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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Koh (Singapore), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

## AGENDA ITEM 55

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I wish at the outset to express my regret that we are beginning the meeting some 25 minutes after our appointed time. President Salim has repeatedly emphasized the need for us to begin our work promptly and I must appeal to all representatives to come to meetings on time. I address this appeal especially to those whose names are inscribed on the list of speakers. Of the five members whose names appear on the list for this morning, four are either not here or are not ready to speak. I think this is rather regrettable. Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly yesterday afternoon, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed today at 5 p.m.

2. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): It is a significant coincidence that this debate is taking place against the background of an important, far-reaching and comprehensive statement made last week by the Chairman of the movement of non-aligned countries, President Fidel Castro [31st meeting]. In that statement, the Chairman of the movement of non-aligned countries articulated a number of important decisions and proposals, jointly agreed upon by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.<sup>1</sup> In addition, he made some proposals which are very pertinent to the whole gamut of our collective struggle to create a more just and equitable international economic order. Representing as it does a non-aligned country which took an active part in the discussions and decisions arrived at at Havana, my delegation is convinced that

<sup>1</sup> For the Final Declaration of the Conference, see document A/34/542.

some of the proposals made by the Chairman of the non-aligned movement will significantly facilitate our current deliberations, as this Assembly is once again called upon to apply its energies to a subject which affects the life and death of millions of people all over the world. My delegation has never failed to seek to make a contribution towards the search for a more equitable and just economic order.

3. The persistent negative trends in the world economy have received increasingly serious attention from all members of the international community. It is not a coincidence, therefore, that the General Assembly has decided to consider this item relating to development and international economic co-operation as a priority item in its plenary meetings. This gives the Assembly an opportunity to review the critical problems facing the world economy. More importantly, however, it gives the Assembly an opportunity to assess the progress made in the various negotiations aimed at the establishment of a more equitable and just international economic order and to devise new ways and means of ensuring the implementation of the goals and objectives of the New International Economic Order.

4. It is an undeniable fact that the economy is in a state of deep crisis. The non-aligned countries at their sixth summit conference, held at Havana, have underscored this fact in their Economic Declaration and Programme of Action for Economic Co-operation [see A/34/542, annex, sects. IV and V]. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States members of the Group of 77 also underlined the structural nature of this crisis in the Declaration adopted at their meetings held at New York from 27 to 29 September this year [A/34/533 and Corr.1, annex]. This crisis, which is characterized mainly by widespread unemployment, galloping inflation, instability in international commodity trade, indebtedness and currency fluctuations, continues to slow down world economic growth in general.

5. For the developing countries, whose economies are weaker and more vulnerable to external conditions, the crisis, which has created conditions most unfavourable to their development efforts, has led to the perpetuation, and in some cases even to the aggravation, of their state of underdevelopment. Thus, the economic situation in most developing countries remains one of grave concern. While the terms of trade of most developing countries are deteriorating and their external debt burdens grow heavier, inflation in the industrialized countries continues to impose increasingly high costs on the food, fertilizer and capital goods which they import from the developed countries. This situation aggravates the already severe balance of payments difficulties experienced by most developing countries.

6. The economic situation of the developing countries

is further aggravated by the discriminatory measures adopted by some developed countries in their desperate attempts to solve their economic problems in isolation. For example, the proliferation of protectionist measures adopted by some developed countries against the imports of both primary and processed goods from developing countries has not only reduced the trade prospects of the developing countries, but has also imposed serious constraints on both their agricultural and industrial development efforts. Nor are developing countries adequately represented in the decision-making mechanism on matters which affect their activities. Decisions on important international monetary problems, which have a great bearing on the world as a whole, are taken by a few rich countries. Often these decisions are taken in forums outside the IMF. In short, the developing countries have had to bear the cost of the adjustment measures adopted by some developed countries.

7. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that these isolated measures adopted by some developed countries have not succeeded in bringing about lasting solutions to the world economic problems. Instead, they have led to increased economic misery of the developing countries and to a deterioration of economic relations between the developed and the developing countries. The failure of these isolated and piecemeal measures to bring about lasting solutions further confirms our conviction that the economic problems facing the world today stem from the underlying structural maladjustments and the fundamental disequilibrium in the existing international economic system. This has also increased the awareness that world society can be rescued from further economic disruptions and political conflicts only by effecting fundamental structural changes in the relations between the developed and the developing countries, within the framework of the New International Economic Order.

8. The Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly in 1974 [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], were the first collective effort made by the international community towards the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The seventh special session of the General Assembly, on development and international economic co-operation, which followed in September 1975, adopted concrete guidelines for further negotiations intended to lead to the establishment of the New International Economic Order [*see resolution 3362 (S-VII)*]. But the events which followed the spirit of the seventh special session continued to reveal the persistent lack of political will on the part of some developed countries whose policies, based on selfish and short-term interests, have prevented progress in the achievement of the goals and objectives of the New International Economic Order.

9. This lack of political will has been manifested in several forums where negotiations for the New International Economic Order have taken place. The fourth session of UNCTAD, held at Nairobi in May 1976, and the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held in the summer of 1977, both ended without concrete decisions on structural changes. The results of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila in May and June 1979, also confirm this lack of political will to effect structural changes. Although some progress has been made in the negotiations for a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Com-

modities<sup>2</sup>, the articles of agreement which would make the Fund operational and negotiations on individual commodity agreements are yet to be concluded. The refusal by some developed countries to make pledges of contribution to the second window of the Common Fund is yet another manifestation of their resistance towards change.

