymmetric relationship between the developed and the developing countries, these trends have been exported to the latter, with devastating effects on their development efforts, and have further widened the gap between them and the developed countries. The resurgence of protectionism in the developed countries compounds this adverse situation, with alarming implications for the future pattern of world trade and industrial development.

144. At the national level, despite the maximum efforts of the developing countries, the ultimate goal of development and of closing or even narrowing the gap remains as elusive as ever. The deep-seated problems of under-development are not only still present but in many cases have become more acute. While there has been a growing awareness of the need for structural change, the measures taken so far have been of a piecemeal and *ad hoc* nature, inconsistent with the objective of promoting long-term structural change and the accelerated development of the developing countries. It is therefore clear that, if progress is to be made, we must address ourselves to the structural causes of the international economic crisis. To this end, it is imperative for us to reinforce our efforts towards genuine interdependence in accordance with the objectives of the New International Economic Order.

145. Hopes have risen since the adoption at the sixth special session of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the consensus reached at the seventh special session of the General Assembly [resolution 3362 (S-VII)], at which a series of negotiations on the New International Economic Order were formally inscribed on the international agenda. Some progress has indeed been achieved in sharpening the focus on the major issues involved and in commanding the increasing attention of the international community. It has become apparent, however, that the concept of the New Interna-

<sup>13</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.C.1.

tional Economic Order is far from being accepted politically by the developed countries. There are still major areas of disagreement on how to effect structural change in terms of concrete policies and measures. Consequently, throughout the entire range of the North-South issues, with the exception of some aspects in certain fields, the negotiations are either bogged down or drifting along at a frustratingly slow pace.

146. The meagre results of recent international conferences and the sluggish progress of the Committee of the Whole, specifically set up to inject political impulses from the centre at the highest political level, have been indicative of this impasse and have added to our grave concern for the future of international co-operation for development.

147. The recently concluded third session of the Committee of the Whole failed to reach agreements on texts on the industrialization of the developing countries and on the special categories of the developing countries. Admittedly some positive results were achieved in searching for agreed conclusions in the areas of the transfer of real resources and of food at the first two sessions of the Committee of the Whole but, as was pointed out by the current Chairman of the Group of 77, no fresh ground was broken. In the process, however, the position of the Committee as the central body of the United Nations system for providing political incentive to the North-South negotiations has been consolidated. This is in no small measure due to the dynamic leadership of the Chairman, Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg, and his predecessor, Mr. Idriss Jazairy, to whom we would like to express our deep appreciation.

148. Out of the obvious stagnation in the North-South negotiations, the failure to make substantive headway and the apparent inadequacy of the current mechanism, was born the profound need for a new departure, fresh thought and bold initiatives to stimulate responsible movement. The non-aligned movement and the Group of 77 have responded positively to this need by proposing a new global round of negotiations with a format designed to ensure success. The draft resolution submitted by the Group of 77 at the last session of the Committee of the Whole [A/34/34, part three, annex I] recommended that the negotiations be action-oriented and allow for a simultaneous integrated approach which would include the major issues in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance.

149. We would like to reaffirm our view that this proposal should not disrupt the ongoing negotiations but rather should be of a complementary and supportive nature. It should also make a significant contribution to the implementation of the new international development strategy.

150. My delegation recognizes the necessity for mobilizing maximum attention and political commitment to this proposal.

151. It will be to our discredit if we, the United Nations of mankind, allow this formidable challenge and therefore great opportunity to remain inconclusive, and once again deny the majority of mankind its inalienable right to universal access to global economic decision-making.

152. It is therefore the fervent hope of the Indonesian delegation that this session of the General Assembly will be in a position to decide positively on the global round of negotiations, and will register the requisite political will and global solidarity and commitment to ensure real progress in our collective and awesome task.

153. Mr. MALINGUR (Somalia): The present international economic relations are a reflection of the unhealthy economic structure. This has had negative repercussions on the rates of economic growth in the developing countries and on the negotiations for the restructuring of international economic relations on the bases of justice and equality. It has led to a constant widening of the gap between the developing and the developed countries. These difficulties were particularly evident in North-South relations, where the negotiations achieved only modest progress in the past year.

154. The decade of the 1970s has clearly shown the need for the world economic system to be restructured if we are to achieve economic liberation, equity and justice in our relations. Early in this decade the developing countries enunciated a coherent set of principles and objectives for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. As we near the close of the 1970s our objectives remain unfulfilled and the outlook for the remainder of the decade does not seem promising.

