

United Nations  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



2214th  
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 15 April 1974,  
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Tribute to the memory of Mr. Ismael Byne Taylor-Kamara, Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations .....	1
Address by Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania .....	1
Agenda item 7: Study of the problems of raw materials and development (continued) .....	3

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Ismael Byne Taylor-Kamara,  
Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United  
Nations*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is with deep regret that we have just heard of the sudden death on Saturday, 13 April, of Mr. Ismael Byne Taylor-Kamara, the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations. This is a great loss to this Organization. In memory of Mr. Taylor-Kamara, I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence.

*The representatives observed a minute of silence.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Assembly may I request the delegation of Sierra Leone to be good enough to transmit our condolences to the Government and the family of the late Mr. Taylor-Kamara?

*Address by Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah,  
President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, it is an honour for me to welcome and to introduce His Excellency Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. I now invite President Ould Daddah to address the Assembly.

4. Mr. OULD DADDAH (President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I am gratified that this special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is being held. Surely nobody in the world can better deal with the problems that appear on the agenda of this special session than this Assembly because these problems are of such deep concern to all nations and call for decisive and urgent solutions. For anyone pronouncing the words "raw materials and development"—which are the theme of the present session—not only sums up problems that confront the third world in its

efforts to emerge from its backwardness, but also speaks of the economy of the needy countries and the relationship that governs the exchanges between the third world and the developed countries.

5. Who can overlook—who dares overlook?—the especial importance of raw materials for the industrialized nations? I would say that this question, as far as we are concerned, is a crucial one from all standpoints. It is so, first of all, because in the present state of our economies, it is only the resources lying in our soil, under our soil and in the seas, which we are forced to sell in their raw form, that can offer us any possibility of supplying ourselves with the diverse needs that our existence calls for. We depend on these resources fully, and any economic take-off must depend on them.

6. It is also because we live in wretchedness, in hunger, in disease and ignorance, which are the lot of our peoples, that we realize that we have no other recourse than these natural resources which we cannot fully transform at home and which therefore must be sent elsewhere in order to ensure the evolution of our economy. But anyone who speaks of the transformation of raw materials as it stands at present raises at least two problems whose interaction brings out the causes of the marginality and the extreme fragility of the economies of the third world. These problems are, as we all know, the constant deterioration of the price of raw materials and the exponential rise of the prices of manufactured goods.

7. But I started by talking of the cost of raw materials.

8. The crucial problem for us, who have not as yet mastered industrial technology, who cruelly lack capital, and who can only count on raw materials that we produce in order to meet practically all our needs, the problem is to know whether the international community can helplessly watch the constant deterioration of the terms of trade instead of, with the necessary urgency, set up the machinery that can guarantee our future.

9. For if oil, coffee, cocoa, copper, iron, phosphates, ground-nuts or cotton, and other commodities, are basic for the industrialized countries, from all standpoints they are vital for us, the countries which are as yet not industrialized. They are all the more vital since we are forced by the industrialized nations to purchase, at prices that constantly break through ceilings, the manufactured goods that those countries resell to us; they arbitrarily set prices that the weakness of our economies, the requirements and the outward-looking structures of our market, added to the urgency of our needs, do not allow us to ensure that our legitimate interests will prevail and be respected. In the past

and even more dramatically in the present, we have been forced to absorb a world inflation, whose effects on their own economies the wealthy countries have constantly deplored, but their economies are immeasurably stronger than ours.

10. The fragility of economies, subject to the hazards of nature, to the hazards of research that is costly in capital, technology, and material means—research that we are unable to undertake and that very often can be developed only in strict accordance with the needs of the industrialized countries—and also to the hazards of climatic or simply meteorological changes, no longer needs to be proved.

11. In the light of these facts, we can survive—because for us it is a question of survival—only if a full-bodied reconstruction of the relations between the industrialized and the under-developed nations takes place. The basic change that is required is first of all that the industrialized countries respect the sovereignty of our under-developed nations over our natural resources. We cannot be indifferent or complacent over the exploitation of our raw materials in obedience to outside needs which, when all is said and done, do not even take into account our own developmental projections.

12. Discussions have been taking place for many years to redress the terms of trade. Yet, we cannot really rely on the wealthy nations since they have always refused to accept the principle of the stabilization, at remunerative prices, of our exports, because of the galloping inflation that they impose upon us, and since these countries, too, seem unable or unwilling to give up the reciprocity clauses in customs and tax matters. It is these clauses that deprive us of any prospect of real industrialization, and, on the contrary, seem to condemn us eternally to be the reservoirs of cheap raw materials and cheap labour in order to ensure markets for the manufactured goods which the industrialized nations monopolize, from transport to distribution.

13. These are facts.

14. Therefore, these facts must force us to want to be the sole sovereigns of our resources. Yet, this must not be read as a challenge to the industrialized nations or an obstacle to their welfare. We certainly are not challenging their legitimate interests, for we are the first to recognize that they have the same right, in full sovereignty, to dispose of their resources—which they have always done of their own accord—and also because, we uphold the need to set up close international co-operation based on lasting and solid foundations.

15. However, for that co-operation to be a reality, or for it merely to exist, real partners are required, partners that recognize one another's sovereign rights and in the first place, the sovereign right to exist.

16. It is that right that we seek to establish when we try to abolish the unequal relations that today govern international life, and as a consequence we endeavour to do away with the marginality to which, deliberately or not, we have been relegated.

17. Therefore it is obvious that the only effective and true assistance that can be given us is still assistance that will

allow us to become the true instruments of our own development.

18. I have said that we should like to be full-fledged partners in the co-operation to be established and not constantly those who ask for assistance. For this reason it is obvious that the assistance given us cannot be truly used or useful unless, first, it fits perfectly within the framework of our own choices and priorities and is not tied to any political or military conditions and, secondly, unless the economic and financial conditions attached to it are more favourable to us than those that in most cases we are given today.

19. If there is generous assistance, although it is only a drop in the bucket compared with our needs and potentialities for development, there is also assistance meted out with an eye-dropper, sometimes tied to all sorts of restrictive conditions that quickly—all too quickly—negate any benefits. Then there is also the assistance that seems often designed only to increase the appetite dangerously.

