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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Kaufman (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 7

Study of the problems of raw materials and development  
(continued)

1. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): If the 1960s sounded the death knell of the colonial era, the present decade logically must aim at economic sovereignty, particularly over raw materials, which are undoubtedly the most direct source for that economic development to which this decade is devoted by the countries of the third world.

2. This second battle for liberation, waged on the economic front, is in many ways more difficult if one considers the vicissitudes to which we are witnesses, since the main sources of insecurity or open war are to be found precisely in the territories which have the richest subsoil: namely, the diamond and gold fields of southern Africa, which are governed by the masters of *apartheid* and by Portugal, which represent the traditional instrument of imperialism.

3. Without the oil resources of the Middle East and of the Mediterranean, these regions would long ago have known a stable peace, which, for the moment, is again being placed in jeopardy for reasons of political strategy for economic ends.

4. The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] should not remain a dead letter, even if at the Ocean's African and Middle Eastern ends, there are the mines of southern Africa and the oil deposits of the Arab countries, to which the unleashing of the present world economic crisis is being wrongfully attributed.

5. Raw materials are so valuable and so soon depleted that the countries which discover them or possess them must expect to be, if they have not already become, the victims of the aggressions of international imperialism.

6. Within the context of the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and the ownership by imperialism of economic

sources, we note for the first time that the third-world countries can express themselves not only on purely political themes, which have often, for very good reasons, had a lion's share of attention in this forum, but also on the level of values, which have governed and continue to govern the unjust economic relations within the specific framework of raw materials, the direct source for any economic development.

7. While the last session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, which met at Kampala, the capital of Uganda, from 1 to 4 April, devoted lengthy meetings to the question which now concerns us, the African countries were guided by the principle of sovereignty over their natural resources, and, equally, by imperative reasons to find remedies to this world economic crisis.

8. Before stating the views of my country on the problem which concerns us at this session, may I be permitted, on behalf of His Excellency Lieutenant-General Michel Micombero, the President of the Republic of Burundi, to congratulate Mr. Houari Boumediène, the President of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, on his happy initiative, on behalf of the non-aligned countries, in proposing the convening of a special session devoted to the question of raw materials and development.

9. The spontaneous support of the appeal of Mr. Boumediène proved to all, whether "haves" or "have nots", that it is time for the international community to consider the question of natural resources, whether renewable or non-renewable, so as to find a just and equitable solution within a new economic order where every nation would play its part for the development and the well-being of its populations.

10. This means that the sixth special session is of such importance that all mankind expects a new picture of the economic panorama for our generation and future generations.

11. In order not to disappoint the hopes of the world in the present session, we need a new impetus of universal solidarity in seeking an economic revolution which would, we are convinced, be equally profitable to the industrialized countries and to those which, in various degrees, are still developing.

12. The Government of Burundi considers, as do most of the speakers who have preceded me, that in order to avoid a confrontation detrimental to the entire international community it is desirable that each one of us be convinced that profound changes are required so as to enable each State to participate in building the economic future of the world.

13. The present economic situation confirms, too, the worsening imbalance in the relations between the developed and the developing countries.

14. Voices are constantly being heard here in the meetings of our Organization and at other international or regional gatherings denouncing the existing economic order. My Government has never stopped denouncing the growing gap that separates the developed countries from the developing countries.

15. Imbalance is shown in income. Indeed, 30 per cent of the world's population enjoys more than 70 per cent of the earth's income. The participation of the developing countries in world trade continues to decrease, having declined from 21.3 per cent in 1960 to 17.6 per cent in 1970. This imbalance is reflected in other sectors by the transfer of resources and profits to the developed countries, whereas the external debt of the developing countries continues to grow.

16. This economic order is a reflection of a past which has built up one-way relations and which is hostile to any change. Even quite recently many industrialized countries refused to agree to the principle of the sovereignty of each State over its natural resources. Recent events in one part of the earth to ensure for the producer countries sovereignty over their raw materials have brought to light the growing interdependence of the economies of the developed countries and those of the developing countries. Whether it is a question of oil, copper, wheat, coffee, bauxite or cocoa, an event which touches any raw material in any region of the world of necessity affects the related economies, whether they are in the industrialized countries or the countries with an economy of subsistence. If the so-called energy crisis has sounded the alarm, it has evoked the premises of a general crisis in the economic relations throughout the world. It constitutes a warning against certain concepts which take for granted a world order where some can settle everything and others must suffer everything, even the exploitation of their own natural resources.

17. Because there has been negligence in guaranteeing the balanced growth of economies, because there has been delay in restructuring economic relations and because at times there has been a denial of the right of some to dispose of their resources, the world community has left unsolved fundamental problems which, today more than ever, will surely cloud the harmony of international relations.

18. My country considers that the varied panorama of our economic relations requires a thorough examination so as to prepare for tomorrow a more harmonious, regular and stable economic landscape. We would wish a new order to be established which will give each State the possibility of developing its economy and of participating as a full member in the conduct of the affairs of our planet.

19. What will this new order be like? This session must define the framework for the changes to be made. At the end of our work concrete solutions must emerge which will enable us immediately to set about implementing the decisions taken.

20. My delegation believes that we must definitely, once and for all, turn our backs on the past in international

economic relations to enable each nation to build a better and more dignified future, bearing in mind its legitimate aspirations, its material and human possibilities, and the impetus of solidarity which it can reasonably expect from an international community which, we hope, will be more generous and more brotherly in feeling.

21. The developing countries have no interest in dwelling excessively on the vicissitudes, the misfortunes, frustrations and bitterness accumulated through decades of humiliation, exploitation and domination. The developed countries, for their part, must once and for all rid themselves of this anachronistic concept of a world composed of a group of privileged beings who live in prosperity, abundance, well-being and waste, in the midst of masses who struggle in destitution, poverty, famine and despair.

22. We face an unprecedented challenge. We must act swiftly, with courage and lucidity. The situation we face requires of us that we take bold initiatives, make radical reforms and adopt a concrete programme.

23. As its contribution to the success of this session, the Government of Burundi proposes that this Assembly consider and adopt a certain number of measures that will eliminate the tensions characteristic of the present international economic situation and will promote the coming into being of a new era in which world economic activity will be carried out in the interests of all.

24. We must first of all agree at the outset on the content and scope of two fundamental principles which, in the opinion of my Government, must govern and serve as the basis for truly democratic international economic relations.

25. The first of these principles is that of interdependence and the equality of States in economic relations. Most of the speakers who have preceded me have recalled this, sometimes forcefully. Nevertheless, I have the impression that some recalled it or defended it only when it served their own interests. The representatives of certain industrialized countries have used this forum to accuse, before international public opinion, a group of countries of the third world for having provoked unemployment, inflation and a recession throughout the world by unilaterally deciding to raise the prices of their energy raw materials. Coming from industrialized countries, this reproach is absurd, since they have been deaf to the many pressing and pathetic appeals of the developing countries to improve the terms of trade and to respect the commitments that they freely entered into with regard to the poor countries within the framework of the two United Nations Development Decades.

26. At a previous session, the developing countries obtained the adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution on the sovereignty of States over their natural resources [resolution 3171 (XXVIII)]. Need I recall that on that occasion most of the developed countries adopted a negative, not to say a frankly hostile, attitude, and thereafter they did everything within their power to deprive the resolution of any meaning without forgetting that they conducted themselves in their international relations as though the resolution did not exist?

27. Confronted with this situation, my country considers that this Assembly must not only solemnly reaffirm the principle of the sovereignty of States over their natural resources, but above all must make it more explicit so as to avoid tragic misunderstandings in the future.

28. This principle implies the right for the owner country freely and without restriction to dispose of the raw materials and natural resources on its territory, to manage and exploit them in the manner it deems most in keeping with general interests and the well-being of its inhabitants; to share the fruits with the persons, entities and States of its choice as long as these do not interfere with its interests or run counter to its political options and fundamental aspirations and as long as they respect its sovereignty, independence and legislation.

29. Having said that, I shall turn to the subject of trade in raw materials, the primary importance of which in the economic and social life of our States is obvious.

30. Most of the developing countries depend entirely on a small number of raw materials or food-stuffs for their currency reserves, their budget revenues and the monetary earnings of their inhabitants. Their economic development depends in large measure, not to say exclusively, on the stability of the market prices for these products on the international market. Stable and remunerative prices for these products are essential for the economic expansion of our countries, for increasing the well-being and raising the living standard of our peoples, for social peace and for the political stability of our States.

31. The prices of primary products and of food-stuffs have so far been determined by mechanisms which overlook us and which are beyond our control, but which operate to our detriment and to the exclusive benefit of the "have" countries.

32. This state of affairs has lasted too long. We must put an end to it without further ado so that the wealth of the soil and the subsoil will benefit in the first place its producers and possessors. In the opinion of my delegation, reform in the commodity trade must be based on certain main ideas.

33. First, the developed countries must recognize that the developing countries have the right to intervene at every stage in the production of and trade in products and materials which they place on the international market so that they will be assured of receiving their just share of the benefits. If the developed countries demand a guarantee of the security of their supply of raw materials necessary for the normal functioning of their industry and economy, it is only proper for them to agree to stable, just and remunerative prices for the producer.

34. Secondly, in our country we consider that stability in terms of trade is a requisite for the rapid and harmonious growth of our economies. The establishment of a mechanism to implement the principle of indexing prices for products from the developing countries with those of products from the industrialized countries, a principle that we adopted at the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Assembly [resolution 3083 (XXVIII)], would be

an effective and unique remedy for the persistent trend towards deterioration in the terms of trade of the poor countries.

35. Need I emphasize that the establishment of groups of producer countries by specific products is the only way of avoiding excessive price fluctuations and of maintaining a reasonable level of supply in relation to demand.

36. Thirdly, even if the problem of the prices of raw materials and food-stuffs is resolved to the satisfaction of everyone, measures must still be taken to lower and eliminate tariff barriers which prevent our goods and products from entering the markets of the developed countries in sufficient quantities.

37. The policy of support for agriculture practised by the developed countries is unjustified in many ways and it is unjust to the producers in the third world. Indeed, it accentuates fiscal pressure on the taxpayer by the systematic subsidies given to the owners and exploiters of agricultural units. It ruins the consumer by fixing artificial agricultural prices which have nothing in common with the world price of similar or related products, which are sometimes of better quality. It is unjust to the farmer and to the producer in the poor countries because it deprives them of an opportunity to improve their conditions of existence for reasons which economic logic cannot explain. In the name of the freedom of trade and of a sound international division of labour, we urge the industrialized countries immediately to renounce these practices which belong to an obsolete past.

38. Fourthly, my Government considers that on-the-spot processing of raw materials to the finished product must be encouraged. There is no doubt that this will have many advantages from the point of view of the economic structure, the level of employment and the volume of our earnings. My country is all the more persuaded of the rightness of this course since it would enable us to lessen the burden of transport prices, which hamper our economy because we are a land-locked country.

39. While remaining optimistic as to the possibilities of setting up a new and more just international economic order, I am still aware that the principles on which we shall agree at the end of this session will require some time for implementation—and we hope that time will be as brief as possible—so that they can become concrete rules of life, tangible realities.

40. In the meantime, many developing countries are aware of financial problems that are specially large and unprecedentedly acute. They need more than ever and immediately, not only expressions of sympathy, but above all concrete acts of solidarity on the part of countries which possess the means.

41. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the States members of the League of Arab States, to the oil-exporting countries which, individually or as a group, have spontaneously and generously come to the assistance of the countries of the third world which were in such difficulties and disarray. This is a lesson in solidarity which the "have" countries should

ponder—the “have” countries which have based their prosperity on the exploitation and draining away of the resources of the so-called “have not” countries and whose selfish feelings grow in proportion to the increase in their wealth and prosperity.

42. At this critical time in the history of international economic relations, we appeal to the rich countries to fulfil the promise they freely and solemnly made to assist the poor countries within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

43. As regards assistance to development, we consider that its contents, structure and methods, form and volume must be reviewed. We consider that assistance means free transfers, by grants or subsidies, and favourable loans on conditions such as those given by the International Development Association. We exclude, naturally, all private, direct or indirect investments and export credits whose repayment is too costly for the recipient countries.

44. We want untied assistance so that the recipient countries may obtain the finished goods, the capital goods and the services they need at the best possible price and quality.