10. The General Assembly has made several attempts to promote and sustain the North-South dialogue. The establishment of the Committee of the Whole under General Assembly resolution 32/174 is one of the most significant attempts. The Committee was intended to oversee and monitor the implementation of decisions and agreements already reached in the relevant bodies of the United Nations system, as well as to provide the necessary political impetus for resolving difficulties in the various negotiations to encourage the North-South dialogue to continue. But before the Committee had an opportunity of resolving difficulties in other negotiating forums, it fell into difficulties when its mandate to take decisions was challenged by some developed countries. Although at its last session the General Assembly was able to resolve this problem after intensive consultations, developed countries continued to display the lack of political will which prevented the Committee from taking concrete and action-oriented decisions. For example, at its recent session held in September this year, the Committee could not reach agreement on measures to assist the least developed countries among the developing countries and other countries which are in a disadvantageous position.

11. This record of continuous dialogue and consistent inaction clearly demonstrates that some developed countries are determined to defend the unequal world at all costs. The developing countries, on the other hand, have always demonstrated their willingness to enter into negotiations with a genuine desire to promote true interdependence based on the principle of mutual benefits and sovereign equality. But their tolerance is not limitless. Unless their willingness to negotiate is met with a similar desire for the search for peace and justice from the developed countries, further economic disruptions and political conflicts are bound to occur, for there can be no permanent coexistence between poverty and affluence, squalor and prosperity or development and under-development.

12. Both at the Sixth summit conference of the non-aligned countries and at the recent ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, the developing countries have expressed their desire to enter into a new round of global negotiations on international economic cooperation for development within the United Nations system, with the full participation of all States. It must be emphasized, however, that the success of these negotiations will depend upon a clear commitment, by the developed countries in particular, to engage in genuine negotiations in the context of the establishment of the New International Economic Order and within a specified time-frame. Only then can we hope that the new round of global negotiations will contribute significantly to the implementation of the international development strategy for the third United Nations Development

<sup>2</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one, sect. A, resolution 93 (IV).

Decade, which will soon begin. It is our sincere hope that this session of the General Assembly will take the necessary initial steps to enable the new round of global negotiations to start off on a firm foundation.

13. Mr. KEATING (Ireland): On behalf of the European Community and its member States, I would like to thank the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg, for the excellent and detailed report which he delivered to us yesterday [40th meeting] on the work of the Committee. I should also like to thank Mr. Stoltenberg for the very great effort he has put into the chairmanship of the Committee, an effort which was not confined to presiding over and guiding our work when the Committee was in session, but which involved lengthy and frequent consultations with the various groups during periods between meetings. Such consultations were, we believe, very useful and contributed to the success of our work.

14. We have so far in our debate been able to listen to the statements of a number of countries outlining their views on the problems facing the international community. We have listened to these contributions most attentively. In particular we have noted with interest the statement of the spokesman of the Group of 77, the representative of India [*ibid.*], and we welcome the tone he has set for our debate.

15. We are now considering the proposal introduced by the Group of 77 in the Committee of the Whole on global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development [A/34/34, part three, annex I]. The Community recognizes the importance of this proposal and is ready to consider it in a constructive way. This proposal represents an important initiative designed to give impetus to international economic co-operation. We would like the General Assembly to concentrate initially on the general orientation of the negotiations as well as on examining procedures through which the proposal could be pursued. It would not be in the interest of international co-operation to enter into a series of negotiations on a world scale without being certain that we all approach this exercise in the same spirit.

16. In order to benefit from the experience of the past and give more impetus to the progress of co-operation between the rich and the poor, we should be fully aware of action that has already been taken and is being taken. To ignore this would in reality make the process of decision-making more complicated and progress more difficult.

17. Although in recent years international co-operation was not as fruitful as we would have wished and was handicapped by the crisis in the world economic situation and the difficulty in overcoming it, some important results have been achieved. In particular, there has been a remarkable expansion of the activities and resources of the international financial institutions, both on a regional and on a world level. In other fields agreement has been reached, *inter alia*, on the fundamental elements of the Common Fund; the GATT multilateral trade negotiations—from which the developing countries stand to gain considerable benefits—have been brought to a conclusion and a new programme of work is being undertaken on the problems of the least developed countries.

18. But even if progress has been made, the Community believes that the growing interdependence of problems and countries calls for a more integrated approach to the over-all working of international economic co-operation. The interdependence of countries also implies the need for all to be aware of their co-responsibilities in the world economy and for their collective concern with the poorest among us.

19. Such an approach could promote discussions which would be beyond the scope of any one of the specialized organizations of the international system. But each of those organizations has and must retain its own responsibilities, and duplication should be avoided.

20. In order to have any real chances of success, it will be necessary to concentrate on certain main problem areas where there are special difficulties and where we think collectively that real progress can and should be made. When we have identified such subjects, we should ensure that, where competent organizations already exist, those organizations give them proper attention; where the organizations do not exist, we should consider how and where the subjects could best be handled. These negotiations should, in our view, make a significant contribution to the implementation of the international development strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.

21. The Committee of the Whole should, accordingly, concentrate on preparing a coherent and selective agenda, taking into account the viewpoints of all groups of countries and bearing in mind the progress of ongoing international economic co-operation.

22. We consider that the improvement of the world economic situation, which today is characterized by inflation, high unemployment, balance-of-payments disequilibria and the growing debt of many developing countries, should be an essential objective of our efforts because such an improvement would both facilitate the adoption of measures for development and increase their impact. None the less, the European Community does not pretend that the problem of economic relations is only one of good management of the world economy. The share and role of developing countries in the world economy should be increased and we should attempt to bring about a new and more just international economic order.