20. There is also that other form of assistance, if one can call it that, that comes as subsidies given to us under various headings, as if to lull us while our resources are being exhausted.

21. There is, finally, a group that wishes to sell the idea—a completely wrong idea—that the assistance given us is given out of a spirit of philanthropy, that it is unilateral assistance—not to call it charity.

22. For all these reasons, I say that assistance must be studied from the basis of its motivations, of its structure, of its volume and the conditions surrounding it, in order under better conditions to redress the errors and establish the bases for sound and viable co-operation.

23. We hope that it is not too late to do so; but we have tremendous fears that the wealthy countries may complacently watch us suffer. In fact proof has been given that, with a mere part of the incommensurable amounts that are today devoted to items—I will not say "luxury items", since to some these expenditures are in some way useful, even though to us, in view of the living conditions of our peoples, they seem to be luxury items—such as sophisticated weapons and increasing the colossal stockpile of weapons, today, if the rich countries wish really to help us wipe out the scourges of famine, disease and ignorance, then there is no doubt that the third world would not be in the situation in which it finds itself today.

24. It is for these reasons that we have had to sweep away more than one pipe dream. It is for these reasons that we can no longer let our natural resources evaporate due to circumstances beyond our control. It is for these reasons that we call for a reassessment of the prices of raw materials as an absolute necessity.

25. If, as we hope, there are those who wish to help us, then we tell them that it can only be on the basis of an entire restructuring of the aid machinery.

26. This restructuring having been accepted and set under way, there will be only advantages in co-operation at all

levels and in all fields with all peace-loving nations on the basis of the most generous promotion of mutual interests.

27. We are especially hospitable to such co-operation since we have always been among those who are the warmest partisans of international solidarity, which has become now, more than ever before in history, a vital necessity.

28. But this fraternal solidarity to which we aspire with all our hearts, because of its very universality, requires a decolonization of all the unequal relations that exist among nations. This fraternal solidarity thus calls for an ending of all types of domination which weigh so heavily on so many parts of the third world. Need I, in this regard, recall our duty to stand as one with the Palestinian people, who strive to recover their legitimate national rights, usurped from them by zionism, which continues to occupy illegally so many territories of other Arab States?

29. We also have an imperative need to help abolish the system of domination and exploitation that the racist white minorities impose on the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

30. It is an equally urgent need to recognize fully the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and to help put an end to the aggression that Portugal is waging against that State. Thus also we are impelled to try to lead Portugal to free Angola and Mozambique.

31. We also trust that Spain will understand the need to decolonize the Sahara speedily and in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and the conclusions of the conferences of Nouadhibou<sup>1</sup> and Agadir.<sup>2</sup>

32. In Cambodia and Viet-Nam our profound hope is that the peoples of those countries that are waging a heroic struggle for their independence will finally ensure the triumph of their just causes.

33. We are still fully convinced that the disappearance of the economic and political injustices that today gravely vitiate international relations is not only the *sine qua non* for true solidarity but that it will itself carry the seeds of immense fraternity and peace in the world and set in motion a great current of progress to the benefit of all mankind.

34. Such is our conviction and this is why we place such hope in this special session, which we sincerely trust will be able to give suffering mankind something more than beautiful resolutions: namely, a true plan of action which, properly administered, will be the only way to remedy the difficulties from which we suffer and will attack the very profound causes of these ills.

35. The conferences of Georgetown and Algiers held by the non-aligned countries clearly diagnosed this disease, and this was put before this session of the General Assembly

<sup>1</sup> Conference of the Heads of State of Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco, held at Nouadhibou, Mauritania, from 14 to 15 September 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Conference of the Heads of State of Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco, held at Agadir, Morocco, from 23 to 24 July 1973.

was clearly at the very opening by Mr. Boumediène, President of the Council of the Revolution and the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and also President in Office of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [2208th meeting]. President Boumediène, at the same time, indicated the concrete ways in which we could tackle both the causes and the effects. My country, Mauritania, endorses both the diagnosis and the remedies prescribed and we express the profound hope that this General Assembly will adopt them and that the Members of this Organization will implement them.

36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I am very happy to express my warmest thanks to His Excellency the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania for his important statement.

## AGENDA ITEM 7

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

37. Mr. KISSINGER (United States of America): I learned only this morning of the untimely passing of the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone, Ambassador Taylor-Kamara. I am unaware of Mr. Taylor-Kamara's distinguished career as a civil servant, diplomat and parliamentarian. To the delegation of Sierra Leone, and indeed to the entire African group at the United Nations, I offer my profound condolences. The whole United Nations community is made the poorer by Ambassador Taylor-Kamara's passing.

38. We are gathered here in a continuing venture to realize mankind's hopes for a more prosperous, humane, just and co-operative world. As Members of this Organization we are pledged not only to free the world from the scourge of war, but also to free mankind from the fear of hunger, poverty and disease. The quest for justice and dignity, which finds expression in the economic and social Articles of the United Nations Charter, has global meaning in an age of instantaneous communication. Improving the quality of human life has become a universal political demand, a technical possibility and a moral imperative.

39. We meet here at a moment when the world economy is under severe stress. The energy crisis first dramatized its fragility. But the issues transcend that particular crisis. Each of the problems we face—of combating inflation and stimulating growth, of feeding the hungry and lifting the impoverished, of the scarcity of physical resources and the surplus of despair—is part of an interrelated global problem.

40. Let us begin by discarding outdated generalities and sterile slogans we have—all of us—lived with for so long.

41. The great issues of development can no longer realistically be perceived in terms of confrontation between the "haves" and the "have nots", or as a struggle over the distribution of static wealth. Whatever our ideological belief or social structure, we are part of a single international economic system on which all of our national economic objectives depend. No nation or bloc of nations can unilaterally determine the shape of the future.

42. If the strong attempt to impose their views, they will do so at the cost of justice and thus provoke upheaval. If the weak resort to pressure, they will do so at the risk of world prosperity and thus provoke despair.