45. As regards volume, we believe that flow of assistance corresponding to 1 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries is still the minimum acceptable to all. We have been told repeatedly that time is needed to convince the taxpayers of the industrialized countries to make a special effort for the poor countries. This is, we believe, a fallacious argument to justify the lack of will of the “have” countries in regard to their international obligations of the most elementary and pressing kind. Actually the leaders of the developed countries lack the necessary political will to give effect to the Second United Nations Development Decade. The responsible political leaders of the developed countries unceasingly declare to their fellow citizens that assistance to the developing countries is very costly, but they have never published the statistics on mass transfers of capital from the underdeveloped countries to the industrialized countries which prove that development assistance goes from the poor to the rich countries. On this subject, the message of 4 October 1973 addressed to this Assembly by Lieutenant-General Mobutu Sese Seko, President of the Republic of Zaire,<sup>1</sup> teaches us many lessons. If the citizens of the rich countries were completely informed about the facts and realities of international economic co-operation and if their leaders were to make them understand that the aid they give to the third world is actually a profitable investment for the economies of their countries, they would not hesitate for a single instant to make the necessary sacrifices, if indeed sacrifices were necessary.

46. All the efforts we might undertake to set up a new international economic order will be in vain if everybody does not undertake and implement the necessary measures to eliminate two evils which undermine the world economy and bring about disturbances in international economic relations. I am referring to inflation and currency erosion.

47. The international monetary system established at Bretton Woods is being eroded, after many marked crises, the expenses of which the developing countries have had to bear without being in any way responsible.

48. It is high time to set up a stable international monetary system which will really be the support and a solid pillar of a sound international economy. This system must reflect the views and concerns of all Member States. In no case can it grant special advantages to one country or a group of countries, however powerful, or be placed at the service of special interests or under the dictates of anyone.

49. As regards world-wide inflation, my delegation denounces the tendency of the developed countries to place responsibility on the oil-producing countries. This tactic is totally false and unsubstantiated, for the reasons which I shall mention forthwith.

50. First of all, the appearance of inflation in the developed countries does not date from the last quarter of last year, as some superficial and hasty analysts would have us believe. Its effects were already felt in the second half of the 1960s, and nobody is unaware that this was one of the reasons for the devaluation of the dollar.

51. Secondly, according to a study begun in November 1973 by the most respected experts and statisticians of an industrialized country, the doubling of price of oil and its derivatives, could only have caused a 2 per cent rate of inflation. The same experts felt at the time that doubling the prices of all commodities would bring about less than a 4 per cent rise in inflation. It is true that this impact on the level of prices is not insignificant, but it is not decisive either. Otherwise how can one explain the rate of inflation of 10 to 20 per cent which the developed countries expect by the end of this year?

52. One must, therefore, have the courage to recognize that inflation has causes which are internal to the industrialized countries. In this connexion, the share of the powerful multinational companies, to mention only them, is preponderant. It is quite normal that the profits which they set themselves in their international transactions—think of the profits of the large oil companies for 1973, which are really astonishing—weigh heavily on the level of prices in the developed countries. This is the problem, and we must not look for it elsewhere. Any other diagnosis is purely and simply a diversionary manoeuvre.

53. At the country level, inflation ruins the weak and gives the wealthy an unexpected opportunity to increase their wealth. The same is true internationally, between rich and poor countries. This is why it is our duty to ask the developed countries vigorously to attack this spiralling inflation and the rapid rise of prices, unless they want to impoverish us further from day to day.

54. We should bear in mind the very remarks of a great statesman, President Georges Pompidou, who at his press conference on 27 September 1973, immediately after the conference of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank at Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, expressed himself as follows:

“We cannot have internationally that which we refuse internally, that is to say, a freedom where the big

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting.



automatically shatter the weak and the rich automatically shatter the poor. . . . An international monetary system must permit and facilitate exchanges, must ensure general stability in these exchanges, must not be inflationary and must not be excessively competitive and capitalistic, because we shall find ourselves in the eternal duel between the rich and the poor countries and we shall arrive at a world catastrophe."

55. The international community is meeting here in order to prevent this catastrophe, which threatens international relations. Africa, Asia and Latin America and all other peace-loving and justice-loving peoples have realized that the period of exploitation is over.

56. We are witnessing a real economic revolution on a world-wide scale. Today the energy crisis has proved that what has been considered established truth by all has become unacceptable and even intolerable, and what has seemed impossible has today become inevitable. This crisis has shown that the difference between industrialized and non-industrialized countries is more and more simply a point of view.

57. A well-known person from the Commission of the European Economic Community has rightly said that today there are only countries which have something to sell and countries which have something to buy—that is to say, the entire world. That person said that we must create new rules of the game between these countries—rules which will no longer be the liberal law of "*laissez-faire*" and "*laissez-passer*", which has often been translated by the West as "let me do" and "let me pass".

58. To remove ourselves from this spiral of selfishness and exploitation, the third world has proposed to the world community the course of solidarity and co-operation which must in future be placed within a framework of mutual dignity and respect and must not be interpreted as begging. The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who for a long time have been subjected to others, know that in effect it is because of their colossal wealth that the imperialist and neo-colonialist countries have developed. This is the reason why they refuse to be despoiled by force in future.

59. Justice must be done politically and economically.

60. Politically, we must put an end to colonial wars, and the war in the Middle East, and we must do away with the hotbeds of war throughout the world. Disarmament must be complete and total. We suggest that the two super-Powers set an example, because they run the risk of bringing into this race to manufacture the most sophisticated and deadly weapons other Powers which are jealous of their independence and freedom. There must be respect for the States and régimes chosen by peoples for their development. It is time that we put an end to the activities of the multinational corporations which cause insecurity in countries of the third world so as to prevent them from having conditions of peace that will guarantee their own economic profits.

61. Economically, exploitation must cease. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have embarked upon an

irreversible economic revolution. Co-operation on a footing of equality is the only course that history recommends. In this framework, technical or financial co-operation tied to humiliating political conditions will always be rejected by the peoples who love justice and freedom, like the people of Burundi.

62. In this new concept of co-operation, the Chinese experience should be considered. The People's Republic of China fully respects the choices of the countries which it assists.

63. Let us also hope that the impetus for solidarity in Europe will not be nipped in the bud, because the crisis through which we are passing has proved that the destiny of peoples is one.

64. We must now realize the historic significance of these debates in order to take the course of co-operation and solidarity.

65. Mr. EVENSEN (Norway): The Norwegian Government appreciates highly the initiative taken by the President of Algeria in calling for this special session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are here to deal with problems of great magnitude. Nearly all Members of the United Nations are faced with great economic problems, although they are of varying size and nature. We all feel the urgent need of building a common platform from whence to attack these global problems.

66. Some of the economic problems with which our globe is presently faced are connected with the oil crisis in regard to both supply and price. But this concrete crisis only reveals the inherent fragility of our international economic relations, the lack of co-ordination of trade policies and economic policies, the balance-of-payments problems and the shortcomings of the international monetary system and of the development aid system. Thus the main problems with which we now deal have their roots in traditional economic and social structures and conditions.

67. Never has the economic and social interdependence of all nations in the world been more dramatically underscored than in recent months. Never has it been more apparent that it is necessary to reach agreement on a planned utilization and conservation of available world resources. This applies also to the food sector, where situations of scarcity have revealed dangerously low margins of production and insufficient stocks of vital commodities with great increases in food prices. Again, the need for co-ordinated planning on a world-wide scale has been clearly demonstrated. This becomes particularly evident against the background of the explosive population growth. The immense problems with which we have to deal are immediately connected with a fairer and more reasonable distribution of the total resources of the world's raw materials as well as its manufactures.

68. The energy crisis, which is really one aspect of the resource crisis, has demonstrated in a dramatic way that world resource potentials are being over-exploited. The affluent society of the industrialized countries has developed a pattern of waste of vital resources which will have to be changed fundamentally, both from a resource management point of view and for environmental reasons.

69. With regard to certain commodities there are, admittedly, enormous potentials of as yet unexploited resources on our globe. I have in mind, *inter alia*, the mineral deposits of the ocean floor, including vast resources of manganese, copper, nickel and cobalt. At the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, to be held in Caracas this summer, special heed must be given to a planned utilization of these enormous reserves so as not to upset further the precarious balance of the world economy.

70. The problems related to raw materials have up to now not been given the attention they deserve. For too long they have been dealt with as technical problems by technical experts without sufficient political guidance. But these problems are basically of a political nature. They involve the relationship between commodities and manufactured goods, which forms a central part of the broader relationship between developing and developed countries. This session should serve as a vehicle for mobilizing a new political will to deal with the present problems and thus become a catalyst for a new process of international co-operation.

71. Our aim must be to establish a basis for a more just distribution of income and resources as well as for qualitative and structural improvements in world society.

72. Our common interests are manifold. In the commodity sector they can be summed up by the words "security" and "stability".

73. The developing countries, for their part, need an international mechanism giving them stable and better access to markets in the developed countries for their commodities. Their claim for greater stability of the relative value of their export earnings and thus of their purchasing power is also a legitimate one.

74. We are now, on the whole, in a period of high commodity prices. It may well be that long-term trends in a number of cases will favour commodities. But there have been prolonged periods of the weakening of prices of commodities compared to prices of manufactures, and there is no reason to believe that sharp and abrupt price fluctuations—the curse of the commodity trade—will not happen again if international measures are not initiated. These sudden changes in market conditions upset economic planning and often hit blindly the countries least equipped to sustain them.

75. In its approach to these problems my Government favours practical measures safeguarding stability and growth. It supports a fair readjustment of relative prices in favour of developing countries.

76. These problems have for some time been dealt with in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] and elsewhere. The technical difficulties should not be underestimated. But, given sufficient political will, it should be possible to find workable solutions. Here I would draw the Assembly's attention to the possibilities of a more systematic and extensive use of commodity arrangements, comprising reference prices, provisions for buffer stocks and their international financing. It cannot be denied that conditions vary greatly from one commodity to

another. But we ought to try to see whether a model agreement for commodity arrangements constitutes a fruitful approach. Only through satisfactory stabilization of commodity trades will it be possible to put into effect the slogan which was coined more than 15 years ago—"trade not aid".

77. The industrialized countries, for their part, are also in need of security and stability. Recent developments have made them increasingly aware of their need for stable supplies of key commodities at reasonably stable prices. This is also a legitimate concern which should be taken into account when defining general principles of co-operation based on justice and equality. However, this implies no denial of the principle of every nation's sovereign right to dispose freely of its own natural resources, a principle to which my Government attaches great importance.

78. We have recently witnessed rapid and steep increases in the prices of important commodities. However justified such increases might be in individual cases, we should realize that too-rapid and uncontrolled changes in the price situation may have detrimental effects on the world economy, making it difficult to achieve an equitable and stable socio-economic development for all concerned. In particular we should realize that the present rate of inflation, if not brought under control, might seriously set back international trade and development.

79. Several speakers have underlined the extremely difficult situation of many developing countries which suffer both from the consequences of increased prices of oil and of other imported commodities and from the high rate of inflation in the developed countries. In addition to the internal problem of inflation, the developed countries are faced with a balance-of-payments problem. In these circumstances, the developed countries might be tempted to cut down on external expenses, *inter alia*, on the volume of development assistance. Such an approach, having regard to the enormous existing needs, would be most unfortunate and would be contrary to the goals we have set ourselves for this session. As regards my own country, it remains our intention to reach a volume of official development appropriations equal to 1 per cent of our gross national product in 1978. It would seem to me that all donor countries should undertake not to reduce their public aid programmes but should strive to reach the targets set for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

80. My Government has noted with satisfaction the initiatives taken by various countries with a view to creating special funds on concessional terms in order to alleviate the difficult financial situation facing the least developed countries and other low-income developing countries that have been most severely hit by the recent rise in commodity prices. We are ready to co-operate in the establishment of a special fund for this purpose and, subject to parliamentary approval, to make a reasonable contribution to such a fund, provided that it is broadly based and assured of significant contributions.

81. Dealing with the question of finance, I should like also to refer to problems connected with the external debts of many developing countries. We know that the servicing of these debts constitutes a heavy burden, which lately has

become very onerous for many of these countries. It would seem that a new examination should be made with a view to alleviating the situation for the countries most seriously affected.