155. The World Bank's estimate that by the year 2000 constant hunger and low life expectancy will be the lot of 600 million people should underline the dimension of the task ahead.

156. While my Government is aware of the external factors—which need change or improvement so that development can be more speedily promoted—we are fully conscious of the heavy responsibility of the third-world countries for their own development. The Somali Government and people are committed to a policy of national self-reliance carried out within a strong framework of regional co-operation. The inward-looking policies of the developed countries led to the undermining of the results of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila, and also to conclusions that fell short of the minimum acceptable to the vast majority of the participating States. Nevertheless, the setting up of the Common Fund for stabilizing the market prices of commodities and the decision by some countries to cancel some of the debts of developing countries must be welcomed as a healthy approach to encouraging the stability of the New International Economic Order.

157. Among the developing countries some are particularly disadvantaged. The least developed among the developing countries, which suffer as a result of their meagre resources and the retardation of their development process, require and deserve intensified and accelerated assistance.

158. At the fifth session of UNCTAD, an urgent Programme of Action was drawn and the steps necessary to help those countries over the next few years were outlined, together with a basic programme of action for the 1980s to assist them in developing their economies and provide them with at least the minimum as regards nutrition, health, housing, education and other things.

159. This has become a more urgent issue, particularly

for those countries which, like my own, are providing food and shelter for hundreds of thousands of refugees. The present refugee population in Somalia, based on realistic assessments, exceeds 1 million, and the daily influx of refugees has been 1,000 during the last few months.

160. The Government of the Somali Democratic Republic, in fulfilment of its heavy responsibility to provide the necessary care and protection for such a large number of refugees, recently launched a national emergency campaign to cope with this grave situation. We are grateful for the international assistance that we have received in this task, but our refugee problem causes great difficulties for a small and under-developed country like ours. Thus, this tragic human problem calls for the concerted effort of all mankind.

161. The world economic crisis acquires a particularly serious dimension for the countries of the third world. Widespread inflation, the rise in unproductive expenditure on the arms race, the slow-down in the growth of international trade, the fluctuation in commodity demand, the perilous balance-of-payments situation of many countries, the intensification of the struggle for markets and raw materials and the new wave of protectionism and restrictive business practices in certain economies have had serious repercussions on the world as a whole. The continued existence of a system of relations under which developing countries specialize in exports of raw materials and acquire food and manufactured goods from developed market economies is perpetuating and aggravating existing inequalities. Furthermore, the conditions governing international trade and other transactions suffer increasingly from monopolistic pricing and currency profiteering. It is against that background that my delegation believes it of essential importance to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

162. With regard to the new development strategy, my delegation shares the view that the strategy should have as its objectives the rapid growth of the economies of developing countries and the construction of a more equitable world economic system. In this context, my delegation strongly emphasizes the urgent need for all developed countries which have not reached the 0.7 per cent target for official development assistance to exert all their efforts to increase their assistance effectively and substantially towards the target.

163. We sincerely feel that the decision of the Group of 77 to initiate global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation for development at the special session of the General Assembly to be held in 1980 is a novel and bold initiative in an effort to overcome the present stalemate in the North-South dialogue.

164. It is my delegation's firm belief that only through continuing commitment to change and reform, coupled with the requisite political will and co-operation, can the New International Economic Order be achieved.

165. We have defined this decade as that of development. The establishment of a more just economic order is the keystone of this, since it would be the starting point of all the action to be taken to promote the rapid,

continuous and harmonious growth of our economies. It is the basic task, and from the response that we give to this challenge will depend our relations in the future.

166. My delegation very much hopes that confrontations, which are harmful to all of us, will give way to sincere, equitable co-operation based on an exalted notion of the destiny of man.

167. Mr. ZWAYNE (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the period between the start of the previous phase and today, the international community has become aware of the obstacles confronting the poor countries in their development. It has become clear that the advanced industrialized countries are causing those obstacles. They cling to the mentality of an outdated colonialism in order to continue to impose their hegemony over peoples and their resources. Those Governments must understand that such hegemony is past for ever and has no place in the remaining years of the twentieth century. Therefore we must act seriously and in a spirit of co-operation to raise man to a level worthy of him.

168. It is clear that the Committee of the Whole and the many international negotiations and conferences have encountered great difficulties and obstacles which have prevented the success of their work and the achievement of results acceptable to the developing countries. Many measures and suggestions have been put forward, through the Group of 77, to meet the urgent needs of the developing countries in the various fields of development, but all those proposals have been rejected and manoeuvres have been undertaken to make them abortive. We hope that the latest proposal presented by the Group of 77 with a view to beginning a new round of negotiations will prove a good start for the new phase.