43. The organization of one group of countries as a bloc will sooner or later produce the organization of potential victims into a counter-bloc. The transfer of resources from the developed to the developing nations—essential to all hopes for progress—can only take place with the support of the technologically advanced countries. Politics of pressure and threats will undermine the domestic base of this support. The danger of economic stagnation stimulates new barriers to trade and the transfer of resources.

44. We in this Assembly must come to grips with the fact of our interdependence.

45. The contemporary world can no longer be encompassed in traditional stereotypes. The notion of the northern rich and the southern poor has been shattered. The world is composed not of two sets of interests but of many: developed nations which are energy suppliers and developing nations which are energy consumers; market economies and non-market economies; capital providers and capital recipients.

46. The world economy is a sensitive set of relationships in which actions can easily set off a vicious spiral of counteractions deeply affecting all countries, developing as well as technologically advanced. Global inflation erodes the capacity to import. A reduction in the rate of world growth reduces export prospects. Exorbitantly high prices lower consumption, spur alternative production and foster the development of substitutes.

47. We are all engaged in a common enterprise. No nation or group of nations can gain by pushing its claims beyond the limits that sustain world economic growth. No one benefits from basing progress on tests of strength.

48. For the first time in history mankind has the technical possibility to escape the scourges that used to be considered inevitable. Global communication ensures that the thrust of human aspirations becomes universal. Mankind insistently identifies justice with the betterment of the human condition. Thus, economics, technology and the sweep of human values impose a recognition of our interdependence and of the necessity of our collaboration.

49. Let us therefore resolve to act with both realism and compassion to reach a new understanding of the human condition.

50. On that understanding let us base a new relationship which evokes the commitment of all nations because it serves the interests of all peoples.

51. We can build a just world only if we work together.

52. The fundamental challenge before this session is to translate the acknowledgement of our common destiny into a commitment to common action, to inspire developed and developing nations alike to perceive and pursue their

national interest by contributing to the global interest. The developing nations can meet the aspirations of their peoples only in an open, expanding world economy, where they can expect to find larger markets, capital resources and support for official assistance. The developed nations can convince their people to contribute to that goal only in an environment of political co-operation.

53. On behalf of President Nixon, I pledge the United States to a major effort in support of development. My country dedicates itself to this enterprise because our children—yours and ours—must not live in a world of brutal inequality, because peace cannot be maintained unless all share in its benefits and because America has never believed that the values of justice, well-being and human dignity could be realized by one nation alone.

54. We begin with the imperative of peace. The hopes of development will be mocked if resources continue to be consumed by an ever-increasing spiral of armaments. The relaxation of tensions is thus in the world interest. No nation can profit from confrontations that could culminate in nuclear war. At the same time, the United States will never seek stability at the expense of others. It strives for the peace of co-operation, not the illusory tranquillity of condominium.

55. But peace is more than the absence of war. It is ennobled by making possible the realization of humane aspirations. To this purpose this Assembly is dedicated.

56. Our goal cannot be reached by resolutions alone. It must remain the subject of constant, unremitting efforts over the years and decades ahead.

57. In this spirit of describing the world as it is, I would like to identify for this Assembly six problem areas which in the view of the United States delegation must be solved to spur both the world economy and world development. I do so not with the attitude of presenting blue prints but of defining common tasks to whose solution the United States herewith offers its whole-hearted co-operation.

58. First, a global economy requires an expanding supply of energy at an equitable price.

59. No subject illustrates global interdependence more emphatically than the field of energy. No nation has an interest in prices that can set off an inflationary spiral which in time reduces income for all. For example, the price of fertilizer has risen in direct proportion to the price of oil, putting it beyond the reach of many of the poorest nations and thus contributing to world-wide food shortages. A comprehension by both producers and consumers of each other's needs is therefore essential: consumers must understand the desires of the producers for higher levels of income over the long-term future; producers must understand that the recent rise in energy prices has placed a great burden on all consumers, one virtually impossible for some to bear.

60. All nations share an interest in agreeing on a level of prices which contributes to an expanding world economy and which can be sustained over the long term.

61. The United States called the Washington Energy Conference for one central purpose: to move urgently to resolve the energy problem on the basis of co-operation among all nations. The tasks we defined there can become a global agenda. Nations, particularly developed nations, waste vast amounts of existing energy supplies. We need a new commitment to global conservation and to the more efficient use of existing supplies. The oil producers themselves have noted that the demands of this decade cannot be met unless we expand available supplies. We need a massive and co-operative effort to develop alternative sources of fuels. The needs of future generations require that we develop new and renewable sources of supply. In this field, the developed nations can make a particularly valuable contribution to our common goal of abundant energy at reasonable cost.

62. Such a programme cannot be achieved by any group of countries. It must draw on the strength and meet the needs of all nations in a new dialogue among producers and consumers.

63. In such a dialogue the United States will take account, serious account, of the concern of the producing countries that the future of their peoples not depend on oil alone. The United States is willing to help broaden the base of their economies and to develop secure and diversified sources of income. We are prepared to facilitate the transfer of technology and to assist in industrialization. We will accept substantial investment of the capital of oil producing countries in the United States. We will support a greater role for oil producers in international financial organizations as well as an increase in their voting power.

64. Second, a healthy global economy requires that both consumers and producers escape from the cycle of raw material surplus and shortage which threatens all our economies.

65. The principles which apply to energy apply as well to the general problem of raw materials. It is tempting to think of cartels of raw material producers to negotiate for higher prices. But such a course could have serious consequences for all countries. Large price increases coupled with production restrictions involve potential disaster: global inflation followed by global recession, from which no nation could escape.

66. Moreover, resources are spread unevenly across the globe. Some of the poorest nations have few natural resources to export, and some of the richest nations are major commodity producers.

67. Commodity producers will discover that they are by no means insulated from the consequences of restrictions on supply or the escalation of prices. A recession in the industrial countries sharply reduces demand. Uneconomical prices for raw materials accelerate the transition to alternatives. And as they pursue industrialization, raw materials producers will ultimately pay for exorbitant commodity prices by the increased costs of the goods they must import.