82. I should also like to mention the need for taking the interests of developing countries fully into account in reforming the international monetary system. More specifically, my Government would urge the creation of additional liquidity through a link between development financing and the establishment of special drawing rights. This is not a new idea, but the efforts to establish the practical modalities for such a linkage should now be actively pursued.

83. I have tried in this statement to summarize briefly the view of my Government on the complex problems with which this Assembly will have to deal. I have pointed to some of the tasks which to us seem to be most urgent in the present situation. We all know that these tasks cannot be accomplished during this session. The practical work will have to be done in other forums both within and outside the United Nations. It is imperative that the action programme which we are to adopt will instil a new sense of urgency in the work to be done in these various forums and that a system of reporting within definite time-schedules be adopted. We are in full agreement with the idea now finding common support that the Economic and Social Council should exercise over-all co-ordination of these activities.

84. Mr. BA (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I should like to thank and congratulate, on behalf of the Republic of Senegal, Mr. Houari Boumediène, President of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, for his felicitous and most timely initiative, which affords us the opportunity to express our views today before this Assembly and to echo ideas which the whole world knows are very close to our hearts.

85. Indeed, the Head of State of my country, President Léopold Sédar Senghor, has continually denounced the deleterious effects on our economies of the continuing deterioration in the terms of trade.

86. Before addressing ourselves to the item on our agenda, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to extend to you, Mr. President, our warmest congratulations on the renewed expression of confidence placed in you as the head of this important special session of the Assembly.

87. For too long the countries which, since the Second World War, have become aware of their national existence and shaken off colonial status and foreign interference and which have begun to trace their own paths have been regarded as minors, to the point where the term "under-developed", far from being a recognition of the state of affairs allowed or maintained by the wealthy countries, has become a clearly pejorative expression.

88. For too long, the wealthy countries have given our poor countries their good, soothing advice and have adopted resolutions so general that they were immediately forgotten, for their implementation would have caused great disturbances in the nice life to which the wealthy

countries had become accustomed, at the cost of these little countries.

89. But with the passage of time, with successive economic and military crises, with colonialist and racist wars, with all the acts of interference, and despite or because of the numerous rebuffs and acts of abandonment, those countries which are known as the third world have become aware both of their strength and of their essential solidarity.

90. The accelerated industrialization of the wealthy countries was possible only because they exploited at low prices the raw materials owned, and still owned, by the third world—resources without which the developed countries could not have found all the elements necessary for their domestic growth.

91. In order to speed up this growth still more, the suppliers of raw materials have been warned against any attempt to raise prices of the primary commodities needed by the capitalist enterprises of the wealthy countries.

92. The great law of supply and demand has been upset by the economic and financial forces in their desire to dominate the situation, and it took the violent reaction of the war of the month of October last year for the use of the oil weapon to arouse the concern of the industrialized countries and give birth in the third world to a new determination to throw off the fetters of under-development.

93. Thus, used first of all for strategic and political purposes, the price increases and reduced oil deliveries finally demonstrated how fragile were the economies of the industrialized countries and, in the end, how dependent they were on the production of many third-world raw materials. To be sure, it was possible to raise the scarecrow of restrictions on manufactured goods, of a wide-spread recession, or of increased production of synthetic replacement products. The fact remains, however, that the world is here gathered in order to consider not the demands but rather the real needs of the primary commodity producers. We are gathered to seek remedies which can in due course delete the term "under-development" from the international vocabulary once and for all.

94. Despite the decisions of principle repeatedly taken in international organizations, the general situation of the under-developed countries has not improved—far from it. Back in 1972, in Santiago, we pointed out the great distortions created by the imbalance between the prices of primary commodities and those of the manufactured goods necessary to supply our country. May I go back now to this grave problem.

95. The present crisis in the world economy, marked by the persistence of high inflation in a climate of wide-spread fluctuation in the parities of various currencies, is making it more and more difficult for the countries of the third world that produce raw materials to administer and develop their various economies.

96. The spectacular increase in the prices of capital goods imported by the third world, together with the continuing

decline in the unit value of raw-materials exports, jeopardizes the chances for those same countries to maintain a satisfactory rate of growth. Between 1965 and 1972, for example, according to the statistics of specialized agencies, the average rate of inflation, which rose from 4.1 to 4.5 per cent in the industrialized countries, rose, in the countries of the third world, from 11.8 to 14.7 per cent. Over approximately the same period, the unit value of raw-materials exports declined from 100 in 1959-1960 to 93 in 1970.

97. Among other consequences, this situation has led to a slow-down in the economic growth of most of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America through a marked decline in the power of their raw materials to purchase manufactured goods.

98. In Senegal, because of the drought we have experienced in recent years, this deterioration in the terms of trade has been accompanied by an aggravation of the national deficit of resources.

99. An analysis of the last 10 years shows that, for Senegal, export prices have increased by an average of 2.3 per cent per year, while import prices have risen by 9.3 per cent a year. If we look now at the terms of trade, still taking 1962 as the base year, we see that the terms declined, on the average, by 6.3 per cent in the period 1962-1972, which means that since 1962 Senegal—to mention only my country—has lost, on the average, 6.3 per cent a year of its purchasing power. And if since 1972 the trend towards deterioration in the terms of trade has been eased by a recovery in the price of ground-nut products, Senegal has not yet recovered its 1962 purchasing power, since the terms of trade are still only 98.9 as against 100 in 1962. We must also see that the recovery in ground-nut prices was due to diminished production as a result of several years of drought. Without this shortage, the prices of ground-nut products would be much less high and hence the terms of trade would show a much more marked decline.

100. And here it is that we need to introduce the second concept of deterioration in the terms of trade which, although less well known, is often graver in agricultural economies like ours.

101. The fact is that when export prices collapse, as they did in 1968 on the ground-nut market, the result is an exodus of peasants, which leads to a further reduction in the harvests and a drop in exports. That phenomenon is exacerbated by drought.

102. Even if the following year there is a very sharp improvement in export prices because of the shortage of the commodity, the quantities that can be exported being reduced, the result to the national economy is a reduced import capacity because of the declining value of exports, which leads to a deterioration in our income.

103. In the case of Senegal, therefore, one cannot consider only the improvement in the terms of trade since 1969. That is only one aspect of the reality. The other is the decline in the capacity of the national economy to buy abroad because of the reduction in the quantities available for export.

104. Against that background, the oil crisis, aggravating a situation already of concern to many countries, has at least had the merit of making the third world aware of the possibility of revising economic relations between countries producing and consuming raw materials.

105. Speaking recently about that crisis and the reflections to which it leads, Mr. Claude Cheysson, Commissioner of the European Economic Community, wrote in a major French daily:

"It is obvious that the problem as a whole has another dimension. Elements we could and should have identified earlier but to which our attention was not directed are now very clear:

"The world economic order was built by the industrialized Powers for themselves. It was indifferent to others. It seemed quite natural to everyone that payment for a manufactured product or an item of capital goods corresponded to the delivery of a tonnage of raw materials which grew from year to year. In other words, we had to work less and less to acquire a certain quantity of minerals, wood or ground-nuts, but, without thinking about it, we found it quite in order that those providing our raw materials should for their part work harder and harder in order to buy the same tractor or the same power station. . . .

"We are beginning to understand that the producers of raw materials, to whose ambitions we were without malice, oblivious, for their part also wish to develop and not only to survive. Like us, they wish to build a modern economy, to increase their exports, to gain access to important markets—in brief, to become partners in growth, whereas hitherto they have been no more than suppliers."

106. Against that background, so eloquently explained by the Commissioner, the United Nations debate on raw materials concerns Senegal on more than one score.

107. As an effective or potential producer of certain essential raw materials, and confronted by development problems that can be solved only by an increase in the value of those raw materials, Senegal is convinced of the necessity for a revision on a more equitable basis of relations between the industrial countries and the developing countries producing raw materials.

108. Such a revision implies a solution to the problem of an increase in the value of raw materials and the solidarity of the principal third-world producer countries in regard to a certain number of precise objectives. That solidarity must go further. It must go beyond the partial and insufficient measures thus far taken internationally and go on to an organization of raw-materials markets. This debate is a first decisive step in the elaboration of such a strategy.

109. It would be vain to recall promises not kept or to draw a sombre picture of the weakness of our economies if we did not at the same time sketch possible action that could get us out of the vicious circle in which the present state of international trade is now confined. Let us therefore henceforth place the emphasis on questions of



method and of purchasing power rather than on prices as such.

110. The decisions to be taken by this special session, convened specifically to deal with raw materials, will assuredly have a real impact on the prices of commodities, but what the under-developed countries want is not so much revenge as recognition of their lawful right to a rational and profitable exploitation of their resources that would give their peoples access to living standards comparable to those of the industrialized countries. For a man is a man, and the rights of all men are equal. Who in Europe or North America would be content to live on \$250 a year, even if he were only a modest farmer? What we seek is justice.

111. In order to increase the purchasing power of our primary commodities, three possibilities are open to us. Just as in regard to prices it is essential to seek what is just and reasonable, so it is no less essential that producers organize themselves to normalize and stabilize primary-commodity prices, the corollary of which is a normalization and stabilization of the prices of manufactured goods. The lessons given by importer countries to producer countries since the beginning of what have been called Development Decades have all at once shed light for us pupils on the way we should behave in resisting the pressures stifling us. That road is open to all, but it must be understood that the countries of the third world have begun to take that course and intend to follow it. Together at least for the products they can control.

112. It will be objected that past experience has not been conclusive: would it not be better to seek the deep-seated causes of certain failures and to ask the reasons for the structural imbalances of relations between producers and consumers? I have tried to demonstrate that the deterioration in the terms of trade had two aspects, the second of which resulted from distortions in the incentive to produce, distortions caused by price fluctuations not controlled by producers.

113. Should we not also stigmatize the action of certain countries in the operation of the existing agreements on certain commodities? Who has forgotten the insidious attacks against the agreements on coffee, cocoa and sugar? Some of these attacks were simply a moral: unilateral suspension of certain clauses of the agreements; opposition to the proposed quotas; unjustified subsidies for national producers, making it possible to maintain the world price at abnormally low levels, and so forth.

114. That means we must be very careful in the negotiations, and we must watch over the implementation of such commodity agreements. The agreements must also rest on the principle of international buffer stocks accompanied by reference prices whose controlled variations would take account of world inflation and monetary fluctuations.

115. In that regard, the recent conference of phosphate-producing countries gives some idea of the appropriate guidelines.

116. Together with that increase in value through the organization of producers we must seek to increase the

value of our commodities by processing them locally. Doubtless, the local processing of primary commodities into semi-processed or semi-manufactured goods poses the problem of industrialization. Let us not forget that the international economic agencies have been recommending this choice for a long time with a view to improving the export earnings of producer countries. Beyond that advantage, there is the further advantage of an improved *per capita* income for the peoples of our countries.

117. The last form of organization concerns trade structures for primary and locally processed products. We find it unacceptable that the producing countries do not receive the benefit of at least part of the value added by these services. Thus, the poor countries expect that an earnest effort will be made to reorganize shipping and ancillary services, such as insurance. On this point they have decided to get together and to act together.

118. To sum up, all measures for organizing primary-commodity trade and all those to ensure that the production and distribution of those commodities contributes to the development of the supplier countries should lead to the establishment of a system of fixed parities between raw materials and manufactured goods. Without such a system we shall long continue talking of the deterioration of the terms of trade so often pointed out by President Senghor. Without fixed parities, there will be no equilibrium and all development plans, all technical and financial assistance, all price increases and agreements among producers will remain empty dreams.

119. The effort to improve and stabilize the purchasing power of primary commodities implies three other categories of decisions.

120. The first has to do with a simpler and better adapted structure for systems of financing than those heretofore adopted. I have already had occasion to point out how far the monetary disorders of recent years and galloping inflation which we derive from it are harmful to the economies of the third-world countries, which are particularly sensitive to any fluctuation in the purchasing power of currency. It is therefore essential to find a protection against the over-rigid rules under which the international financial agencies extend assistance.

121. Whereas the present means of compensating for fluctuations in export earnings of primary commodities involve, first, the use of the monetary reserves of the countries concerned, we must note that these reserves, more often than not, are limited. This very limitation forbids us to use these reserves both to cover balance-of-payments deficits and to finance development.