169. We call upon the developed and industrialized countries to respond to the wish of the overwhelming world majority, as represented by the non-aligned States and the States belonging to the Group of 77, that they should work within the Committee of the Whole to bring its work to a fruitful conclusion. In this context, we wish to affirm the importance of that Committee, which was set up in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 32/174. We support the necessary inclusion of all the various aspects and matters relating to the progress of the developing countries and the international economic crisis within the framework of the Committee's action and work. We should not forget how important it is not to divide or splinter items or topics or to call for further detailed work on them, for that would only prevent achievement of the objectives for which that Committee was set up and would be a waste of its time. Nor should we forget that by giving new impetus to the work of that Committee, we would undoubtedly be serving the interests of all countries, including those of the advanced States, and would be embarking on the path leading to the establishment of a new international economic order.

170. It is our duty to start with determination and to look forward. There is no need to delve into old matters and to look backward. We must intensify the role of the United Nations in the field of co-operation and in solving the unexpected present-day international problems, whether they be political or economic. The past two

years have witnessed attempts to divert the United Nations from the role for which it was founded.

171. One of the fundamental means for development is energy, which we consider to be a serious responsibility. The essential burden of that responsibility rests with the advanced industrialized countries. If we look at their oil imports, we will see that those countries are hampering the assignment of quotas to the developing countries—the countries to which oil allocations logically should be made. We hold that any international dialogue set up on this subject should have the interests of the developing countries at heart.

172. Let us overcome the impediments encountered in the North-South dialogue and at the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila, as well as at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna. Let us embark on a new phase marked by serious endeavour and optimism, on the basis of the principles of the Final Declaration of the summit Conference of the non-aligned countries, held at Havana, and taking into consideration the decisions adopted by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77, so that the Committee of the Whole, on which we pinned our hopes of reaching the desired co-operation built on justice and equality, may succeed in its work.

173. We wish on this occasion to pay a tribute to Mr. Stoltenberg, the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, for the manner in which he directed that Committee's work during the past period. We hope that through the Committee of the Whole we will be able to reach genuine solutions to the problems of world trade, the transfer of real resources, correction of the international monetary system, the transfer of technology and other matters, in order to be able to establish a new international economic order based on justice.

174. Mr. SIMON (Grenada): When one considers the number of years during which this question has been under discussion, one might be tempted to criticize the United Nations for having failed to transform the world overnight. But that criticism would be superficial. The reality is that decisions taken by this body can be implemented only by the political will of the Member States. That this is so is evident in the statement of Mr. Stoltenberg, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, who reported that the developing countries have asked for the elimination of protectionist measures by the reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers, but that the response of the developed countries has been that those demands were too far-reaching [40th meeting, para. 25].

175. It is interesting to recall that in 1975 the developing countries, determined to approach the seventh special session of the General Assembly in a co-operative spirit, accordingly adopted a seven-part resolution—resolution 3362 (S-VII). The issues treated by that resolution included international trade, the transfer of resources in real terms, science and technology, industrialization and other topics, such as co-operation among developing countries. That was, no doubt, a delaying tactic, for today developing countries are still in the economic doldrums. There is no glimmer of hope for the future, because the developed countries have rejected the Lima Declaration which called for an increase in the developing countries' share in the world's

industrial production from 7 per cent to 25 per cent by the year 2000.

176. This fact is to be lamented when it is considered that the developed countries consume two thirds of the world's wealth, but contain only about a quarter of the world's population. That is to say that the vast majority of peoples of the world live in abject poverty. It is a grave injustice that developing countries should have their growth stunted within their economies because of the crises of inflation, energy and other ills existing in the industrialized economies. This can be overcome only by a new economic order. Grenada is very clear about this concept. To quote our Prime Minister, Mr. Maurice Bishop, when he addressed this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly:

“By the new international economic order, we mean the assertion of national sovereignty over the ownership and control of our economic resources. We mean the establishment of the freedom to determine the disposition and use of our resources in whatever ways our peoples wish, in furtherance of their own aspirations for economic development. We mean the creation of an equitable system of international trade based on just prices for our exports. We mean the opening up of markets internationally, particularly in the wealthy countries, to facilitate growth in the exports of the third world. We also mean the establishment of an international agreement on the exploitation of the resources of the sea which would secure a just share of those resources and the wealth generated therefrom for the under-developed countries.” [27th meeting, para. 37.]