68. Thus the optimum price is one that can be maintained over the longest period at the level that assures the highest

real income. Only through co-operation between consumers and producers can such a price be determined. Such a co-operative effort must include urgent international consideration of restrictions on incentives for the trade in commodities. This issue, dealing with access to supply as well as access to markets, must receive high priority in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] as we seek to revise and modernize the rules and conditions of international trade.

69. In the long term, our hopes for world prosperity will depend on our ability to discern the long-range patterns of supply and demand and to forecast future imbalances so as to avert dangerous cycles of surplus and shortage.

70. For the first time in history it is technically within our grasp to relate the resources of this planet to man's needs. The United States therefore urges that an international group of experts, working closely with the United Nations Centre for Natural Resources, Energy and Transport be asked to undertake immediately a comprehensive survey of the earth's non-renewable resources. This should include the development of a global early warning system to foreshadow impending surpluses and scarcities.

71. Third, the global economy must achieve a balance between food production and population growth and must restore the capacity to meet food emergencies. A condition in which 1,000 million people suffer from malnutrition is consistent with no concept of justice.

72. Since 1969 the global production of cereals has not kept pace with world demand. As a result, current reserves are at their lowest level in 20 years. A significant crop failure today is likely to produce a major disaster. A protracted imbalance in food and population growth will guarantee massive starvation—a moral catastrophe the world community cannot tolerate.

73. No nation can deal with this problem alone. The developed nations must commit themselves to significant assistance for food and population programmes. The developing nations must reduce the imbalance between population and food which could jeopardize not only their own progress but also the stability of the world.

74. The United States recognizes the responsibility of leadership it bears by virtue of its extraordinary agricultural productivity. We strongly support a global co-operative effort to increase food production. This is why we proposed a World Food Conference at last year's session of the General Assembly.<sup>3</sup>

75. Looking toward that Conference, we have removed all domestic restrictions on production. Our farmers have vastly increased the acreage under cultivation and gathered record harvest in 1973. The year 1974 promises to be even better. If all nations make a similar effort, we believe the recent rise in food prices will abate this year, as it has in recent weeks.

76. The United States is determined to take additional steps. Specifically, we are prepared to join with other

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2124th meeting.

Governments in a major world-wide effort to rebuild food reserves. A central objective of the World Food Conference must be to restore the world's capacity to deal with famine. We shall assign priority in our aid programmes to help developing nations substantially raise their agricultural production. We hope to increase our assistance to such programmes from \$258 million to \$675 million this year. We shall make a major effort to increase the quantity of food aid over the level we provided last year.

77. For countries living near the margin of starvation, even a small reduction in yields can produce intolerable consequences. Thus the shortage of fertilizer and the steep rise in its price is a problem of particular urgency—above all for countries dependent on the new high-yield varieties of grain. The first critical step is for all nations to utilize fully existing capabilities. The United States is now operating its fertilizer industry at near capacity. The United States is ready to provide assistance to other nations to improve the operation of plants and to make more effective use of fertilizers.

78. But this will not be enough. Existing world-wide capacity is clearly inadequate. The United States would be prepared to offer its technological skills for the development of a new fertilizer industry in developing countries, especially in oil-producing countries using the raw materials and capital they uniquely possess.

79. We also urge the establishment of an international fertilizer institute as part of a larger effort to focus international action on two specific areas of research: improving the effectiveness of chemical fertilizers, especially in tropical agriculture, and new methods to produce fertilizers from non-petroleum resources. The United States will contribute facilities, technology and expertise to such an undertaking.

80. Fourth, a global economy under stress cannot allow the poorest nations to be overwhelmed.

81. The debate between producers and consumers of raw materials must not overlook that substantial part of humanity which does not produce raw materials, grows insufficient food for its needs and has not adequately industrialized. This group of nations, already at the margin of existence, has no recourse to pay the higher prices for the fuel, food and fertilizer imports on which their survival depends.

82. Thus the people least able to afford it—a third of mankind—are the ones most profoundly threatened by an inflationary world economy. They face the despair of abandoned hopes for development and the threat of starvation. Their needs require our most urgent attention. The nations assembled here in the name of justice cannot stand idly by in the face of tragic consequences for which many of them are partially responsible.

83. We welcome the steps the oil producers have already taken towards applying their new surplus revenues to these needs. The magnitude of the problem requires, and the magnitude of their resources permits, a truly massive effort.

84. The developed nations, too, have an obligation to help. Despite the prospect of unprecedented payments deficits, they must maintain their traditional programmes of assistance and expand them, if possible. Failure to do so would penalize the lower-income countries twice. The United States is committed to continue its programme and pledges its support for an early replenishment of the International Development Association. In addition, we are prepared to consider with others what additional measures are required to mitigate the effect of commodity price rises on the low-income countries least able to bear the burden.

85. Fifth, in a global economy of physical scarcity, science and technology are becoming our most precious resource.

86. No human activity is less national in character than the field of science. No development effort offers more hope than joint technical and scientific co-operation.

87. Man's technical genius has given us labour-saving technology, healthier populations, and the "green revolution". But it has also produced a technology that consumes resources at an ever-expanding rate; a population explosion which presses against the earth's finite living space; and an agriculture increasingly dependent on the products of industry.

88. Let us now apply science to the problems which science has helped to create.

89. To help meet the developing nations: two most fundamental problems—unemployment and hunger—there is an urgent need for farming technologies that are both productive and labour intensive. The United States is prepared to contribute to international programmes to develop and apply this technology.

90. The technology of birth control should be improved.

91. At current rates of growth, the world's need for energy will more than triple by the end of this century. To meet this challenge, the United States Government is allocating \$12,000 million for energy research and development over the next five years, and American private industry will spend over \$200,000 million to increase energy supplies. We are prepared to apply the results of our massive efforts to the massive needs of other nations.

92. The poorest nations, already beset by man-made disasters, have been threatened by a natural one: the possibility of climatic changes in the monsoon belt and perhaps throughout the world. The implications for global food and population policies are ominous. The United States proposes that the International Council of Scientific Union and the World Meteorological Organization urgently investigate this problem and offer guidelines for immediate international action.