122. Furthermore, we note, with the Managing Director of the IMF, that development assistance is often a disguised subsidy for the exports of the developed countries. We also note that all assistance comes back to donor countries in the form of the transfer of funds or of orders, and that the wealthy countries see to it that job opportunities, value added and currency savings accrue to them.

123. It is therefore essential that the third world should have access to international liquidity through some other

means. One possible way is represented by the special drawing rights of the IMF. The Finance Minister of India spoke of this in the following terms:

“The creation of special drawing rights facilitated by the IMF represents a major reform and it should be placed on a firm and permanent footing. In order better to serve the purposes which inspired the creation of international reserves, we must establish a specific link between the creation of these reserves and the flow of finances for development.

“We must also give closer attention to making the administration of the international monetary system more democratic than it is now. An international monetary system which seeks to promote a better life for all peoples of the world cannot long continue to be administered in such a way that it bows only to the will of the present economic Powers rather than taking into account the needs and the interest of the very great majority of the world's nations.”

124. The second series of decisions to be taken concerns the transfer of know-how and particularly technical know-how.

125. It is no secret that it is the transfer of knowledge from one country to another, first of all from Europe during the Renaissance, and more recently from us, throughout the nineteenth century, that made possible the accelerated industrialization of the old world, and then of the new world, North America.

126. Deliberately maintaining the backward countries in a state of technological dependence is thus a powerful impediment to economic and social progress in those regions.

127. A golden rule of international morality should thus be to enable the people of our countries to face up to their administrative, technical and social responsibilities. To suppose that they are incapable of doing this would be to make them less than human.

128. But the principle we have stated, of an increase in the value of our primary commodities on the spot, is inconceivable without a minimum degree of processing of these commodities in the producer countries. Hence, the necessities for technical knowledge of such processes.

129. No one could deny today that thinkers, doctors, artists, engineers and research workers in the developing countries are not capable of exploiting the knowledge which would permit them to create and administer enterprises which could give our primary commodities added value, which could give their economies fresh impetus.

130. We therefore need to review the whole problem of international technical co-operation so that it does not become a new form of colonization, but is adapted to the specific situation of each country and becomes the opportunity of a fruitful dialogue and mutual enrichment. Real international co-operation is necessary to ensure that the transfer of know-how is inseparable from a vast network of solidarity among peoples and civilizations.

*Mr. Benites (Ecuador) took the Chair.*

131. The third and last series of decisions must lead to new interdependence: namely, to a new international division of labour in which complementarity will be sought between rich and poor countries.

132. No one could say that such a quest could not cure all the ills of the industrialized countries too: inflation, over-consumption and recession, and what in the third world is described in one word—under-development.

133. The need for this co-ordination of actions is intensely felt by the third-world countries which are trying to put it into practice among themselves first of all. Are we not now seeing attempts of producers to organize, whether in the field of oil, phosphates or other commodities. A new solidarity is arising between countries of the third world, not perhaps yet for a redistribution of profits but with a view to the establishment of new sources and new forms of financial assistance. In this regard Senegal welcomes the initiatives of His Majesty the Shah of Iran for the creation of a world development fund, and those of the Arab oil-exporting countries in regard to regional assistance and development financing funds.

134. On this level we hope, first, that the terms on which these funds extend assistance will be rather more flexible than in the case of the existing international agencies. Secondly, we must see to it that the new assistance is not a pure and simple substitute, in whole or in part, for that given to us now by the developed countries, which they might be tempted to reduce because of their monetary difficulties.

135. This, then, is the spirit in which we have come before this present special session of the General Assembly on raw materials.

136. We said in Santiago how great were the hopes that were placed in UNCTAD. We were disappointed.

137. Nevertheless, we drew attention to the dangers that would arise from the absence of specific and immediate solutions to the problems we were raising and I remember that the problem of commodities was our main concern. We would like to repeat that warning while, on the one hand, reaffirming our common opposition to any form of economic relations not based on due regard for the legitimate interests of all the parties and, on the other hand, reiterating our confidence in the ability of the international Organization to devise and ensure the implementation of the solutions postulated by the very principles of its Charter.

138. Mr. KHALID (Sudan): When we met here last September, Mr. President, you described this period in world history as one of those stormy periods when man can find no haven in which to pitch his tent.<sup>2</sup> At the time one did not realize that further evidence of this would come as soon as it did: seven months later. Nor did one realize that the President would be borne out so soon.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 2117th meeting.

139. Opening the International Symposium on Diplomacy and Development, held in Khartoum last February, the President referred to the impact on the world economic scene of the consequences of oil shortage and reflected that:

"The new weapon has shown us, peoples of the third world, a road that can be perilous to both industrialized and non-industrialized countries, though more perilous to the former. After all, we have been striving to get away from the bonds of economic servitude for a long while, and ever since Santiago, in 1972, we had almost given up hope and surrendered to frustration. The oil-producing countries, however, have initiated a rebirth of hope that was not entertained before. There are those of us who say, why not have a cotton-producing community, as the oil people had? There are those of us who are saying, why not have a cocoa-producing community? And so on. In other words, come what may, let us have two worlds facing each other, mercilessly demanding their pound of flesh. This is a rocky road, good for nobody."

140. It is encouraging to see that the world community is at long last facing up to the staggering problems facing mankind. This is the essence of this meeting.

141. The message was put across by President Boumediène. His diagnosis of the economic frustrations of the third world cannot be improved. It is unfair to him and to all who responded to him to say, as a callous cynic has said, that Algeria "called the special United Nations meeting in an effort to deflect" the anger of black countries "toward the rich industrial nations". It is misleading to say, as a mischievous reporter has said, that "Algeria's answer to the poor lands has been to urge them to nationalize their resources". President Boumediène has spoken on behalf of the non-aligned countries, and he said more than that. He evolved a body of ideas fit to be a charter of economic relationships between the third world and other regions of the world. He has put into focus the intrinsic anarchy of the world economic system, the obdurate resistance to change of the privileged nations, the frustrated hopes of the poor, the unfulfilled promises of the rich, the determination of the newly emerging States to translate their political independence into economic and social well-being, and the desire of those States to pursue by their own free will a genuine co-operation with the better-equipped States to establish a better world order and an effective system of collective international economic security.

142. Judging by what has been said here, I feel we may be able to establish a better world order in the end. I feel we may be able to do it because one discerns in the public utterances a new spirit—a new spirit that sees in what has happened in the oil market, and what is likely to happen in relation to other raw materials, nothing more than a reaction to a long agony of inequity—a new spirit that sees that everyone is in need of everyone else and no one can stand on his own in this day and age. This was the glaring lesson of the energy crisis. A new spirit was evoked that recognized, at long last, that concepts of economic benefit, national prestige and the well-being of nations are not incompatible with concepts of interdependency and international responsibility. Economic benefit is not necessarily heartless exploitation. National prestige is not neces-

sarily similar to arrogantly riding a mighty horse. The well-being of nations is not necessarily smug self-satisfaction.

143. It was therefore heartening to read Michel Jobert urging the mighty to abandon the temptation of hoping for quick revenge stating the tenet for a new order of relationship based on "... the inherent right of all people; an express will to help and support the most vulnerable, humble and needy; a commitment to fit its own progress within an international solidarity ruled by justice and equity" [2209th meeting, para. 132].

144. It was refreshing to hear Walter Scheel speaking on behalf of his own country, the Federal Republic of Germany, and that of Europe denouncing the existing division of labour between raw material suppliers and raw material producers as outdated and asserting that "no State, no people, is a mere giver or taker, no one a mere object" [*ibid.*, para. 146].

145. The keynote set by the Algerian President on behalf of the entire non-aligned community was in a way taken up by almost all Members of the United Nations, including United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger [2214th meeting], whose ideas ought to be thoroughly studied and analysed by leaders of business and makers of public opinion in the United States—before it is studied and analysed by Members of this Assembly. Never before has the United States come out with such clear thoughts on such serious issues, as it came out this time. Though disclaiming that he was putting forward a blueprint, Mr. Kissinger did put one forward, one worthy of a country whose power and influence in the world charges it with great responsibility. He must be aided by leaders of business and public opinion in his country, and not hindered.

146. While the Government is declaring its firm belief in the inevitability of interdependence, there are some of those who formulate public opinion who tend to delude their readers or listeners into developing an economic and political arrogance that does not tally with either the interests of their country or the new bearings of those in power who know better. There is no place for a country, however mighty it is today, to live in splendid isolation.

147. It is fortunate that the newer views are sponsored by more credible and articulate voices, and are certain to have more currency. All this sounds like this special session may turn out to be the dividing line between this dismal era in which we are living and the road to a bearable era.

148. But, alas, I have my forebodings. Deliverance is not drawing near and we are far from presaging an international Fabian Manifesto that would help to indicate the way to remove what George Bernard Shaw has called the circumstances under which wealth cannot be enjoyed without dishonour or foregone without misery. "Dishonour" might be a strong word, perhaps. But I come from a continent that has suffered so much for so long not to say what I said. Africa has suffered all sorts of privations in the past and is now facing the threat of perdition. No. "Dishonour" is not a strong word. If civilization is to be defined as the satisfaction and refinement of man's wants, a world community that sits by watching hundreds of thousands of

human souls die of hunger can be called anything but civilized.

149. So let us take the problem of food and hunger and consider how long we have been neglecting it. As long ago as 1967, the Panel on The World Food Supply of the United States President's Science Advisory Committee advised that malnutrition in the under-developed nations affected 60 per cent of their peoples, that 20 per cent suffer from undernourishment some-times and from slow starvation at other times.<sup>3</sup> We are no longer unaware. We have gone a bit nearer to facing the problem. The report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has brought us face to face with the problem. Twenty million souls were on the brink of death when the report was published. People have been dying for the last seven years—seven years. The area afflicted is 2 million square miles. In 1973, 100,000 souls perished in Niger and Chad alone. The villages in the area were reminiscent of Belsen. "There has been a lack of vigour and imagination on the part of the Western Governments", reported the British Council of Churches.

150. Let us get away from figures, which not only change constantly, but also obscure the fact that we are dealing with human beings. Figures are dead; human beings are alive. Last September I said here from this rostrum that the food problem was an "artificial" one, and suggested what my country could modestly contribute towards combating this menace. I said, "The arable land in the Sudan is estimated at about 50 million hectares, but only 6 million hectares have been developed".<sup>4</sup> I do not know how soon the many plans, proposals and projects put to us here in this session, will see the light. I hope very soon. However, what we are trying to do in the Sudan now is proffer this wealth of land to our friends, to those who have the money, and those who have the technological know-how, with a view to financing its utilization and cultivating it with the latest possible tools man has discovered. In other words, what we are proposing is a tripartite venture between us who have the land and the water; the moneyed who are willing to invest in agriculture; and our friends whose technological abilities we lack. We are seriously considering this formula, and indeed, have begun promising discussions with parties concerned. We are looking forward to the meeting on food, and hope to elaborate this point there and then.

151. If the potential food-producing countries in the developing world were unable to maintain the momentum of their development efforts in this sector, it was essentially due to the unavailability of financial resources from abroad and the constant pressures on the very limited earnings at home due to a chaotic international monetary system. The vagaries of currency manipulations by the richer 10 nations of the world escalated the third-world debts by 3.6 per cent in 1971 and a further 3.1 per cent in 1973. Facilities from the IMF go to make the rich richer. Though they constitute 25 per cent of the membership, they get away with two

thirds of the funds available, while we who constitute 75 per cent of the membership get a mere one third of the funds.

152. The monetary crisis has been with us for the last 10 years, and none of the efforts in Stockholm in 1968, or the creation of the special drawing rights in 1969, or the meeting at The Hague in 1969, or the Nairobi meeting in 1973, could do much about it. One can readily see that currency problems developed over a long period and that the inflation side of it is the one that constitutes the real challenge. It is the root-cause of the chaos. Even those who have accepted inflation as a fact of life are no longer in a position to handle it. The head of the Cost of Living Council in the United States of America must have come to a real impasse when he despairingly declared: "we do not know how to control inflation . . . We simply don't know how to do it with our existing tools." The existing tools are simply inadequate. Inflation is passed on to us in our trade with the industrialized world. The third world has not been associated with the attempts to control it thus far. After all, inflation has a political side to it; it is not a purely economic question. Political rivalries among the powerful live on short-term public gains, quite oblivious to long-term costs. We do not have to read the memoirs of General de Gaulle to realize this. It is my sincere hope that one of the main results of our deliberations at this session will be to change those "existing tools".