177. Still quoting our Prime Minister, in this new international economic order, we see the sea as

“... the last frontier, and the oil, fish, manganese, nickel and minerals in the deep sea must be exploited by an international régime for the benefit of all mankind, and not just for the benefit of a handful of multinational corporations and their Governments.

“We desire a new system of international interdependence, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and a collective will to put an end to imperialist machinations designed to disrupt our unity and purpose.

“... the whole thrust of any new international economic order could only lead towards the elimination of the severe economic problems besetting our peoples—inadequate diet, poor medical care, insufficient clothing and other basic amenities. All or any of our grand schemes of economic reorganization and transformation must be designed to fulfil these basic goals.” [Ibid., paras. 37 to 39.]

178. Mr. LOPEZ PAZ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are now considering the report of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. In 1977, at the time of the thirty-second session, consideration was given to, and decisions were taken on, the proposal that emanated from the Group of 77 for the establishment of an organ that would revitalize the stagnating negotiations and set in motion the new international economic order, reversing the negative effects of the failure of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, especially by



a process of restructuring international economic relations.

179. That mechanism was conceived as a high-level political forum that would facilitate and accelerate the adoption of decisions mutually acceptable by all parties within the United Nations system. The fact that the international economic negotiations had reverted to the United Nations framework with all States participating on an equal footing, led the developing countries to conceive hopes that their just demands and aspirations would be duly taken into account and that the holding of open and candid talks within the Committee of the Whole would open up an avenue towards the progressive reduction and eventual elimination of dependence and exploitation. After two years of work, those hopes have come to nothing.

180. From the very creation of the Committee of the Whole, it could be seen that certain developed countries were resorting to delaying tactics designed to distort the very essence of its mandate. That led to the situation in which, in the first year of its existence, the Committee became enmeshed in discussions on the interpretation of the powers that had been given it by the resolution that established it, thereby side-stepping questions of substance. Consequently, at that session no question of real interest to developing countries was discussed and those who engaged in the afore-mentioned delaying tactics managed also to postpone the adoption of decisions of vital importance to the developing world in principal bodies and international economic gatherings.

181. Starting at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, at which it seemed that the procedural problems that had hindered the Assembly's work had been solved, the Committee of the Whole began holding a series of debates on some aspects of interest to the developing countries. But that did not mean that the Committee was really assuming the functions for which it had been created, nor that it was then beginning to respond to the best interests of the under-developed countries.

182. If we carefully analyse the decisions adopted, we observe an absence of concrete dynamic and effective solutions that would in practice help to overcome the most acute and urgent problems of the developing world.

183. Obviously, the debates of the Committee of the Whole are not an autonomous activity. They are very closely connected to the other negotiations and talks that should, in the sphere of international economic relations, govern the ties between the under-developed and the developed countries.

184. This year there has been more than one indication of the absence of will, on the part of an important group of developed countries, to promote or to accept solutions that would help to resolve the difficult situation in the world economy. As someone said last week before the Assembly, the multilateral trade negotiations became a "trilateral exercise", which hardly helped to improve the conditions of international trade of the countries of the so-called third world. Monetary and financial relations continued to deteriorate, and the talks of IMF failed to do anything other than resolve the

very special problems of precisely those developed countries that are responsible for the present crisis. The fifth session of UNCTAD, which should have led to a turning-point in the whole negotiating process, may be considered a complete failure because it was unable to lend impetus to progress along new paths that would enable all countries to sit down at the negotiating table in order to find real, viable and lasting solutions that would reflect the interests of all.

185. Might we perhaps say that the failure of the talks held this year corresponds to the short-comings of the bodies in which they were held? Could it be argued that those responsible for the present situation are the under-developed countries, when at all times they have shown the most constructive spirit of co-operation? Obviously not. If we wish to be correct in our analysis, we cannot avoid laying the blame on that group of developed countries as being those responsible for the situation in which a large number of States are today once again obliged to speak of the negative outcome of the so-called "North-South negotiations".

186. We say that this outcome has been negative because international economic relations continue to deteriorate to the detriment of the developing countries and the dependence and exploitation of our vulnerable economies continue. Moreover, those very countries that stubbornly refuse to accept a system of international relations based on justice and equity are introducing new concepts, new interpretations that distort meanings and new forms of negotiations the main objectives of which are to divide the developing countries and divert them from the path leading to development and progress.