23. The Community considers that, among the problems, energy should occupy an important place in the international economic discussions and it welcomes the fact that the Group of 77 has taken account of it. But energy should not only be treated in a general framework. As in other important problem areas which will be treated in the global round, we must strike the right balance in the energy field between the integrated approach of the global negotiations and more specific problems which should be treated in other forums. The Community has noted and studied with interest the proposals which the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, has made on a number of occasions in the past and particularly at the last session of the Economic and Social Council. The Community has also listened carefully to the proposals made by the President of Mexico, Mr. Lopez Portillo, at this session of the General Assembly [11th meeting], and believes that they must be carefully studied.

24. I have, in this statement, given a broad outline of our thinking on the scope of the negotiations. This thinking will need further elaboration. The Community believes that the success of this enterprise can only be brought about if all the parties assume their share of responsibility and mutual obligations and do so in a spirit of concern for the poorest.

25. The degree to which the concerns of all parties, including those of the Community, are met during the preparatory phase, will of course determine whether global negotiations will be launched at the special session of the General Assembly in 1980. The Community will play an active role in the preparatory phase and is hopeful that as a result of our joint endeavours, the 1980 special session of the General Assembly will be able to launch a round of meaningful negotiations.

26. Mr. CRNOBRNJA (Yugoslavia): The report submitted by the Committee of the Whole as well as yesterday's statement by its Chairman, Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg, provided us with a good opportunity to review the work of the Committee during the past year and the years that followed its establishment.

27. Many of us harboured the hope that the Committee would give an impetus to more successful negotiations on international economic co-operation. However, as has often been the case, it has been proved that different organizational forms cannot be a substitute for policy. I should like to quote here what Mr. Stoltenberg said yesterday:

“At the end of the session [of the Committee of the Whole] I made the point that I felt it was not in our interest—and I meant the interest of all of us, developing and developed countries alike—to juggle with words in such a way that the world would get the impression that all was well, that progress had been made, and that agreement had been reached, when it was obvious that differences were very great indeed. I felt—and I believe the Committee agreed—that it would be better and more effective to recognize that we were far apart and to tell the world so.” [40th meeting, para 21.]

Such an outcome of the Committee's work, along with lack of progress in the negotiations conducted in other United Nations bodies, shows that international economic negotiations have reached an impasse. Moreover, life is not a bed of roses for other broader or narrower regional economic bodies acting outside the United Nations. That fact shows that it is becoming ever more difficult to find effective, lasting and stable solutions to economic problems within a region or subregion, or whatever regional designation one chooses. We are increasingly dependent on each other.

28. My delegation feels that the tasks that we have to carry out at this particular time by joint effort in the economic sphere, within the framework of the United Nations, are specific ones and that it is difficult to compare them with any previous period or situation. Therefore, we hold that the agenda item which we are discussing today is an exceptionally important one.

29. As I have already pointed out, mutual economic interdependence is constantly growing. However, the content of interdependence varies. We are all well aware that it may have both positive and negative consequences, which may be useful to some and detrimental

to other countries. Despite a variety of views, interdependence is actually more universal today than ever before.

30. We do admit that interdependence exists and that it is constantly growing, in proportion to and in direct connexion with the growth of material wealth and spiritual values in the world. Our age is characterized by deep socio-economic changes that affect the degree of interdependence. These changes, if ignored, may sometimes have a negative impact on international relations. However, viewed in the long term, developments are bound to confirm, sooner or later, that the requirements of co-operation make the normalization of relations among all States inevitable—as has been proved once again in practice.

31. When speaking of interdependence, we consider that every State Member of the world Organization, as a sovereign country, should be in the position freely to decide on all the forms of its international economic associations; to assess freely and without outside pressure which economic policies suit it best, and to determine freely and in a self-designed and autonomous manner what paths it will take towards its own economic and social development. Of course, that development and the links with the outside world should not be detrimental to other countries. We do not believe that independence is incompatible with interdependence, provided that interdependence is founded on equality. Only that sort of interdependence can promote peace and progress.

32. There is yet another essential characteristic of the present-day world, namely, that the world has never before known so many different social systems with such great differences in levels of development. However, in spite of all this, we can say that these differences have not diminished but, on the contrary, have increased the need for co-operation in diversity. The appearance, for example, of developing countries on the international scene is illustrative in that regard.

33. Another matter on which I should like to comment is the existence of a somewhat outdated and sometimes one-sided assessment of the world economic situation. I have listened very carefully to the statements made in that connexion. I think that there has not been a single statement in which one could not find something positive, good, and even more or less acceptable to all. Unfortunately, what was less acceptable to all prevailed. Whether we like it or not, when anything that is said or proposed here is known to be unacceptable to the developing countries, it is at variance with the seriousness of the issues. Moreover, I wish to say that it is not possible to conduct successful negotiations if, instead of concrete proposals, we follow the logic of a Yugoslav proverb which states: “I see a hair in someone else's eye, but I do not see a log in mine.” Every negotiation can be successful, if there is political will and if the rights and responsibilities of the negotiators are clearly perceived. In the negotiating process the most important thing is that all the participants should find their interest in it, bearing in mind that the accelerated development of the developing countries is indispensable and in the interest of all countries. These are some of the prerequisites, in our view, for the success of the forthcoming negotiations.