153. On the question of financial resources, one cannot avoid discussing aid to development. The search for development assistance has lately gained a new momentum. The stringency of financial resources for development was never felt as acutely as it has been in the recent past. Despite the favourable response by some developed countries at certain times, the flow of financial resources to those who need it has so far made very little progress towards what the international community initially established as a target in the International Development Strategy for the current Development Decade.

154. The renewal of the international community's commitment to development evidently requires innovative action on a wide front out of a spirit of co-operation that genuinely seeks an integrated world economy, free from want and intolerable disparities. Some of us have shown evidence of understanding such a notion of solidarity and common goals. The response of the People's Republic of China has been striking in this respect. It gave us "aid" but it never used the word. Its philosophy of "co-operation" included possibilities of financing both the foreign and the local components of projects. That is an example to follow.

155. The needs of the developing countries for financial aid, technical assistance and foreign participation in investment in priority sectors is ever increasing. Recent economic events have added to their need for aid. Unless substantial additional resources are made available for them the hopes of hundreds of millions of people for advancement and progress will be shattered. This is a fact that has lately been recognized and analysed in a report of the World Bank that went further to suggest that since last year \$9,000 million had been added to the need for aid of the less developed nations.

<sup>3</sup> See *The World Food Problem: a report of the President's Science Advisory Committee*, vol. I, *Report of the Panel on the World Food Supply* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2142nd meeting.



156. Still, we try our best not to yield to pessimism. Poverty should not always generate despair. We are encouraged by a set of declarations of good intentions made by a number of developed countries in the course of this session. Other countries, developing themselves, have declared their willingness to co-operate and to lend a hand in the development of their sister countries. Kuwait offered a great deal. Iran pledged amounts that deserve high esteem. Saudi Arabia and other Arab oil-producing nations indicated an awareness of their responsibility and the role they could play. They added new dimensions to the very concept of co-operation among countries of the third world.

157. The second hurdle to plans for food production is a question all members of the Assembly have touched upon: the inordinate rise in population. There are a few places in the world that are yet underpopulated. South-East Asia, however, will double its population in 30 years, the African continent in 27 years, and Latin America in 24 years. In other words, the poorer countries double their population nearly every quarter of a century. Industrialized nations are in no grave danger immediately. All figures and percentages indicate that there is a direct link between poverty and high population growth. So also is there a difference between production of raw and of manufactured materials. One third of the world's population produces five sixths of the world's wealth; the remaining two thirds produces one sixth of the world's wealth. Incomes in India and Africa are less than one twentieth those in Japan and one fortieth those in America.

158. Aid cannot do the trick of providing for the teeming populations of the third world; they have to be helped to produce more and to multiply less. They cannot be helped if the rate of consumption in the countries keeps at the level obtaining now and the pillage of natural resources is not arrested. The plight of the United Nations World Food Programme does not encourage one to envisage a new future in which the poor will be propped up by the rich until they put their shaky economies in order. The World Food Programme is now 11 years old and nowhere near what it hopes to do. To finance the programme's activities charted last April, some \$400 million was needed; but soaring prices have pushed that figure up to \$850 million. The world has not been equal to the problem. The 49 member countries gave less than half of this minimum requirement, and the programme had to be cut proportionately.

159. Thanks to those who conceived this special session, attitudes are in the process of changing. The fragmented world, blinded by selfishness on the part of the powerful and by a loss of direction on the part of the weak, sat too long dismissing intelligent voices as radicals at times, visionaries at other times and even unpatriotic. To hear Mr. Kissinger say, "the developed nations must commit themselves to significant assistance for food and population programmes" [2214th meeting, para. 73], is a hopeful sign. The United Nations has been looking for a way to be the organization it should be; and here is a point of entry. This session should mark the beginning of an era of action and the end of the many years of frustrated ideals. The world community is ready to be guided by it. It is for the United Nations to come up to the expectations of men, women and children of the world.

160. The third difficulty that is faced by those who want to develop their agricultural and food production potential is the availability of fertilizers. The industry is not demonstrating the capability to meet current needs. Everywhere shortage glares at you. Phosphate supplies are said to be below demand for the coming two years, and nitrogen will not be available in required quantities before 1977. This is disheartening, especially when one considers that we are hoping to move on from our traditional grains to new varieties that, according to our experts, will need heavy applications of water and of fertilizer. Water does not worry us either now or in the foreseeable future, especially if the world community and money organizations come quickly to our aid—and their own aid for that matter—when we start implementing the many studies that have been made on increasing the waters of the Nile by saving billions of cubic metres of water from evaporation and waste in swamps and marshes. It is the fertilizers that worry us.

161. We are hoping against hope; it is not true that the industry is slackening because it does not pay enough to carry on. The story is grimmer when we listen to the Saudi Arabian Minister for Petroleum and Mineral Resources referring [2217th meeting] to the unconscionable practice of deliberately wasting gaseous resources that could be used for fertilizer production. Fertilizers must be provided for those who need them; and we in the developing countries are the ones who need them. Of the 1,600 million acres of currently cultivated land in developing areas, less than 7 per cent is now planted in the new seeds. To modernize our agriculture we require enormous investments in fertilizer capacity. To realize how insufficiently provided we are, one only has to recall that India alone can do with half the present world output if it were to apply fertilizers as much as is done in the Netherlands.

162. With that remark I leave you to ponder how much Africa needs in the coming decades if it is to arrest desertification by utilizing every acre of its lands and thus preventing the starvation which killed millions of human beings over the last seven years.

163. I have thus far tried to tackle the question of food problems, considered by us all as the greatest single menace facing the human race.

164. A nagging problem that should concern us all, however, is the impossibility of getting anywhere in our endeavours to combat the problems of hunger, population explosion, wasting of natural resources, excessive consumption of manufactured goods, expenditure on arms and even the danger of small wars because of the role some colossal corporations and transnational corporations play in shaping the economic destinies of men.

165. With regard to the giant national corporations, it is enough to see the revelations of the bodies investigating the machinations of those corporations in countries whose prosperity is envied by the world at large. The investigations in Japan, Italy and the United States may turn up nothing more than the normal manipulations of traders; but it does not seem so from what has transpired up to now. A United States Senate investigation sub-committee, for instance, was reported to have felt that corporate executives offered widely contradictory views to the Govern-

ment. Prices were regulated in such a way that companies discovered "incentives" to produce too little heating oil and too much gasoline in the winter of 1972-1973 and too much oil in the dry season of 1973. The sub-committee is reported to have complained:

"... throughout efforts at energy planning were sabotaged by lack of information. Even in the present crisis of Arab embargo, United States or European planners are apparently unable to discover which companies' tankers are where, with what cargo, from which nation..."

166. Some commentators are inclined to dismiss the revelations extensively reported in the papers as politically motivated stunts. I doubt that. Politicians are no angels; nor are they pure Satans. They know full well that to promote their careers they do not have to change the fabric of the body politic in their countries—for instance, resorting to nationalizing companies or injecting into their management a government-appointed prefect to see to it that companies do not abuse the consumers of their commodities.

167. These national companies must be looked into very carefully by concerned Governments in the industrialized part of the world, for those countries' safety and for the protection of us in the third world from their callous ways of amassing money for the few. We cannot afford them. The industrialized countries are rendered sheer pawns in their hands.

168. The story of the multinational corporations is one that makes one doubt whether the world order we are seeking can be established at all if they hold the whole world economy a prisoner of their interests, which usually transcend those of their home and host countries. Their power is as vast as the damage they do to the third world and, to a great degree, to the developed world as well.

169. The enormous size and spread of multinational corporations and their high rates of growth during the past two decades have considerably expanded the areas in which they can affect international relations and economic development. This has lately called for the concern of the international community to look into the nature, motives and behaviour of transnational corporations. If only one thing has already been proved it is their practice of tax evasion and repatriation of profits by illegal means.

170. Enough destruction of the economies of host countries has already been done. The outflow of capital has always been greater than the inflow. The benefit to a host country, if any, always remained minimal and insignificant. Nothing less than a code of conduct for the multinationals, to be drawn up by the United Nations, would be acceptable to the countries most affected by the problem they pose to the world. Their practices—or are they malpractices?—are so shrouded in mystery that one dare not approach them except with diffidence.

171. What we ought to do at this session is clear: we should not only adopt a resolution here, but the United Nations, being the custodian of our interests, should immediately find a method of probing into the finances and management of the multinational corporations, with a view to suppressing the unworthy through competent courts. In

a world which is shunning imperialism gradually these transnational corporations seem to be the last citadels of a bygone day.

172. Like most of us, I have dealt with the material factors of distress in our contemporary world. But, in the words of a contemporary analyst,

"... the gravity of the human prospect does not hinge alone, or even principally, on an estimate of the knowable external challenge of the future. To a far greater extent it is shaped by our appraisal of our capacity to meet those challenges. It is the flexibility of social classes, the resilience of socio-economic orders, the behaviour of nation States and ultimately the 'nature' of human beings that together form the basis of our expectations, optimistic or pessimistic, with regard to the human outlook."

173. My own personal feeling is that we are on the doorstep of a less gloomy future. This human element I referred to is not that impossible to change. And the change must come from within. One does not have to be a Moslem to appreciate the Koranic saying, "Allah changes not the condition of a folk until they first change that which is in their hearts".

174. Change from within is what we ought to strive for. The need for such a change is not only apparent, it is possible—indeed, it is imperative, for "Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates, and men decay". That was Oliver Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. The world of man deserves a better future. From what I have heard I do believe that the process has started.

175. Mr. GANAO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, at the beginning of my statement I should like to add my voice to yours and to the voices of all those who have preceded me here since last Monday in addressing myself to the delegation of Sierra Leone and asking it to accept the expression of my delegation's sincere condolences upon the death of Ambassador Taylor-Kamara, the distinguished diplomat whose tremendous human and professional qualities you and so many other speakers have eloquently stressed. I would simply add that Ambassador Taylor-Kamara will remain for all those who knew him a man of feeling and of method, an example of dedication to the cause of his country, of the United Nations and of mankind.

176. Turning to the questions before us, may I now respectfully hail the fortunate, courageous and timely initiative taken by President Houari Boumediène in calling for this sixth special session of the General Assembly, the first session entirely devoted to the problems of raw materials and development.

177. The Congolese people, which has started a historic stage of its revolution, that of the national democratic and popular revolution characterized essentially by the struggle for economic and cultural liberation, could not but fully and enthusiastically support such an initiative.

178. This session is taking place at a time in the history of mankind when the forces of progress, justice and peace have won many victories over the forces of evil and

oppression. It is today clearer than ever that the imperialist policy of aggression, domination and exploitation stands irrevocably condemned.

179. Everywhere in the world—in politics, economics and culture—the struggle for national emancipation is intensifying, growing clearer and more effective. Conversely, colonialism is in retreat, and neo-colonialism and imperialism have been unmasked and revealed in their most insidious manifestations, their most sophisticated guises, and are finally realizing that their reign, despite subtle devices, will soon come to a close.

180. This, then, is the international situation in which this special session is held.

181. The energy crisis, an acute manifestation of the general crisis of the imperialist system, was merely the straw that broke the camel's back. This crisis, while revealing the great contradictions of exploiting capital, will have among other results the historic merit of having pointed out the interdependence of our world's economies and the emptiness of certain superannuated illusions.

182. The evil inherent in the international economic order is even deeper. It concerns the intolerable inequalities that the industrialized countries have instituted in their economic relations with the developing nations.

183. The evil is thus to be found in the structure of international economic relations, in this asymmetrical system in which, as everyone knows and is happy to tell anyone who will listen, the rich grow richer at the cost of the poor who are each day a little poorer than the day before—the well-known phenomenon of the deterioration in the terms of trade, on which it does not seem to us necessary to expatiate.

184. The evil is in the restrictive trade practices to which capitalism subjects us, with limitation of exports to the industrialized countries, quotas, subsidies, fiscal measures, saving clauses, compensation rights—all measures whose dire effects on our fragile economies need no further demonstration.