93. Sixth, the global economy requires a trade, monetary and investment system that sustains industrial civilization and stimulates growth.

94. Not since the 1930s has the economic system of the world faced such a test. The disruption of the oil price rises; the threat of global inflation; the cycle of contraction of

exports and protectionist restrictions; the massive shift in the world's financial flows; and the likely concentration of invested surplus oil revenue in a few countries—all threaten to smother the dreams of universal progress with stagnation and despair.

95. A new commitment is required by both developed and developing countries to an open trading system, a flexible but stable monetary system, and a positive climate for the free flow of resources, both public and private.

96. To this end the United States proposes that all nations here pledge themselves to avoid trade and payments restrictions in an effort to adjust to higher commodity prices.

97. The United States is prepared to keep open its capital markets so that capital can be recycled to developing countries hardest hit by the current crisis.

98. In the essential struggle to regain control over global inflation, the United States is willing to join in an international commitment to pursue responsible fiscal and monetary policies.

99. To foster an open trading world the United States, already the largest importer of the manufactures of developing nations, is prepared to open its markets further to these products. We shall work in the multilateral trade negotiations to reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers on as wide a front as possible.

100. In line with this approach we are urging our Congress to authorize the generalized tariff preferences, which are of such significance to developing countries.

101. All too often, international gatherings end with speeches filed away and resolutions passed and forgotten. We must not let this happen to the problem of development. The complex and urgent issues at hand will not yield to rhetorical flourishes. Their resolution requires a sustained and determined pursuit in the great family of United Nations and other international organizations that have the broad competence to deal with them.

102. As President Nixon stated to this Assembly in 1969:

"Surely, if one lesson above all rings resoundingly among the many shattered hopes in this world, it is that good words are not a substitute for hard deeds, and noble rhetoric is no guarantee of noble results."<sup>4</sup>

103. This Assembly should strengthen our commitment to find co-operative solutions within the appropriate forums, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund [IMF], GATT, the World Food Conference and the World Population Conference.

104. The United States commits itself to a wide-ranging multilateral effort.

105. We gather here today because our economic and moral challenges have become political challenges. Our unprecedented agenda of global consultations in 1974 already implies a collective decision to elevate our concern

for man's elementary well-being to the highest political level. Our presence implies our recognition that a challenge of this magnitude cannot be solved by a world fragmented into self-contained States or competing blocs.

106. Our task now is to match our physical needs with our political vision.

107. President Boumediène cited the Marshall Plan of a quarter of a century ago as an example of the possibility of mobilizing resources for development ends. But then the driving force was a shared sense of purpose, of values and of destination. As yet we lack a comparable sense of purpose with respect to development. This is our first requirement. Development requires above all a spirit of co-operation, a belief that with all our differences we are part of a larger community in which wealth is an obligation, resources a trust, and joint action a necessity.

108. We need mutual respect for the aspirations of the developing as well as the concerns of the developed nations. That is why the United States has supported the concept of a Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States put forward by President Echeverría of Mexico.

109. The late President Radhakrishnan of India once wrote,

"We are not the helpless tools of determinism. Though humanity renews itself from the past, it is also developing something new and unforeseen. Today we have to make a new start with our minds and hearts."

110. The effort we make in the years to come is thus a test of the freedom of the human spirit.

111. Let us affirm today that we are faced with a common challenge and can only meet it jointly. Let us candidly acknowledge our different perspectives and then proceed to build on what unites us.

112. Let us transform the concept of world community from a slogan into an attitude.

113. In this spirit let us be the masters of our common fate so that history will record that this was the year that mankind at last began to conquer its noblest and most humane challenge.

114. Mr. MALIK (Indonesia): Allow me first to express the sincere condolences of my delegation to the delegation of Sierra Leone, and to its Government and its people on the passing away of its Permanent Representative, Mr. Taylor-Kamara. Our feeling of sympathy also goes to the entire African group of States in the United Nations.

115. I should like to begin by paying a tribute to the foresight and initiative of President Houari Boumediène of Algeria in requesting the convening of this special session on the problems of raw materials and development. The positive response to this initiative of both developed and developing countries alike, as *inter alia* shown in the high representation at this Assembly, is the best testimony of the timeliness and urgent necessity of this session. His statement at the start of our debate a few days ago has

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1753th meeting, para. 45.



provided us with a penetrating and thought-provoking exposé of what to the majority of mankind appears to be basically wrong with the world economic situation today.

116. It is indeed with a sense of special urgency that my delegation has come to participate in the present deliberations. It has become all too commonplace for us to speak of the growing interdependence among nations and of the interconnexion of problems. But at no time have we been made as acutely and dramatically aware of this truism as today, in the face of the series of crises, upheavals and violent fluctuations that is rocking the international economic and monetary system to its very foundations.

117. We have come to realize, as never before, the crucial way in which the major problems of our time interact and are inter-linked with one another. Problems of development, trade and the monetary system cannot be separated from the larger issues of international security, peace, and justice. They are further bound up in, and magnified by, the problems of mass poverty, population, food, energy and dwindling natural resources. The dichotomy between rich and poor, between industrially advanced and less developed countries, must also be seen as one which pervades all those questions.

118. It would not suffice, therefore, to try to single out one specific problem for possible solution in isolation from the other problems. What is needed is a capacity to perceive and to act upon the implications and possible avenues towards realistic solution of the whole range of those interrelated problems, in full regard of the legitimate interests and priorities of especially the less developed countries of the world.

119. It is within this perspective that Indonesia is taking part at this session. And it is for this reason also, that Indonesia has all along supported Algeria's stand in posing the problem of raw materials in general within the comprehensive context of the problems of development, as an approach towards solution coming most closely to Indonesia's own.