34. I also wish to say that pressure methods in negotia-

tions are not acceptable. A far-sighted contemporary policy will be all the more successful if it is not imposed but voluntarily accepted. As far as my country is concerned, it is prepared to accept, with no exceptions, only those international obligations that it has autonomously assessed as being in its own interest, bearing in mind, of course, that they should not be detrimental to other countries. Therein lie, in fact, the roots of the non-aligned policy of my country. I think that a political and historical lesson can be learnt from the fact that so many new States have been voluntarily opting for a non-aligned policy for almost two decades. This phenomenon is in itself extremely important. It reflects the aspirations of humanity. The world desires to live in freedom.

35. Economic relations between the developing and the developed countries are certainly the central problem that we are discussing today. It goes without saying that the developing countries must, in their own interest, exert every possible effort to promote mutual co-operation among themselves to a much greater extent and in a more organized manner.

36. Relations between the developed and developing countries are frequently described in a rather simplified manner as so-called North-South relations or dialogue. It is obvious, meanwhile, that genuine global negotiations call for a new universal approach and that in such negotiations, all developed countries should assume their share of responsibility, as is rightly expected of them. The United Nations is the most appropriate forum for such negotiations. In saying this, I do not mean that we should underestimate the contributions to global negotiations of various regional and subregional forms of co-operation, whether within the United Nations framework or outside it. We feel that only such a universal approach to negotiations can ensure rapid development of the developing countries and, at the same time, lead to increasingly harmonious relationships in the world as a whole.

37. The acuteness of the problem of the development of the developing countries, as well as other problems with which the present-day world is more than ever before faced, has produced a host of suggestions and ideas for resolving them. Having precisely this in view, I feel that it would be useful to analyse the numerous proposals in a realistic and objective way and to single out those likely to lead to the establishment of more equitable economic relations in the world. Of course, this can be done only in an open and democratic dialogue, and for such a dialogue there is no better forum than the United Nations. I believe therefore that all those who are, for one reason or another, trying to circumvent the United Nations, are making a great mistake.

38. Much has been said here about the current state of international economic relations. The vast majority of speakers have emphasized that the situation is serious. Some speakers have called it a crisis; others have spoken of difficulties. Some representatives, however, did not say much about the difficulties of their own countries but talked of the difficulties of others. Anyway, the time in which we live is beset with difficulties which threaten to become even greater. It is, at the same time, fraught with serious political consequences.

39. Bearing this in mind and aware of the gravity of

the situation, the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries proposed, at their recent conference at Havana, the holding of global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development [A/34/542, annex, sect. VIB, resolution No. 9] as a way out of the present state of stagnation in negotiations. As I mentioned earlier, my delegation attaches great importance to this proposal. A successful outcome of these negotiations would have far-reaching economic and political benefits. It would contribute to a greater and better mutual understanding and trust, which are so much needed for the solving of other urgent problems, such as those of disarmament and others. In other words, the success of these negotiations would be the success of détente. As we well know, the various fields of international life and co-operation are so interdependent today that the world is also in need of economic détente as an important prerequisite of peaceful and active coexistence. Consequently, global negotiations could also be called negotiations on economic détente. In saying this, I should like to underline that structural changes, as well as the solution of other problems, can lead to genuine economic détente.

40. The present debate, and the ideas, suggestions and proposals emerging from it, could contribute towards promoting a better climate for negotiations. The debate should contribute to the solution of outstanding problems. In this respect, it is also of crucial importance what degree of political readiness will be manifested by the large and rich countries whose role in all this is major.

41. Global negotiations, we feel, should cover the economic issues that the Group of 77 has already presented in the Committee of the Whole. If global negotiations do not lead to tangible results, then I am afraid they will be a waste of time. They should not be reduced to a mere political forum for laying down a framework and guidelines for further negotiations. We already have this. In fact, the dialogue has been going on for the last 20 years. We had two special sessions of the General Assembly, the sixth and the seventh, where a political consensus and framework for further action were achieved. As has already been pointed out by a number of my colleagues in this debate, the time has come to move from words to deeds. In this regard, my delegation fully shares the opinion expressed yesterday by the spokesman for the Group of 77, our colleague and friend Mr. K. R. Narayanan, the representative of India, when he said:

“We want to make it clear that this is not intended to be a repetition of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation which was held in Paris”.  
[40th meeting, para. 48.]

42. We think that no subject of global negotiations should be subordinated to any other subject. We consider that all questions should be treated concurrently. A simultaneous approach is important, as it provides an easier and deeper insight into the global state of negotiations.

43. As regards preparations for the negotiations, we will have to effect them at the national and international levels. It is of great importance that all participants take an active part in the negotiations. They should also propose various concrete measures which could serve as a basis for a common synthesis. The Committee of the

Whole should be the forum responsible for preparations, as proposed by the Group of 77.

44. In view of the importance of global negotiations, we consider that neither the preparation for them nor the negotiations themselves should be a part of what I may call the regular activities of the United Nations. We believe that they should be accorded priority in the forthcoming period and that the other programmes of the United Nations should be adapted accordingly.

45. The work of the Committee should be organized in such a way as to make it possible to complete all the necessary preparations for the special session of the General Assembly to be held at some reasonable time next year. In accordance with its mandate, the Committee could set up the requisite number of working groups. Preparations for global negotiations could, in fact, be a continuing process. We think that the first session of the Committee should be held as soon as possible.

46. As the new international development strategy is also to be adopted at the special session of the General Assembly, the formulation of the strategy should be intensified, particularly since those two endeavours are complementary and interlinked.