185. The evil is the monetary erosion, the monetary disorder which makes even more dramatic the deficit in our balance of payments. Fluctuations of the principal currencies of the system make it even more impossible to forecast accurately for economic development and give rise to galloping inflation which not only aggravates the deterioration in the terms of trade but furthermore exhausts such modest reserves as the third world may have, deepening the already alarming difficulties of our harshly exploited countries.

186. The evil is development assistance which, far from being a contribution to the national effort, is more and more used as a means of domination, blackmail and even in certain cases finally a burden because of the subsequent outflow of the capacity for savings to which it gives rise: high interest rates, overly short repayment periods, repatriation of profits built into the aid programmes, improper orientation and so on. One cannot help agreeing with those who have spoken of aid which in reality aids the one who aids.

187. This picture, objectively bleak, is far from comprehensive. However, this brief analysis would be too discreet if I were not to mention the sinister role played by the transnational corporations in the developing countries where, a State within a State, they demand obviously exorbitant advantages while at the same time engaging in blackmail and subversion.

188. That is the evil, the real evil, from which our world suffers. I am not sure that I have succeeded, in this brief analysis of the system which now prevails in international economic relations, in giving a comprehensive picture. But I do so deliberately because everyone is aware that this problem is not knocking on the door of our Organization for the first time. On the contrary, it suffices to refer to the various sessions of UNCTAD and the meetings of the non-aligned countries to see that we have here a whole history which is familiar to all our delegations.

189. The alarm raised by the third world inviting the industrialized countries to take measures to put international economic relations on just and more rational foundations does not date from today.

190. This initiative, made more precise and more firm in Algiers seven months ago, was not born of a search for alms or an operation of blackmail; on the contrary, it places this grave problem in its true context. The countries in the Group of 77 are seeking rather to express their determination to co-operate sincerely with all in the reciprocal interest of the world's peoples, convinced as they are in this case that confrontation between power and right is ambiguous and illusory.

191. The aim is to invite all the countries of our planet to establish mutual co-operation based on a new international economic order from which the Malthusian egoism of nations or groups of nations would be banished as would sordid pressures and blackmail.

192. The objective is not to impoverish the rich but to enable the poor better to control their economies.

193. Allow me to mention an example which I know well, that of my own country. In the People's Republic of the Congo the economic development strategy was defined in the programme of the Congolese Labour Party under the direction of President Marien N'Gouabi. This programme calls for the establishment within a reasonable time period of an independent national economy, the only guarantee for the realization of the Congolese people's material and spiritual aspirations and the only guarantee of subsequent progress. For this purpose the Congolese Labour Party recommends: one, that the Congolese people rely on themselves; two, that the national economic and cultural heritage plundered by colonialism and neo-colonialism be progressively recovered; and, three, that the agricultural, mineral and power resources of the nation be used to build industry from which it will be possible for the country to take off economically.

194. As can be seen, this programme, the expression of the legitimate aspirations of the Congolese working masses, is in keeping with the concerns and the objectives of the non-aligned countries and the recommendations of the

United Nations itself. I am thinking, among other things, of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly on nationalization and the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources.

195. There is thus every reason for the international community to encourage and support such a step, for the community of nations is in duty bound to take this course, which is the only viable one, and the only way that our world may succeed in ushering in an era of harmonious equilibrium and fertile stability, without which no nation will ever be safe from seismic upheavals such as the one we are today experiencing.

196. Such an approach also means an end to the press campaigns of lying accusations which speak of plunder when the exploited countries try to recover their property. It means an end to manoeuvres of blackmail, diversion and division which seek to win acceptance of the idea that the increase in the value of raw materials will accelerate the search for substitute products or worsen world inflation.

197. It is deliberately forgotten even that inflation antedated the increase in oil prices, that it was due essentially to structural conditions characterizing the world economy. Distinguished economists have demonstrated that the impact of the increased oil prices on inflation is very negligible and that, in any case, a system in which fair prices automatically lead to a dangerous process of inflation certainly deserves to be changed without further delay.

198. The oil price increases have undoubtedly had some worrying repercussions for the economies of the third-world countries, and we are grateful to the representatives of the industrialized nations for their sudden commiseration in regard to the wretched of the earth—for their stressing this fact here or elsewhere. But we are entitled to wonder what real effort has been undertaken by those nations, before or after the price increases, to assist the least-developed countries to improve their economic structure.

199. And even when some of the third-world countries have been tragic victims of natural disaster—drought here, flood there, cyclones or earthquakes elsewhere, and so forth—no country or group of developed countries has provided thoroughgoing assistance which would both make good the immediate consequences and prevent the recurrence of such disasters. Yet, arms expenditures continue their upward trend with Olympian indifference.

200. It is here that we see clearly the dichotomy between our words and our acts.

201. This session should, in a committed declaration and a precise programme of action, define the broad outlines of our action for tomorrow.

202. Unions of raw-material producers, like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] and the International Bauxite Association, just established in Conakry, need to be encouraged.

203. A monetary system in a state of chronic collapse, superannuated trading machinery and international economic relations based on inequality are, we repeat once

again, the true, salient features of today's world. Our task is clear: instead of denying the shadows, we must try together, in an objective spirit, in the interests of each and every one, to consider the most effective way of helping our Organization to establish new structures better adapted to today's realities and better prepared for the trials of tomorrow in a world caught up in the whirlwind of change.

204. International development assistance, both massive and specific, freed of any neo-colonial taint, must be found to speed the economic take-off of developing countries.

205. This is an appropriate time and place to mention the encouraging initiatives taken by the Arab and other oil producers, individually or collectively, on behalf of the third-world nations confronted in this particularly grave international situation with serious difficulties, and warmly to welcome those initiatives. They are a practical expression of the solidarity which should obtain among countries of the third world—a solidarity which will thus represent a far from negligible contribution to the domestic efforts of each of these countries in their struggle against under-development, domination and exploitation.

206. Those are the reflections which, on behalf of the Congolese Labour Party, President Marien N'Gouabi instructed the delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo to place before this session for its consideration—this session whose proceedings, Mr. President, you so brilliantly direct.

207. Our hope is that the totality of positive considerations voiced here will be the subject of careful study, culminating in the adoption of an unequivocal declaration accompanied by an action programme which, in an impetus of solidarity among all the world's peoples, will restore as soon as possible the essential equilibrium in international economic relations.

208. Mr. REYES (Philippines): I feel privileged to take a modest part in this fateful dialogue initiated by the leader of Algeria, President Boumediène. The participation of several Heads of State and so many senior ministers attests to its importance. From its opening moment, a sense of history in the making has informed this general debate, which has also been marked by a significant paradox. This is the first time that any session of the General Assembly has been devoted exclusively to the economic problems confronting a divided world. Its central issue seemed made to order for confrontation. Yet the debate has been, on the whole, constructive.

209. True, there have been undertones of bitterness and recrimination, as well as isolated attempts to make political capital out of the situation. But the main thrust of the debate has been towards the recognition of a fundamental convergence of interests and an acceptance of the urgent need to manifest it in a new, more rational and more equitable economic order.

210. Perhaps the fact that the Assembly is meeting in the context of interrelated crisis has had a sobering effect. Critical shortages of fuel, food and fertilizers; relentless population pressures against a backdrop of spreading famine; runaway inflation and its ruinous effect on the



daily lives of entire populations—all these are global problems demanding global solutions. The severity of their combined impact has shaken the old economic order to its foundations.

211. The new watchword is "interdependence". It is really an old theme, but this time something new has been added. The vital missing element of political will has shown signs of finally emerging.

212. Even with the best will in the world, however, the contemplated restructuring of economic relationships on a world-wide scale will require time to complete. Our task in this Assembly is to begin constructively this lengthy and complex process. Taking advantage of the compelling need which has already generated a readiness for joint action by all concerned parties—industrialized and developing, rich and poor—we should try to adopt, preferably by consensus, a declaration of principles and a programme of action along the lines of the proposals of the Group of 77, with which we are in basic agreement. Our aim should be to give the envisaged restructuring of economic relations constructive shape, impetus and direction and to place it firmly on the bedrock of equitable interdependence.

213. It is in that spirit that we should consider the various specific proposals now before us. We of the Philippine delegation are impressed by the sincerity, scope and constructive character of many of the proposals. In particular, we would support the adoption of an integrated plan for the stabilization of the prices and markets of a comprehensive list of primary commodities with the aim of ensuring adequate increases of the foreign-exchange earnings of the developing countries. The plan should provide reference prices and a mechanism for sufficient periodic increases in the prices of each commodity group to balance the effects of world inflation and currency fluctuations.

214. In our view, any code of international economic behaviour to be formulated by the Assembly should include a principle providing that producers or manufacturers should not unilaterally increase the prices of their export products without considering the over-all relationship of such increases with those of other primary commodities and manufactures.

215. To that end, the Philippine delegation would propose the establishment of an international advisory body that would impartially monitor the implementation of the proposed integrated plan. Its function suggests the unwieldy but technically correct title "Advisory Panel on the Determination and Regulation of the Relative Prices of Raw Materials and Manufactures". That advisory panel would be composed of eminent experts who would be authorized to submit advice and make appropriate recommendations to the Economic and Social Council, which is the principal United Nations organ responsible for defining policies and co-ordinating economic and social activities within the United Nations system. The advisory panel's reports should be made available to UNCTAD and other concerned United Nations bodies. In addition, the advisory panel could be asked to monitor the implementation of any declaration of principles and programme of action which may be adopted by the Assembly.

216. In the spirit of equitable interdependence inspired by this special session, we pledge our full co-operation in the elaboration and adoption of the envisaged declaration of principles and programme of action, as well as in the long-term task of their proper implementation. At the same time, we feel in duty bound to call attention to some serious problems requiring immediate action during the uncertain and dangerous interim period between now and the actual restructuring of the world economy.

217. In a Declaration adopted unanimously in Colombo on 5 April, just a fortnight ago, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) at its thirtieth session proclaimed food, energy, raw materials and the need for external financing resources as the Asian region's most urgent priorities requiring expeditious action.<sup>5</sup> Recognizing that these are in reality world-wide problems, the ECAFE members called upon the world community to focus its own highest priority on concerted action to ensure adequate food supplies and a sufficient flow of external financial resources for the nations of the Asian region.

218. Like many others, we are particularly concerned with the food crisis. As we are all aware, the ravages of the prolonged drought in Africa have remained unchecked, and the progressive desertification of the fringe areas continues. At the same time, as the ECAFE Declaration indicates, many countries in other areas are confronted with famine or near-famine conditions due to the world-wide food shortage. As the most vulnerable group in the population, children are doomed to suffer first and suffer most in such a situation. In co-operation with the Food and Agriculture Organization, and with donor as well as recipient Governments, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is using all the means at its disposal to help the nations affected. It is emphasizing the need for preventive action in order to forestall unnecessary suffering.

219. In that connexion we should note with appreciation the generous response of the Saudi Arabian Government, which recently contributed \$50 million to the World Food Programme. A week ago this Assembly was informed of the Canadian Government's approval of an additional \$100 million over and above its originally projected programme to meet emergency needs in developing countries, particularly for food and fertilizer. And just three days ago [2214th meeting] the Assembly heard a United States promise to increase assistance to agricultural productivity programmes and also to make a major effort to increase the quantity of food given as aid over last year's level.

220. Closely linked with the food shortage is the present scarcity and high prices of fertilizers. The Philippine delegation shares the hope that the ECAFE proposal for the establishment of a world fertilizer fund<sup>6</sup> will merit wide support and speedy implementation. The fund is intended to help developing countries to procure fertilizers at reasonable prices and to expand fertilizer production.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 5*, part 111, resolution 140 (XXX).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, resolution 142 (XXX).

221. The energy crisis is, of course, a major factor in this situation, greatly affecting, as it does, the financial capacity of non-producers of oil to pay for their importations of food and fertilizers.

222. The case of the Philippines illustrates the plight of many developing countries. Largely due to the higher costs of oil and other imported products, Philippine import payments are due to increase from \$1,417 million in 1973 to \$2,350 million in 1974, representing a rise of \$933 million or 66 per cent. Despite the energy conservation measures adopted by the Philippine Government, our petroleum import bill of \$205 million in 1973 is due to increase to about \$800 million in 1974.