120. It may appear quite obvious to all of us now that the question before this sixth special session ultimately boils down to the common task of how to structure a new international economic order which can guarantee stable and equitable economic development to all States and thus make possible the establishment of a just peace in the world. I myself am acutely aware that we are at one of those points in history where, in facing the extreme complexity of problems before us, we are called upon to opt for those actions which, in the words of Secretary-General Waldheim, may very well be "decisive in determining the quality and condition of mankind's future life on this planet." [2207th meeting, para. 24.]

121: The disconcerting fact, to begin with, is that for too long we have allowed old problems and inequities to remain unsolved. And while those persist, new problems are thrust upon us, even more far-reaching and frightening in scope and implication.

122: The food crisis, already a stark reality in an increasing number of developing countries, threatens to become

a world-wide calamity due to the prospect of acute food-grain shortages everywhere, coupled with the ever-present spectre of unchecked population growth. In many developing countries, its impact is being severely felt, partly because adverse weather conditions persist in some parts of the world, such as in the Sahelian region, and partly because prices continue to soar at a devastating rate. To the more populous developing countries, there is the added aggravating dimension of rapid population growth generating an ever-increasing demand for more food.

123. This recurrent global scarcity of food underlines the need for serious consideration of the creation of an internationally agreed system of food stocks as a means to ensure stable supplies at stable prices. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming World Food Conference will decide positively on such a system. At last year's General Assembly session my delegation already sounded the warning that, unless the international community accord this problem the attention commensurate with the seriousness of its implications, the world may soon be faced by an unprecedented challenge to its very peace and security. Above all else, the food crisis indicates the need for a more rational system of global resources supply lest the real prospect of famine and starvation may trigger new patterns of aggressiveness among nations.

124: Other pressing problems which have plagued our world economy for some years now are monetary instability and global inflation, which have had a particularly adverse effect on most of the developing countries. In a situation where parities of leading world currencies have been abandoned and where inflation has emerged as an international phenomenon, new elements of uncertainty have been introduced into both the short-term and long-term outlook for development and international trade.

125: As we all know, the Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues, entrusted with fashioning a new international monetary system, will be finishing up its work in June of this year. We are given to understand that the par value system envisaged as the objective of a new monetary order does not appear practicable to implement under the present conditions of our world economy. Thus, interim measures will be needed so as to ensure as much stability and order as possible, by issuing guidelines on the floating of currencies and on the mechanism for adjustment.

126: In this connexion, I should like to give expression to Indonesia's sincere expectation that in whatever interim arrangement contemplated the interests of the developing countries will continue to be duly taken into account. While stricter rules may be necessary for countries with a large impact on the international monetary situation, they are, I believe, less needed for countries with small and developing economies.

127. Efforts aimed at global monetary stability are vital and urgent. Monetary stability, however, is not sufficient in itself, since the monetary system in fact constitutes only one of the factors influencing the exchange of goods and services among nations. In this context, patterns of trade relationships have also to be reviewed, in order to facilitate the expansion and liberalization of international trade as an



indispensable means to promote the availability of capital for economic development.

128. The grave deficiencies of the world trading system have become more and more apparent in recent years. Although there has been a considerable expansion in world trade, its benefits have not been equally distributed among all countries. Developing countries have been faced with uncertain markets for their primary products and with a host of restrictions severely limiting their exports of semi-manufactured and manufactured goods to developed countries. Protectionist forces have grown stronger in certain developed countries and this, combined with the changes brought about by the growth of new trading Powers and new economic groupings, has raised the danger that the world might retreat from multilateral trading relations and divide into rival economic blocs.

129. For more than two decades, the developing countries have been trying to find solutions to the problem of fluctuating commodity prices, which are affecting the development process since the export of primary commodities constitutes a most important source of development financing. Practical measures to improve the position of the primary-producing countries through proper pricing policies and efforts to achieve wider access to markets have so far been limited. In some cases, the competitive position of some primary commodities has been further eroded by the increase in the production of synthetic materials and by the release of stockpiles at inopportune times.

130. It is true that the prices of some primary commodities have recently shown sharp increases, but in fact, for many products, including oil, this seemingly favourable trend should be regarded only as a recovery of commodity prices from previously very low levels. It has come about as a result of an upswing in the business cycle of developed countries, and also, unfortunately as a hedge against inflation and weakening currencies. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the extent of the increase is somewhat exaggerated, especially if prices are expressed in real terms.

131. Persistent inflation in the developed countries also translates itself in substantial price increases of industrial products purchased from developed countries, for consumption as well as for development purposes. Price increases in some primary products, therefore, should be weighed against the increases in the import bills of the developing countries, including substantial imports of food-stuffs to which I referred earlier.

132. It should be further noted that the prices for other important products, which for many developing countries constitute main foreign exchange resources, such as tea and jute, have remained at their low levels and have not significantly risen over the past years. In fact, the prices for these commodities show indications of further deterioration. Thus, what is needed is not just temporary or nominal gains, but a more permanent trend towards structural changes in international economic relations which will ensure stability and balanced growth, beneficial to both primary-producing and consuming countries.

133. Various endeavours to achieve price stabilization by means of international commodity agreements have

remained limited to a relatively small number of commodities. The limited coverage reflects, to some extent, the prevailing view that commodity agreements were appropriate measures only for emergency situations of temporary imbalance between supply and demand. In striving to widen the coverage of commodities it should always be stressed, however, that in any new arrangement, price stabilization should not lead to a return to previous low and unfair levels.

134. Preferential access to the markets of developed countries has been considered essential as a mechanism to facilitate the process of structural transformation from a developing to a more developed economy. This scheme has been regarded as a break-through in international economic relations and has been considered a first important step towards the creation of a more fair and just world economic order. I feel constrained to submit, however, that not all developing countries, particularly those countries whose export package still predominantly consists of primary commodities, are in a position to benefit equally from the scheme.

135. Apart from Australia, the European Economic Community was among the first to implement the scheme. While expressing appreciation for such understanding, I have to submit that a number of aspects of the scheme could still be improved. Indonesia, together with the other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, has submitted a joint memorandum to the European Community containing proposals for improving the scheme as regards product coverage, safeguards measures, and other administrative measures, like rules of origin, etc.

136. Much as been said already about the one raw material that now seems to be uppermost in everyone's mind, namely petroleum and the related problems of the energy crisis.