47. By initiating global negotiations, the non-aligned countries have once again demonstrated their constructive role in international relations.

48. Fortunately, no serious objections have so far been raised. This does not mean that everyone likes this proposal. However, it is obvious that the vast majority is in favour of the negotiations. In the course of informal discussions that have taken place here, a few colleagues have posed questions to me with regard to the substance and the aim of negotiations. It is not difficult to answer such questions. The aim of the negotiations should be the establishment of more equitable international economic relations, relations that can promote the interests of mankind as a whole and strengthen peace and solidarity in the world. The main subjects to be discussed are more or less known already.

49. Before I conclude, I should like to stress once again that my delegation is deeply convinced that international economic relations can be improved only through open dialogue in which all countries will participate and demonstrate appropriate political will. Such a dialogue will lead the world, albeit gradually, towards ever more equitable relations.

50. In this respect, may I recall that at one time—let us say 50, 40 or even 30 years ago—when someone spoke of the collapse of colonialism, many saw that as a Utopia, as one of our colleagues in the Second Committee eloquently stated the other day. The New International Economic Order may seem utopian to some people today. But it is a fact that new relationships are emerging. The new should be more just than the old, and should lead to greater prosperity for all.

51. Mr. MESTIRI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Exactly one year ago, the General Assembly considered the report of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and adopted resolution 33/2 in which it redefined the Committee's mandate and recognized its role as a

negotiating body to give new impetus to the North-South dialogue with a view to establishing the new international economic order.

52. A year has gone by—a year during which we should like to have seen substantial progress achieved in international economic negotiations, a year during which we had hoped to take important steps towards the building of a new economic order based on equity, justice and sovereign equality. Yet, as has been rightly emphasized in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, the past year has been full of uncertainty, tension and conflict [*see A/34/1, sect. I*].

53. This is certainly true with regard to international economic negotiations, in which, as Mr. Dadzie, Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, pointed out in his statement to the Second Committee on 1 October, "the North-South dialogue has stalled. What little progress has been achieved has been limited and piecemeal."<sup>3</sup>

54. Of course, the Committee of the Whole, whose report we are considering today under agenda item 55 (a), has, thanks to the determination and skill of its Chairman, Mr. Stoltenberg, been able to achieve progress on certain subjects, such as the transfer of resources in real terms to developing countries or world food problems and agricultural development. Nevertheless, the impetus to go further and to achieve more ambitious goals has come up against resistance to change on the part of several industrialized countries, and not the least of them.

55. In the face of this discouraging attitude, we should recall that developing countries have not given up and that—making the best of a bad situation, as it were—they have shown creative imagination in a final attempt to find a way out of the impasse in the North-South dialogue by suggesting a series of global negotiations.

56. It is a commonplace to state that international economic relations are characterized by a domination of the poor and under-developed South by the industrialized and wealthy North. Such subjection of the developing countries is reflected in the existence and maintenance of relationships of dependency vis-à-vis the industrialized world, relationships based on injustice, domination and exploitation.

57. The fragile economies of the developing countries are, furthermore, continuing to suffer the deleterious influences of the cyclical crises prevalent in industrialized countries, crises that result in a declining rate of growth, persistent unemployment and galloping inflation.

58. The industrialized countries, with few exceptions, have remained deaf to the repeated appeals made by the developing world for the adoption of necessary changes aimed at bringing about a fundamental restructuring of international economic relations, in accordance with the objectives of the new international economic order.

<sup>3</sup> See document A/C.2/34/4, p. 8. This document contains the complete text of the statement which appears in summary form in *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Second Committee, 4th meeting, paras. 20-34, and ibid., Second Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

59. I need not recall here the negative attitude adopted by the major industrialized countries in international economic negotiations, from the sixth special session to this day.

60. Conference after conference and meeting after meeting take place at which interminable discussions and negotiations produce only the most meagre results: either they adopt by consensus texts that are almost totally devoid of substance, or they merely note the enormous gap between fixed and rigid positions which neither a chairman's patience nor the "goodwill" professed by both sides has been able to narrow.

61. Unfortunately, most of the time, the Committee of the Whole has not escaped that process, which generates frustration and even bitterness.

62. In the three sessions it has held, the Committee of the Whole has indeed succeeded in adopting some agreed conclusions on the question of the transfer of resources and on the problems of food and agricultural development. Those results had been considered encouraging, and they certainly deserved to be followed by more important progress in other items inscribed in the Committee's agenda.

63. But the refusal of the major developed countries to allow the Committee of the Whole to make progress in the matter of industrialization, which would have opened up new horizons for the Third General Conference of UNIDO to be held at New Delhi in the early part of 1980, has been a great disappointment to the developing countries. They were particularly disappointed by the refusal of several of our partners to abandon their traditional attitudes regarding the achievement of the objectives of the Lima Conference,<sup>4</sup> the industrial redeployment for the benefit of developing countries, the transfer of technology, the access to markets, the regulation and control of the negative and harmful aspects of the activities of transnational corporations, the elimination of restrictive business practices and so on.

64. The same negative attitude was apparent during the consideration of draft resolutions on special categories of developing countries, whose increased difficulties should have led the international community to adopt special measures for their benefit.

65. Thus the developing countries, in their desire to solve through dialogue and concerted efforts the problems they face in the fields of development, financing, trade, commodities, technology and so on, are increasingly and continually meeting with resistance, a resistance which is subtle, to be sure, but determined in its opposition to any change.