223. In other words, the Philippines' total petroleum bill of \$800 million represents about one third of our total import payments and about 40 per cent of our total foreign exchange earnings from exports. The serious impact on our economy is apparent from those figures.

224. Moreover, the increase of about \$600 million in the cost of petroleum products would be superimposed upon two other adverse factors. The first is the present lack of agricultural products imported in the past under United States Public Law 480. The second is the substantial increase in the prices of other basic import requirements such as fertilizers, raw cotton and steel. In the case of wheat grain, raw cotton and blending tobacco alone, cash import payments will increase in 1974 by about \$135 million.

225. The over-all increase in import payments in 1974, as I have noted, is projected at \$933 million or 66 per cent. On the other hand, export receipts, which reached the amount of \$1,710 million in 1973, are expected to remain at the same level in 1974 due to the programmed cutbacks in log exports, for conservation purposes, and to the anticipated softening in the world prices of some of our other export products during the second half of 1974. Under this adverse projection, the \$670 million over-all surplus which the Philippines realized in 1973 would disappear. In its place, a deficit of \$295 million would be incurred in 1974.

226. In the case of poor countries, losses of this magnitude would threaten to wipe out almost overnight the economic gains painstakingly made over the years. National development programmes would be jeopardized. The populations concerned would be subjected to severe economic strains leading to political and social upheavals like those which are already occurring in some parts of the world.

227. These are objective realities relevant to our general debate. They were so regarded by ECAFE. The report of its thirtieth session recognized the complexities and the widespread impact of the energy crisis, coupled with its interrelationship with global inflation in general and with the growing world-wide shortage of food and raw materials in particular.

228. Within this broad context, the implications of the energy crisis, particularly on agricultural and industrial development, were nevertheless considered by ECAFE as matters of grave concern, inasmuch as they could lead to

the disruption of development programmes, further deterioration in the already low standards of living in the developing countries of the region, especially the least developed among them, and could prevent the attainment of the targets established for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

229. This is a polite way of saying that a number of Asian countries are being driven to the wall financially and are in urgent need of assistance. We of the Philippine delegation are therefore gratified to note from the debate how sincerely this concern is shared by a number of the countries which are in a position to help alleviate the situation.

230. Some of the leading industrialized countries have come forward with assurances of increased aid to the poor nations, pledges to maintain and even to raise the level of international co-operation for development, and a new commitment to participate in a joint undertaking to restructure the world economy. Those countries deserve credit for their wisdom and realism.

231. Of particular significance, in our view, is their implicit acceptance of the principle that substantially increased economic assistance to the developing countries should be an essential part of any new structure of economic relations between rich and poor nations.

232. For their part, the oil-exporting countries have shown a commendable sense of responsibility. Their constructive approach has been warmly welcomed by the Philippines and other ECAFE members in a resolution adopted on 5 April and circulated to the Assembly in document A/9546. In that resolution, ECAFE invited this special session to consider means of giving early effect to "... the initiatives which the oil-exporting countries are taking to help other developing countries ...". It cites:

"... in particular, the commitments of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah Arya-Mohr of Iran, to provide the equivalent of not less than \$US 1,000 million to international financial institutions and his initiatives for the establishment of a fund on soft terms, to which major oil-exporting countries and industrialized countries would be invited to contribute, for the purpose of assisting the developing countries in alleviating their immediate balance of payments difficulties and in implementing their development projects and programmes".<sup>7</sup>

233. Since the adoption of the ECAFE resolution, my delegation has been gratified to learn that Saudi Arabia last year extended development aid amounting to \$2,000 million from its oil-export earnings, and has been the major participant in three different funds providing development financing, besides giving supplies of fertilizer produced in Saudi Arabia to poor countries in need of it. Iraq has commitments to contribute \$500 million, mostly in the form of grants and loans to developing countries. The Government of Kuwait intends to increase the capital of its Development Fund from \$600 million to over \$3,000 million, and would extend economic assistance to other developing countries, including non-Arab countries.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, resolution 146 (XXX).

234. Thus we find developing countries rising above past grievances and moving to meet the affluent, developed countries halfway in fashioning a just and meaningful new structure of economic interdependence. The poor countries, especially the former colonies, could have come to this special session with nothing more than a bill of indictment of past wrongs that could have torn this Assembly apart. The rich countries could have been tempted to retaliate. A situation of out-and-out confrontation could have arisen. Instead, we see the beginnings of economic statesmanship of a high order.

235. Is it too much to expect that this and other hopeful aspects might prevail, and prevail in time, over the menacing implications of the grave predicament that necessitated the holding of this special session?

236. The situation brings to mind the apocalyptic words of U Thant, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations. In his statement at the opening meeting of the Conference on the Second United Nations Development Decade sponsored by the Institute on Man and Science, U Thant said:

"I do not wish to seem overdramatic, but I can only conclude from the information that is available to me as Secretary-General that the Members of the United Nations have perhaps 10 years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts.

"If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control."

237. That statement was made on 9 May 1969, almost exactly five years ago. It could be prophetic, but it does not have to be. It is undoubtedly within our power, acting in constructive collaboration under the Charter, to make it go down in history as nothing more than a necessary and timely reminder, as U Thant himself intended it to be.

238. We incline to the hopeful view because we dare not despair. We are in a situation of which it can be truly said that failure is not an acceptable alternative.

239. We have noted another hopeful aspect of this general debate. It is the fresh disposition to make fuller use of the United Nations and its family of agencies in coping with the welter of crises that beset our world. Recourse to the United Nations is not only logical but wise, in our view, for it is in the United Nations that all our global problems come together and it is here, in the presence and with the participation of all Member countries, that global solutions must be found. It is here in the United Nations that the decisive effort must be made, before it is too late, to form that global partnership—of which U Thant spoke—that the times and mankind's overriding need demand.

240. In his thoughtful and perceptive introductory statement, the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, delineated the precise role which the United Nations could play in helping

to resolve the present crisis. He also summed up succinctly the meaning, purpose and potential of this special session in the following words, which are worth reiterating:

"This special session is a recognition of the necessity to redress the disparities that afflict our world and the contrasts between affluence and poverty, frustration and opportunity, conspicuous consumption and destitution. It recognizes the need to reconcile sovereignty over natural resources, the availability of raw materials, and the way in which they are used. It recognizes both the necessity of conserving natural resources and of distributing them more equitably. It recognizes the burning need for greater international economic and social justice. It recognizes the role of international co-operation and organization as the lifeline to the future. Finally, it recognizes that today no one can benefit from a sterile confrontation. This Assembly affords an opportunity . . . provided we maintain the present sense of urgency, to lay the foundations for a world-wide economic system founded in equity and justice." [2207th meeting, para. 55.]

241. I shall conclude with two other quotations which strike me as most apropos at this time. The first quotation is taken from a report on the Conference on Human Survival, which was held here in the United Nations from 25 to 28 May 1970. The author of the report was the Chairman of the Conference. He was Lester B. Pearson, one of the most distinguished of the former Presidents of the General Assembly, and these were his words:

"Our mood is somber but not despairing.

"We view the human condition with great apprehensions but nothing is clearer to us than that answers to the problems of our time are well within human capability. We are confident that a world can be created in which all peoples may lead lives free from the threat of man-made holocaust, free from hunger, disease, and homelessness, free from the environmental menace we have brought upon ourselves.

"The extent to which these hopes can be realized is directly tied to the full development of the United Nations. Indeed, it is difficult to contemplate the future of human society with any genuine optimism unless the United Nations is given the means and the authority to act effectively in those matters concerned with common dangers and common needs."<sup>8</sup>

242. The second quotation is from the statement made by His Excellency President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines before the General Assembly in September 1966. On that occasion, President Marcos said:

"Before it is too late"—and there is not much time to spare—"a world-wide framework of peace, orderly co-operation and coexistence must be built, enabling East and West, North and South, to work together, and together enrich and prolong man's life span on earth."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See *Conference on Human Survival: transcript of proceedings* (Dayton, Ohio, Charles F. Kettering Foundation, 1970), pp. 128-129.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1411th meeting, para. 44.

243. Mr. GALINDO POHL (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my first words will be to congratulate an illustrious son of Ecuador, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its sixth special session. Our pleasure at seeing you preside over the twenty-eighth session was justified by your experienced discharge of your important duties. That background presents the best of auguries for this new occasion on which we will benefit from your well-known and recognized ability and experience.

244. When the General Assembly deals with an item such as that of raw materials and development, it touches one of the most sensitive questions in contemporary international relations. The item has occupied and preoccupied the United Nations for some years, but little by little it passed from the political approach to the technical approach, divided into different sections. The present debate takes up that item from the political point of view. Under the heading "Study of the problems of raw materials and development" the old question of the terms of trade reappears because, while the present formula is very vast, its essence is the terms of trade, which have continued to deteriorate since the end of the Second World War.

245. The distinction between developed and developing countries would not in itself be a source of concern because every development seems to be achieved by means of nuclei which gradually influence the outer limits, thus increasing the periphery. Accordingly, the relative advantage would be temporary and would yield to the process which impresses an expansive character on development centres. But in the contemporary international community, it would seem that this internal imbalance in development is not a mere problem of growth; it is a phenomenon that is more profound and almost indelible in character which defies all conventional prescriptions and the more or less scientific or political efforts to reverse it, remove it or lessen it.

246. This shows that there is a problem of structures which distorts the normal process and which can be attributed to remote historical causes. Measures designed to reverse the growing trend of separating the two groups in the international community have failed. Every effort at co-operation, systematically made through world and regional organizations, every plan and all the means recommended by the technicians, have proved to be ineffective. Perhaps they are not in themselves ineffective, but they came at the wrong time or in meagre, miserly doses conceded out of a calculation of political advantages and as an instalment payment on later demands. Need I recall the famous 1 per cent of the gross national product which was considered to be sufficient to eliminate the internal imbalance that I have mentioned, but which came too little and too late, when the problems that it was supposed to remedy had increased and become more acute. Other remedies also failed, perhaps because of the delays. The fact is that direct investments or investments by means of loans proved to be insufficient, and furthermore gave birth to new problems, including insolvency, the excessive export of currency in the form of interest and amortization payments, and continued dependence on external credit.

247. If the only achievement of the present special session of the General Assembly is the real mobilization of the

political will of States to confront the question of the terms of trade—a contemporary social disease—which the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Sixth Special Session started to consider in depth a few days ago, then this session will close with a positive balance. It cannot be expected that in three weeks we can find the formulas, like miraculous panaceas, that will allow us to resolve so complex a question. Not even in the world of technology would the balm of Fierabras or Aladdin's lamp be able to do so.

248. In these debates we must maintain a sense of our limitations; but we must also maintain the feeling that social work requires time and also needs constant care, profound study and the availability of appropriate means. The fallacy of the panacea is not the impossibility of solving the question. The removal of the question from behind-the-scenes negotiations, its ventilation in the open air, its solution in accordance with the principles which should inspire economic relations and its reintroduction into the programmes of international organizations as a matter of priority, would mean a recognition of the need to state and restate its political dimensions on a world-wide level and to subordinate partial, technical discussion to a general political approach, so as to provide uniform and appropriate guidelines in accordance with the structure, functions and background of the contemporary international community.

249. The political approach to the question of the terms of trade requires frank, firm and truthful consideration, perhaps at times a disconcertingly harsh consideration, of the dimensions and characteristics of the community where the terms of trade deteriorate. Nothing is to be gained by pious concealment. There can be no realistic consideration of this problem outside the context of the divergent interests of the developed and the developing countries, of the vestiges of the colonial era, of recognition that international economic relations today disproportionately benefit the industrialized countries which, through them, increase their normal advantage, which is the result of their advanced technology.

250. The solidarity of the developing countries cannot be built on the moving sands of complacency and the discreet forgetfulness of the facts of life. The solidarity of the developing countries must be built on facts and figures which are subjected to a rigorous analysis, because this will be the only way to overcome the difficulties which assault the firmest alliances and even the most sound family ties.

251. Having clarified the objectives, the appropriate means must be provided. Here at the United Nations the objectives are presented in a grandiloquent tone, propitious for animating enthusiasm and for inspiring the wings of fancy and the colours of hope. But the means provided are generally scanty and usually granted with hesitancy and reluctance. If we really want to attack the question of raw materials and development, the appropriate means must be provided, means as grandiose as the objectives that are defined.