137. Let me reiterate, from the outset, that we are indeed not being confronted by a new phenomenon nor by an isolated incident, as this problem has emerged in the wake of other ones.

138. It may be useful to recall that in 1970 it was already projected that on the basis of the rate of world consumption, oil reserves would be depleted in 20 to 30 years. This impending scarcity may be further compounded by the fact that oil at present occupies a preponderant role as an essential input, both direct and indirect, for practically all sectors of our modern world economic machinery. Even for the most advanced industrialized countries it would take several years before alternative energy resources could be developed on an economical and remunerative basis.

139. Thus, while the present energy crisis is admittedly the direct result of the sharp increase in oil prices and temporary restrictions on its supply, we have to recognize that the crisis is basically the consequence of a growing imbalance between supply and demand. This problem has been further aggravated by persistent uneconomical and even wasteful use of energy, especially in the industrially advanced countries, due to very low prices in the past. For quite a long time cheap oil has helped boost the rapid industrial progress in the developed countries. Moreover,

some countries have preferred to use this supply of inexpensive energy from the developing countries rather than their own relatively more expensive resources.

140. Another aspect, as already elucidated by several eminent speakers before me, deserves our particular consideration. In the same period when oil prices were constantly kept at unrealistically low levels, that is to say, for the past 20 years between 1950 and 1970, industrial goods have undergone steady and substantial price increases, often quite unrelated to the cost of processing primary products. It was only after the oil-producing countries succeeded in consolidating their joint resolve to put an end to this anomaly and increased the price of oil that the energy problem drew world-wide attention and created a new awareness of the pervasive role of energy in the economic growth of nations.

141. The appeal made by some industrialized countries to lower the price of oil appears, therefore, as unwarranted as it is unjust. In point of fact, the increase in the price of oil was long overdue. Nor can it be expected that the developing oil-producing countries will continue to subsidize the industrialization of the advanced countries. It may be further pointed out that if the adjustment of oil prices had been allowed to proceed gradually over the past 20 years, as was, in any event, the case with most industrial goods, price levels may well have turned out higher than they actually are today—and perhaps they would have been accepted with much less recrimination.

142. As far as Indonesia is concerned, we are indeed a net oil-exporting country. In terms of total world exports, however, Indonesia's share is a 2 per cent. On the other hand, in terms of population, Indonesia with its 130 million people, is the world's fifth most populous country. Our import requirements are correspondingly large and increasing. It is obvious, therefore, that any gains from oil export earnings can be easily offset by higher prices of our imports.

143. By way of illustration, in spite of steady increases in our food production, in 1973 alone my Government had to import rice and fertilizers amounting to almost \$US 1,000 million. For the 1974/1975 budget year it is anticipated that costs of imports of these vital commodities alone will still range around this level.

144. Indonesia's oil production has now reached a level of 1.4 million barrels per day. I need to point out, however, that, although we are an oil-producing country, present domestic energy consumption is still very low. With an estimated consumption of 26 million kilolitres of oil-equivalent in 1973, which averages about 90 litres of oil *per capita* annually, Indonesia is among the lowest energy-consuming countries in Asia.

145. For some years to come, we shall probably still be able to export our surplus oil and use the revenues for our national development. Assuming, however, that oil remains an essential element of our economy and taking into account an estimated increase of energy consumption of 10 to 20 per cent and a population growth rate of 2.3 per cent annually, our energy consumption in 25 years from now will reach a level of 4 million barrels of oil-equivalent a day.

146. These simple figures and projections already indicate the imperative need for us to continue to increase our production and export of oil in order to be able to keep up with the enormous and continually growing financing requirements of our national development efforts. As a sobering reminder of how far we still have to go, I may inform you that Indonesia's annual *per capita* income at present is still below \$US 100.

147. In view of the growing demands on its energy requirements for its economic and social development, and realizing the fact that it is now using expensive energy, Indonesia will endeavour to continue to increase its energy production through intensification of oil exploration as well as through the accelerated development of other alternative energy resources, such as coal, thermal power and so on.

148. Nevertheless, Indonesia realizes that oil-consuming countries will most likely face deficits in their current accounts owing to substantial increases in their import bill for oil. On the whole, however, the major industrialized countries are in a better position to offset this deficit by the re-inflow of capital from some oil-producing countries and by borrowing. For most developing countries, however, this predicament is placing an unbearable burden on their balances of payments.

149. A number of initiatives have already been taken to alleviate this added burden for the developing countries, *inter alia* by the major oil-exporting countries, both individually and collectively. In this connexion Indonesia welcomes the concrete proposals made by His Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran outlining various measures to which a firm offer of \$US 1,000 million has already been pledged. In my delegation's view, these initiatives merit our serious attention and consideration.

150. In its wider ramifications, however, the energy crisis underlines the structural deficiencies of our present international economic and social system and points to the urgent need for fundamental readjustments.

151. In this context, tendencies to decrease the flow of official development assistance to developing countries, currently still well below the target of the International Development Strategy, must be firmly opposed, for it will not do for us to substitute one problem for another, of much wider and graver implications to the security and stability of the world, by further endangering the already tenuous dichotomy between rich and poor, between developed and developing countries. In this connexion, I am happy to note that, in general, the industrialized countries remain aware of the necessity of extending and increasing aid to continue to assist in meeting the real development needs of the poor developing countries.

152. In conclusion, I believe that the time has come for both the developed and the developing countries of the world to discard the emotionalism that for so long has tended to becloud their approaches to one another. Many of the developing countries of the third world have gone through the phase of extreme nationalism and even chauvinism in positioning themselves, politically and economically, in relation to the industrially advanced nations.

That period, I believe, is coming to an end. The new kind of nationalism that is at present asserting itself in their economic policies towards the developed world should be seen as a much more mature expression of their legitimate search for true independence and national dignity.

153. On the other hand, the industrially advanced countries must realize that the era of imperialist or neo-colonialist relationships is dead and gone for ever; that policies based on narrow national interest alone, with, at best, minor accommodations to the desires and sensitivities of the developing nations, have reached the limit of effectiveness.