66. Even the most optimistic observer cannot but be concerned over the rather sombre and even quite demoralizing situation which today, more than ever before, prevails in international economic relations which are characterized by lack of balance in trade, deterioration in the terms of trade, stifling protectionism, increasing deterioration of the international monetary system, galloping inflation, excessive growth in the indebtedness of the developing countries and so on.

67. It is not up to us to point an accusing finger or to lay blame on anyone; it is up to us all—regardless of our level of development or of our economic and social system, regardless of how much responsibility we bear for the continuation of the present "disorder"—to take concerted action and to show goodwill and determination in responding to the appeal made from this rostrum by President López Portillo of Mexico that we should be "authors of that change, and channel it [and not be] simple spectators, and become its victims" [*11th meeting, para. 8*].

68. During the past few years, we have felt the pressing need to undertake a substantive and comprehensive North-South dialogue covering the fundamental and urgent problems which are impeding the development and strengthening of international economic relations on a more just and more equitable basis.

*Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania) took the Chair.*

69. Aware of the scope of the crisis in the world economy and of the need to deal with it with remedial measures which would take account of the interdependence of nations as well as of the interdependence of problems, the developing countries demonstrated, first at the sixth summit Conference of the non-aligned countries at Havana and in the Group of 77, and later in the Committee of the Whole, a highly developed sense of responsibility and good judgement in proposing to undertake comprehensive and detailed negotiations on the most pressing and crucial problems facing the world community in the field of international economic relations.

70. Taking full account of both the relative successes and the failures of the experiences of the past, the Group of 77, in an effort to be realistic in their ambitions and moderate with regard to means, submitted specific proposals to break the deadlock and move forward the international economic negotiations. These were clear proposals outlining the framework and the procedure, a framework uniting us all and a procedure enabling us to prepare ourselves and ensure every condition for the success of a global dialogue which we want to be a fruitful and constructive one.

71. Far be it from us, developing countries, to claim that this round of global negotiations will, as if by magic, solve all the problems in international economic relations facing the international community.

72. What we advocate and what we ask the General Assembly to do is the following. First, to undertake a stage of detailed preparation in order to determine the nature, the scope and the impact of the various questions to be included in the proposed global negotiations. Indeed, if we can define the problem clearly, it will be partly solved. That would enable us to avoid the obstacles and the procedural difficulties that have been impediments to other international conferences and to define the specific subjects on which negotiations will be held. That exploratory and preparatory work should be entrusted to the Committee of the Whole, which has proved to be a flexible, practical and even effective instrument when political will was not lacking and, in any case, a good forum for negotiation.

73. Secondly, we must apply the principle of univer-

<sup>4</sup> Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Lima from 12 to 26 March 1975.

sality, which means to ensure the participation of all States in these negotiations on an equal footing, both during the preparatory stages and in the negotiations proper. I need not recall, in this connexion, that the lack of universality was unquestionably one of the reasons why the work of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which was held in Paris, was so unsatisfactory.

74. Thirdly, we demand the inclusion in these negotiations, as is expressly stated in the draft resolution of the Group of 77, of raw materials, energy, trade, development and monetary and financial problems.

75. Fourthly, we must scrupulously ensure that the negotiations on the different agenda items should go hand in hand with progress towards the achievement of the results expected from the negotiations. Since the approach is a global one, the progress and the results on the various questions must be interrelated.

76. Fifthly, it is incumbent upon us to make sure that the world negotiations do not interfere in any way with other important negotiations being carried on in other forums of the United Nations, as is expressly mentioned in the operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution annexed to the report of the Committee of the Whole [see/34/34, part three].

77. We were happy to note that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of several developed countries supported, in the statements which they made from this rostrum during the general debate, the proposal of the Group of the 77 concerning global negotiations. We believe that it is time for the General Assembly to decide without delay to undertake these negotiations, which we should like to be global and action-oriented.

78. At the close of the session of the Committee of the Whole and at the express demand of the industrialized countries, we agreed to the postponement of the consideration of our proposal to this session of the General Assembly. We hope that the time for reflection has enabled those who felt some reticence and hesitancy to realize the importance and interest of the offer made to them.

79. Tunisia has always believed in the virtues of dialogue and of concerted efforts. We have never wanted to think that the arguments developed by our partners in the industrialized world on the interdependence of nations were mere slogans. We have always refused to imagine that their statements on the universality of economic problems and their interrelationship were merely statements of compassion regarding the serious problems with which the developing countries are struggling.

80. Therefore, the time has come to commence constructive negotiations, and the occasion certainly lends itself to this. In the last analysis those negotiations must lead us, together and in true and freely chosen interdependence, towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

81. Mr. CEESAY (Gambia): Gambia is one of the smallest Members of this Organization. It is also one of the least naturally endowed countries of the world.

Moreover, it is within the Sahelian subregion of West Africa where, in the past decade, persistent drought, an adverse climate and climatic instability have inflicted heavy losses in lives and on the means of livelihood in general.

82. Yet, in common with any other people, the people of Gambia aspire to a healthy, decent and respectable way of life. This brings them into a direct confrontation with the harsh and, for small and poor countries, bewildering economic realities of modern times. This is the first motivation for our keen interest in international economic relations and international co-operation for development. For us, it is a matter of survival and dignity.