252. The objectives and the means must then be quantified by organizing them in programmes and distributing them to the entities charged with their implementation. The task thus conceived is so immense that its mere



expression may plunge us into discouragement and hence to a quest for a convenient way out of an embarrassing situation ironically called "a diplomatic solution".

253. Without knowing where we are going or why, we lack direction for sustained action and for the methods which measure the results of efforts and the investments of knowledge and technology, which are sometimes as important as, or more important than, economic investments, because they can generate them. In this sense, declarations of principle and doctrine are important, but they must be supplemented by programmes of action. The social sciences must be adjusted to the international world and contribute to the elucidation of questions and the finding of solutions. Therefore, that policy must be followed by science, particularly in our time when science sets the pace of progress and its applications reflect the measure of possible well-being.

254. What I have said is built on the assumption that sufficient and timely political measures can influence and to some extent redirect the so-called normal trend of economic and social development. If this is accepted within national States, by the entire administration of Governments, political parties and pressure groups, then the same role must be recognized for it internationally, even though here the difficulties are greater and events are far more complex because of the absence of a single body to make decisions and because of the convergence of very dissimilar interests and cultures.

255. Political measures, in order to be coherent and consistent, must be based on general principles, and accordingly they emanate from declarations of doctrine which constitute their theoretical source and their point of confluence and reference, viability and evaluation. Hence the importance of a declaration of principles as a result of the present session of the General Assembly. These principles should include one which relates international relations to measurement or judgement on the basis of proportional justice. If we look at the question of the terms of trade from the point of view of distributive justice, we see that it must be given concrete shape in the form of mechanisms and organizations which will give according to the available resources and will ask according to need. Here at the United Nations slowly, almost imperceptibly, the application of principles of justice to international relations has been incubating. The Charter deals with the case only marginally, because it is primarily directed at an association of States founded on security; but to go to the substance of materials and events, security itself is the mere maintenance of the *status quo*, with all its imbalances, and to some extent it is a barrier to the normal process of evolution. The evolution of the international community is compatible with security by remeasuring international relations by means of principles, and in particular by the standards of justice. The legitimate war of our times is the war against under-development.

256. The declaration which could be one of the outstanding results of this Assembly will probably contain nothing very new. It will have to organize principles which have been proclaimed in other instruments, using the criteria of coherence, harmony and unity, in connexion with the item on raw materials and development. But this declaration should include analytical developments of well-known

principles, leading towards applications. That is to say, the contents should be enriched by means of specifics which will make it possible to guide the studies, plans and programmes which the United Nations and the specialized agencies will have to implement.

257. The plan of action, as distinct from the declaration of general principles, must be specific. A plan of action conceived in general terms would be vague and imprecise and subject to the most varied interpretations and, therefore, would lack impact in international politics. The plan of action should assign concrete tasks to the United Nations organs. If the Economic and Social Council were to receive a mandate to co-ordinate the activities in connexion with this item concerning raw materials and development, its role would be clear if we knew for a certainty what was expected of it and what the United Nations considered should be the new scheme for international economic relations.

258. I should point out now the risk of a consensus based on removing all meaning from resolutions, a process which produces documents which are veritable gems in the art of satisfying all interests but which in practice are of no use to anyone because in the resolutions prepared under these criteria day and night can be fitted in, black and white, what is positive and what is negative. This exercise in removing meaning may be useful in some cases, but it has some limits, particularly when it is a matter of very specific problems, problems which wound the very flesh of most human beings. One way for this session of the General Assembly to fail would be to adopt resolutions by consensus on the basis of this technique, which leads to lack of precision and to misunderstanding.

259. The growing gap between the developed and the developing countries has no abstract or imprecise characteristics; on the contrary, it has very concrete and specific characteristics. The deterioration in the terms of trade is a concrete, quantifiable event, and the same can be said for the instability of the monetary system and of one article of export which the developing countries do not wish to buy from the industrial countries: their inflation. Then, too, the failure of the First United Nations Development Decade has been very specific, and the foreseeable failure of the Second Decade is also very specific. I am not thereby suggesting that these Decades have been in vain, because some results have been forthcoming, even though they were palliatives, but they are failures measured in terms of the goals which the United Nations had proposed should be achieved through them. The truth remains that with or without these Decades the relative gap between the developed and the developing countries will continue to double every 15 years.

260. The disease of the internal imbalance of the international community has been resistant to remedy and indeed has rather become more acute. Some time ago it was thought that indebtedness was the panacea, and international organizations offered credits profusely. Those who uncritically bought that policy, convinced by what it was said economic technique counselled, plunged into insolvency, because those credits had to be repaid with interest, and the economies which had been brought to life by their influx artificially increased consumption and this led to an

imbalance in the balance of payments and the need for refinancing new credits when funds had to be sent abroad.

261. Trade, which brings every country its own funds, is superior to indebtedness, including indebtedness by means of soft loans, although indebtedness, particularly of the last kind, can serve as an additional means of development. On the resources obtained by trade there is no interest or amortization to be paid. If by broadly shared policy it were possible to find mechanisms, some of them of a compensatory kind, to restore the terms of trade, the developing countries could finance their own development programmes by themselves, without the additional burdens of interest and amortization which sometimes come at the most inconvenient times.

262. The cardinal point of the new scheme for international economic relations must be the international division of labour and the local processing of raw materials which are exported by the developing countries.

263. It is relevant to point out the importance of the recognition of the full and unreserved sovereignty of each country over its natural resources—which in United Nations parlance is called permanent sovereignty over natural resources in order to indicate that, whatever arrangements are made for exploitation and administration, the possessor's sovereignty remains intact. From this principle consequences flow which must be considered in dealing with a number of controversies and problems which will have to be resolved during coming months. Of course, at this time, particularly, with the increase in prices of essential fuels and the world-wide food shortage, the shipping Powers must recognize the right of sovereignty of the coastal State over its national maritime zone, including renewable and non-renewable resources.

264. Apart from the problems of the transfer of technology, investments and technical training, the developing countries sometimes have domestic markets too small to benefit from mass production. For those countries the creation of larger socio-economic areas becomes indispensable, and therefore an acceleration of integration programmes constitutes one of the great instruments for development. The international community should recognize, advocate and support, as part of its new structure, the formation of zones of integration and accordingly indicate a series of encouragements, advantages and means that will lead to development by way of integration.

265. Those who supply technology, know-how and machinery will benefit by other means from such arrangements because ultimately the developed countries have their best clients in other developed countries. To cure the disease of internal imbalance would bring a healthy vigour to the international community and every member would benefit.

266. Recent events that for the first time led a group of developing countries to set on their own initiative the price of one of their export products, oil, are of the greatest importance. If that were an isolated measure then the countries with the weakest economies that are net importers of oil would suffer more than the industrial countries. But if that was the first step to raise and stabilize the prices

of raw materials it might represent the beginning of a new era in international relations. We are pleased to learn that this is the purpose of the countries which have taken those measures to save their economies. They are pioneers of the train of claims through which they will adopt an attitude like that of the developed countries which themselves set the price of their technology. Obviously the second alternative underlies the convening of this Assembly, because within it other developing countries can compensate, through their own raw materials, for the increase in the cost of fuel. Were it otherwise the chain would break at its weakest link—in this case, developing countries which are net fuel importers.

267. Some time ago the United Nations had the wisdom to single out among the developing countries the subgroup which is least developed [*resolution 2768 (XXVII)*]. There are approximately 25 States in that group. Given specific circumstances and problems, other subgroups and categories would have to be established to benefit from compensatory mechanisms, taking into account that the economic measures for saving the economies of the oil exporters are not directed against their fellow developing countries, which are in a relatively disadvantageous position but have nevertheless been indirectly affected against the will and purpose of those who have adopted such measures. If we define new subgroups and categories of countries, this should be done within the common denominator of the interest and solidarity of the developing countries, so that they would receive special treatment in proportion to their relative disadvantages.

268. In the present situation of the world economy the industrialized countries are far better able to bear the rising fuel costs than the developing countries, particularly those which are net importers of essential fuels. By raising production costs the industrialized countries will probably raise their prices even further, which means the terms of trade will be further dislocated and there will be a greater gap and deterioration. The developing countries which have the foreign exchange may be able to pay it, but those which do not and cannot increase their monetary resources through their raw materials for export will suffer additional depression and compression. The weakest party in this game is too obvious to have to be mentioned by name.

269. Recent economic events must be analysed on a world-wide level and within the context of its complex conditions and interrelationships in order to prevent a repetition of the price-wage race in some national economies of the developed countries, as a result of which the nominal advantages far outweigh the real advantages. Therefore, while unilateral measures deserve our full appreciation because they constitute valuable initiatives in that they break the monotony of established channels and have a psychological and political impact, they must be viewed, in the interrelationship of factors, in a double dimension in respect of economic decision centres which are not unilateral, but bilateral and even multilateral. The crux of the matter is to avoid a race between the prices of raw materials and the prices of industrial goods, between exports of the developing countries and exports of the developed countries and between unilateral measures on one side or the other. That is to say, we must endeavour to restore genuine and just terms of trade, not on a purely nominal basis.

270. The developing countries urgently need equitable remunerative and stable prices for their products, in particular stable prices—as stable as the prices of the goods sold by the industrialized countries. This could in turn be obtained by means of political decisions on a world-wide basis which would organize the market and use compensatory mechanisms for the subgroups of countries which are singled out in accordance with specific criteria as regards their relative disadvantages. That is to say, policy agreements would have an effect on the mechanical interplay of economic forces, transforming it into rational and reasonable play and removing from it historical distortions. This result of a global policy would have to be obtained necessarily and inevitably by means of the full agreement of the two groups of countries—the developing and the developed. Of course, we would wish that this were possible merely because of the will of the developing countries, but what we would like is one thing and the reality we have to face and deal with is quite another.

271. The specific situation of the net fuel importers might be made to revert to the 1973 level by a policy of raising and stabilizing the prices of other raw materials. But a global treatment of the terms of trade necessarily requires the agreement of both groups of countries. In the absence of these two types of measures, it is obvious who will pay: in the absence of the former, the net oil importers; in the absence of the second, all the developing countries, including the oil-exporting countries.

272. Countries which have no oil have quite rightly to advocate research for new sources of energy and the development of the technology for its use. The phenomenon of under-development is to be seen in large measure in the tropical countries which have abundant sunshine. The commercial and economic use of solar energy could represent for them the differential which would promote their prosperity.

273. The measures which unleash an important process of revision, which compel everyone to think and which make the industrial countries feel that another world exists side by side with them in conditions of inferiority are important

because they exercise pressure in a way which words never achieved during 25 years, for 25 years ago in international gatherings we were already talking of the deterioration in the terms of trade. But the long-term impact of such measures will of necessity depend on the change of the terms of trade for all primary products exported by the developing countries, and this must be the result of policy agreements and decisions of world-wide scope which will commit all the members of the international community. The process of correction must be started by a study in depth of the question of the terms of trade—to the first phase of which the General Assembly is now devoted. There must follow a dialogue between all the members of the international community—the second phase. This is to be followed up by negotiations—this is the intermediate phase—and must lead to global agreements. That would be the final phase. That is to say, the solution of this problem, the cure for this disease, must be the result of a genuine spirit of co-operation able to abandon traditional standards and to find imaginative solutions, abandoning the vestiges of the policy of economic superiority which is based on the impoverishment of others. The correction of the terms of trade is the responsibility and task of all and on a long-term basis is in accord with the interests of all the members of the international community.

274. But the issue is so complex and requires such a large dose of goodwill and such an abandonment of dogma that it seems at times as though we were attempting to repeat that mythical exercise where the barrel is never filled because magic nullifies all efforts while it keeps the actors full of encouragement. To fill the barrel might take generation after generation. To wait for a correction in the terms of trade might be an eternal wait, an eternal labour. But we trust that the international community is now in a period of maturity equivalent to a stage of rationality which will enable it to break the magic of social myths and the reverential fear of the impossible—when, for science and technology, nothing is impossible any longer—and reverse the illusions of those who died, as in Samuel Beckett's drama, waiting for Godot.

*The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.*