187. That is why the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, who met early in September at Havana, condemned the intransigence of the majority of the developed countries and their refusal to initiate meaningful negotiations designed to restructure international economic relations; they reaffirmed their firm determination to oppose categorically any endeavours to shatter the unity of the non-aligned and other developing countries; they rejected the attempts to introduce concepts, standards and principles that might divert the attention of the international community from the main problems of development, therefore placing the national priorities of countries in a state of disarray or dividing the under-developed countries; and they condemned the inflexible positions which have frustrated the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries.

188. This year the Committee of the Whole has been a living example of the phenomena to which I have referred. The resolutions adopted on the transfer of resources, on agriculture and on food do not in fact contain any new elements or any elements whose practical and immediate application could bring about substantial change in those fields. With regard to industrialization or special categories of developing countries—both of which are of vital interest to the under-developed countries—no agreement could be reached because of the intransigence to which I have already referred. The most recent important initiative namely that of the Group of 77 in the Committee of the Whole, calling for a new round of global negotiations, has also remained unanswered and is therefore in abeyance.

Moreover, an attempt has been made to question agreements already reached and to reverse consensus of importance to the so-called third world.

189. Likewise, no results have been attained during the three sessions of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy. The few paragraphs that we have been able to bring to this session of the General Assembly are peppered with square brackets.

190. That is the situation being imposed on us by those who constantly speak about interdependence as the practice that should guide relations among States. But to what interdependence are they referring? Are they referring to true interdependence, to which all States make contributions for the benefit of all peoples and under which we define mutual, common goals that will enable us to walk together along the path of development? Or are they referring to the interdependence of exploitation and oppression, in which relations remain unequal and in which they only transfer to us the technology enabling them better to exploit our natural resources and our labour force and in which the transnational corporations continue to have every right while the developing countries are duty-bound to protect them and give them permanent guarantees that in the long run work against our own interests?

191. In that context, I wish to recall the following words used in this hall just a few days ago by Mr. Fidel Castro, President of the Council of State and of the Government of my country:

“It has been proposed that, instead of a spirit of confrontation, we employ a sense of world economic interdependency that will enable us to call on the resources of all our economies in order to obtain joint benefits, but the concept of interdependency is only acceptable when you start by admitting the intrinsic and brutal injustice of the present interdependency. The developing countries will not accept the unjust, arbitrary international division of labour that modern colonialism imposed on them with the English industrial revolution and that was widened and deepened by imperialism as ‘interdependency’.” [31st meeting, para. 106.]

192. Correctly interpreting the concept of interdependence, the countries members of the Group of 77 proposed, at the last session of the Committee of the Whole, the initiation of a new round of global negotiations in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance. That initiative by the under-developed countries is based on the understanding that the only way in which we can embark on a true

process of restructuring international economic relations is through negotiations markedly different from those that have taken place so far.

193. The time has passed when the mere identification of the problems of developing countries could be regarded as success in itself; the time has come for action rather than mere words; it is high time that we embark on the search for specific, realistic and short-term solutions; the time has come to move from words to deeds. If that is not done, the under-developed countries will be faced with the inescapable choice of the adoption of other methods, not necessarily based on negotiation, which will enable us not merely to survive but to develop, in fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of our people.

194. It is time that those who have so far been trying to delay the search for solutions to the problems of the world economy and to divide the developing world, understood that the very survival of their life-style is now at stake and that if they do not heed the legitimate demands of the developing countries, if they do not take urgent steps to share the world's wealth, if they do not agree to put into effect policies designed to eliminate dependency and exploitation, it will be very difficult for them to avoid economic and social situations with unforeseeable consequences for all of mankind.

195. It was for this reason that my country's Head of State made specific proposals to the General Assembly for pursuing the objectives I have just outlined. It is for this reason, too, that the delegation of Cuba would like to urge all parties to accept the commencement of the round of global negotiations as proposed by the developing countries, and to strive to assure that those negotiations have a practical, not a rhetorical, result, even though that may mean that life in many industrialized countries has to undergo a substantial change.

196. For our part we, the under-developed countries, are prepared to maintain our unity and to rely first and foremost on our own decisions and efforts. As Mr. Fidel Castro said:

“If we wish to avoid confrontations and struggle — which seems to be the only road open to the developing countries, but is a road that offers long and arduous battles whose proportions are unpredictable today—then we must all seek and find formulas of co-operation to solve the great problems that, while affecting our peoples, cannot be solved without also affecting the most developed countries, one way or another.” [Ibid., para. 107.]

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*