83. From the outset, I must reiterate that we do not wish, nor do we expect, the international community or external agencies to solve our problems for us, indomitable as these problems may appear. When we attained independence less than 15 years ago, we immediately took cognizance of the heavy responsibilities that go with sovereignty and began facing up to those responsibilities—that is to say, the enhancement of the standard of living and the overall social well-being of all Gambians. By the time we celebrated our tenth anniversary of nationhood, agricultural production, which is the mainstay of our economy, had increased by over 100 per cent. Health care and medical facilities are up today by some 150 per cent, enrolment in educational institutions is up by a similar figure and, by the end of 1973, international financial institutions considered our foreign reserves and balance of payments very healthy indeed.

84. At the international level, we have worked very closely with all our neighbors to establish our sub-regional organizations, such as the Organization for the Development of the Gambia River Basin, the Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel, the Economic Community of West African States, as well as a considerable number of bilateral economic agreements with all the neighboring States in the subregion.

85. I have referred to the efforts which we continue to make, as well as to our achievements, in order to underscore our natural bent as a people, and our policy as a Government, to be primarily self-reliant.

86. Our strenuous efforts towards self-development notwithstanding, a large majority of our population are among the 800 million human beings who, according to World Bank statistics, are below the absolute poverty line. This has brought us to the increasing realization that our economic and development problems are part of a global pattern of economic crisis and that, while facing up to the problems at home, we should also join all members of the international community in a common effort to overcome what, to us, is a crisis.

87. Therefore, we re-echo the call by the Group of 77, following the lead by the sixth Conference of the non-aligned countries, for a fresh initiative and impetus for a new round of global negotiations aimed at establishing the anticipated New International Economic Order.

88. We are appreciative of the departures and progress made in international negotiating forums, for example, at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly held at Headquarters in 1974



and 1975, at the fourth and fifth sessions of UNCTAD, held respectively at Nairobi in 1976 and at Manila in 1979, and at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held at Paris three years ago. These aforementioned efforts notwithstanding, there is a consensus, at the present session of the General Assembly, to the effect that international co-operation for economic progress and development, even where it has been initiated, has become stalled. We, the developing countries within the international system, perhaps because we feel the adverse consequences more, have been ready, and even eager, to discuss the problems. We, as a group, have continued to advocate a dialogue. Regrettably, the spirit of conciliation and mutual accommodation within our group appears to be absent from the group of industrialized countries.

89. In the Second Committee, in which I have the honor of representing my country, I have heard attempts by representatives from some industrialized countries to rationalize the lack of disposition on the part of their countries and Governments to engage in international efforts to overcome the world economic crisis. Some of these representatives say that their countries are too preoccupied with acute internal economic problems to devote any attention to what they consider external matters. Our response to this is simple. A considerable proportion of the causes of their internal economic problems originate from external factors. It follows that in order to solve their internal problems these countries will have to disavow protectionist and isolationist policies. The root cause of their internal problems is to be found within the international economic system, and that is where the curative attempt should begin.

90. Some sub-groups within the industrialized world give reasons of principle and history for their want of enthusiasm to join the international effort to solve the crisis. They consider themselves absolved from the historical causes of the crisis, and therefore maintain only a peripheral interest in the search for a solution. Their position reminds us of the doctor who would not attend the victim of an accident of which he was not guilty.

91. We cannot help looking askance at the determination of the developed countries not to enter into serious, action-oriented global negotiations. We concede that they have attained higher living standards and enjoy better social services, but as far as our personal experience goes, and if we are to believe the official declarations of their Governments, the present state of their economies, both individually and collectively, gives them many reasons for concern.

92. We are all the more surprised when we consider that we, the developing countries, with which there is a reluctance to negotiate, are not incapable of making valuable and even decisive contributions towards a progressive and expedient resolution of the world economic crisis. We have substantial material, human and moral resources that we are able and willing to contribute

towards our common cause. We hope and urge that our present debate may mark a positive turning-point in our efforts which have languished heretofore. The decision adopted by the Committee of the Whole at its third session acknowledging the seriousness, the logic and the ethics of the proposal by the Group of 77 for global negotiations, was an encouraging sign. We reiterate our full endorsement of the document issued by the Group of 77 on 13 September 1979 during the third session of the Committee of the Whole [*A/34/34, part three, annex I*].

93. The substantial contents of the first Lomé Convention and the not so substantial, but still meaningful, results of the second Lomé Conference, as well as some of the decisions of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila, and the recent trend initiated by Scandinavian Governments—and followed by a number of other Western Governments—to write off loans to least developed countries and most seriously affected countries, were very hopeful and promising indicators for those of us who come from such countries. It is therefore easy to imagine our disappointment at the failure of the third session of the Committee of the Whole to endorse the texts appearing in annexes IV, V and VII of the above-mentioned document. Specifically, those annexes urge the international community to accord added special considerations for urgent assistance to the least developed, the most seriously affected and the land-locked developing countries.

94. It is our ardent wish that at its thirty-fourth session the General Assembly will review and reverse the decision of the Committee of the Whole on those proposals. Since we come from a small country that is not only one of the least developed and most seriously affected countries, but also one that lies within the climatically afflicted Sahelian zone of West Africa, those proposals have special significance for the Gambian delegation. The vagaries of the weather, the energy crisis and the inequitable international economic system have all conspired to deprive the peoples of the least developed countries, the most seriously affected developing countries and the naturally disaster-prone countries not only of any livelihood worth speaking of, but also of any future worth looking forward to.

95. That is to say, by a sinister coincidence, purely extraneous factors have joined forces to deprive our peoples of their first and most valued and sought-after human right, the right to a healthy and full life in decent and respectable circumstances. As a people and as a Government, we in Gambia are always heartened and encouraged to hear any call for respect for the principles and the practice of human rights. It is our belief, reinforced by experience, that a human being cannot enjoy too many rights, as long as those rights do not encroach upon those of his fellow men.

96. But permit me to reiterate our conviction, based on the experience of hard realities, that if there is one primordial human right, it is the right to the means to enjoy a healthy and respectable life. No amount of constitutionality, no legal system, however equitable, will provide nourishment for a starving human being or medical care for the sick.

97. We implore our many friends in the international community to take cognizance of these hard realities

and to co-operate with us in overcoming them through the proposed negotiations and other channels.

98. Over the years, since our attainment of independence, by virtue of the tolerant nature of our leadership and the equanimity of our people, we have found it relatively easy to maintain a free, open and fully democratic system of government. But we have found it much less easy to maintain steady economic growth, to provide medical care and respectable living standards for all our citizens, in material terms. Yet, as I said earlier, we regard this as the first right to which we have the right to aspire as a people. Would that our friends in the industrialized world, who give us so much encouragement to promote human rights in the political and civil areas, could do more to provide us with material encouragement to promote human rights in the economic, social and developmental fields.

99. We believe this can be done through a positive change of attitude that would lead to a willingness to enter into serious negotiations with us and all other countries that share our predicament.

100. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to make the following observations for the attention of the General Assembly. To begin with, I should like to endorse fully what the acting President said this morning to the Assembly with regard to the late starting of our meetings.

101. I know that one should not make repeated appeals, but I want to draw the attention of the Assembly to the special problem that we face both in the General Committee and in the Assembly in planning our meetings.

102. This morning, the meeting started 25 minutes late for two reasons. The first was the lack of a quorum and the second was that, of those five members who were scheduled to speak, four were not present when they were supposed to be addressing the Assembly. This causes tremendous problems in terms of planning for the meetings. This year the General Assembly, at the plenary level, has a number of items on its agenda. In fact, it is true to say that we are supposed to have a plenary meeting almost daily on specific items.

103. In order to cope with this heavy schedule of work, meetings have to be arranged in advance and proper planning must be done. If we are compelled for one reason or another to start our meetings late, we are invariably forced to end them late, sometimes later than anticipated, thereby taking up time allotted to another item.

104. For these reasons, I wish once again to make a solemn appeal to all members of the Assembly to adhere strictly to the decision which the Assembly itself, in its wisdom, took at the very beginning of our session.

105. The second point I wish to make—and I made it yesterday in our meeting—is with regard to those delegations whose names have been inscribed to take part in the debate. I appeal to them to attend at the time when they are scheduled to address the Assembly. Otherwise I shall be compelled to have them speak at the very end.

106. Thirdly, with regard to this afternoon's meeting, because of the limited number of speakers I have no other option, given the present circumstances, but to cancel the meeting for this afternoon. This means that those representatives who are supposed to speak this afternoon will speak on Monday.

107. This is a trend which, as I am sure all representatives will agree, is not very healthy, particularly bearing in mind the fact that members of this Assembly knew very well in advance that we were going to take up the item now before us. I should like therefore to appeal once again to the Assembly that we do everything possible to avoid a situation in which, because of the limited number of speakers on a given item, we are compelled to cancel a meeting.

108. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the statement made recently by the delegation of Spain in the debate of the Second Committee, we have already outlined our position on the proposal of the Group of 77 concerning global negotiations, and we have publicly stated our positive agreement to it. Now let me explain in greater detail the basic features of our position.

109. First of all, it is imperative to establish a new system of international economic relations based on equality and the common interest of all countries, and aimed at bringing about the new international economic order.

110. Secondly, this cannot be achieved through improvised methods or fragmentary reforms designed to resolve transitory economic difficulties. Instead, it requires changes in world economic structures.

111. Thirdly, notwithstanding the large number of international meetings and conferences, the purpose of which was to bring about the new international economic order, and although their achievements are not entirely negligible, there can be no doubt that the progress made has been inadequate. This is due to several reasons: a lack of political will, the precarious nature of the economic situation which is due *inter alia* to repeated, sudden and massive increases in the price of oil, the general atmosphere of uncertainty, and so on.

112. Fourthly, the results of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation were far from being entirely satisfactory to the participants. At that Conference, the industrialized countries did not achieve what they had intended to achieve in the sphere of energy. Since then, the Spanish delegation has repeatedly emphasized, in international forums dealing with economic matters, the need to set up a permanent dialogue on the subject of energy. As we have already stated in the Second Committee, we fully support in this respect the wise proposal of President López Portillo at this session of the General Assembly for the elaboration of a world energy plan. We hope that the negotiations to which the President of Mexico referred [*11th meeting, para. 68*] will soon become a reality.

113. Fifthly, the Spanish delegation therefore welcomes the proposal of the Group of 77 on the establishment of global negotiations on energy, primary commodities, trade, development and monetary and

financial matters, presented at the third session of the Committee of the Whole, which was held in September 1979. As we see it, such negotiations, as the proposal itself says, will not involve any interruption of those being held in other United Nations forums. Instead, they will be perfectly coherent with them.

114. Sixthly, since the result of these negotiations will affect the world economy, we find it logical that they should be held with universal participation and consequently within the framework of the United Nations.

115. Seventhly, we believe that these negotiations

must be held for a fixed period of time decided upon beforehand and subject to renewal only by consensus.

116. Eighthly, as we see it, it is indispensable that in the global negotiations a voice be given to developed countries which are not oil exporters and whose balance of payments, levels of employment and general economic situation have suffered gravely for several years now as a result of successive increases in the price of energy.

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*