154. Both developed and developing countries must come to realize that, together, they have to succeed in shaping a new kind of partnership of mutual interest for mutual benefit, within the fabric of global interdependence.

155. It is clear that this process of fundamental readjustment cannot be undertaken by the application of stereotype views or approaches and can only come about through co-operation rather than confrontation. At the same time, however, we shall have before us a unique opportunity not only to start a new pattern of multilateral and bilateral co-operation between States but also to initiate a truly world-wide effort to establish prosperity with justice for all.

156. As I see it, it is not any more a question of whether, but of how, to seize this opportunity. The success of our efforts, here in this hall and outside it, may thus become a measure of the clarity of our vision and our ability to face up to the new priorities of a rapidly changing world.

157. Mr. ASSOGBA (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Dahomey associates itself with the expression of condolences to the sister Republic of Sierra Leone and pays tribute to the late Ismael Taylor-Kamara.

158. When speaking on 8 October 1973 before the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Dahomey, quoting the political charter which was solemnly proclaimed by its Head of State, President Mathieu Kérékou, and which was adopted by the entire Dahomean people on 30 November, declared:

"The fundamental characteristic and the primary source of the backwardness of our country is foreign domination. The history of that domination is the history of political oppression, economic exploitation and cultural alienation and of the flourishing of interregional and intertribal contradictions. But it is also the history of the lengthy struggle of the militant people of our country who, on 26 October 1972, marked a radical break with the past and started a new policy of national independence the basis and purpose of which are its interests and its personality."<sup>5</sup>

159. Thus, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Dahomey was far from thinking that the self-evident truths, which were the results of observations and thoughts on tangible data representing the daily quota of problems which most of the developing countries confront, would find their justification and their integral development a few months

later in what the entire world has called the event of the year, namely, the convening of the sixth special session of our Assembly for the purpose of discussing problems relating to raw materials and development.

160. May I at this stage express profound gratitude, on behalf of the people and Government of Dahomey, to President Houari Boumediène who, as President in Office of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, saw fit to draw the attention of the world community to these questions and to take the initiative to request the convening of the present session. Is it not true that these are questions of vital importance and that if we do not deal with them rapidly so as to find just, reasonable and equitable solutions they may on a long- or medium-term basis threaten international peace and security? But we know that such a request would not have been granted if the Members of our Organization had not understood its importance and had not responded with enthusiasm. This is why we are equally grateful to the entire world community which, because of its favourable and unanimous response to Algeria's initiative, has proved that it is still able to manifest solidarity when faced with a real danger.

161. The questions before us may be summarized in these words. How can the third world avoid a shameful economic exploitation of its raw materials and become relatively independent while safeguarding its interests and affirming its personality? The problem when put thus shows the danger entailed in any hypocritical manoeuvres if they would lead the international community to turn its back on the real concerns for which we have met here in this hall and if it were to content itself with expressing pious hopes in inoperative resolutions. That is why, being loyal to the principles which have guided the actions of our dynamic Government since it came into power, the delegation of Dahomey proclaims that if we wish the entire world to continue to believe in the effectiveness of our Organization, if we wish the purposes and principles embodied in the United Nations Charter to mean something, this session must of necessity be a session of truth. We must turn our back on philosophical, political and even regional barriers the better to apprehend the question and resolve the real problems which made us decide to meet here in a special session. By telling each other the truth we will of necessity find the ways and means which will lead us in the quest for equitable solutions which may serve our reciprocal interests and assist in affirming our personality.

162. But before we tell each other the truth, we must agree on a point of departure, that is to say, on a definition which is acceptable for all the terms contained in the agenda for this session. Hence the question of knowing what is meant by "raw materials" and "development". It would be appropriate if, to confine the problem, we were to avoid the definition, which is acceptable but whose selfish interest need not be proved, which consists in saying that raw materials are those which are necessary for industry. Such a definition would merely distort the spirit and the letter of the questions which have been put by the delegation of Algeria. Thus, my delegation would prefer a general meaning which would define raw materials as all materials in their original and natural state, which in order to be consumed or used by man must necessarily be processed. By "development" we should understand the

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2144th meeting.

setting into motion of mechanisms whose purpose is to ensure the growth and modernization of a country and a people.

*Mr. Ghobash (United Arab Emirates), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

163. A rapid review of the vicissitudes which led the Head of State of Algeria to have us meet here will suffice for our Assembly to accept the premises that I have just stated. First of all, there is the constant observation by the countries of the third world that while they increase production their resources decline. Such a situation, which has so often been proclaimed by the developing countries and which is called "deterioration in the terms of trade" should years ago have aroused the conscience of the consumer countries, which should find a formula to make it possible to resolve this ill. Instead of this the third world has witnessed the outrageous selfishness of the "have" countries which, rather than taking action on world market prices for commodities so as to ensure a just income distribution, have developed to the detriment of the developing countries. In so doing, did they think that this intolerable and depressing situation for the third world would last for ever and that the third world would continue to remain impassive at the deterioration in prices despite the increase in quantity and improvement in the quality of the raw materials which they have placed on the world market? Why, instead, did the "have" countries feel it their duty to respond to the appeals launched by so many authorized voices from the developing countries? Why did they, instead, prefer to continue to buy raw materials at ridiculous prices to feed their factories and later to sell costly processed goods to us? These are some questions to which there can be no reply except by noting the selfishness of the rich countries which seek exorbitant profits. If the rich countries had not been too blinded by the sweet taste of profits, we would not be here today, because they would long ago have understood that such a situation could not continue.

164. In effect, what had to happen did happen. The countries producing certain raw materials became aware of their strength and realized the preponderant role that their products played in the industry of the major consumers. It was therefore sufficient for them unilaterally to decide to increase production prices of their raw materials for the entire world economic system to be put to a hard test and for cries to go up everywhere concerning the risk of inflation. The galloping character of inflation led certain leaders of rich countries to describe the new situation as "intolerable".

165. General panic and frenzy superseded peaceful, even insolent, development in the "have" countries, because their factories could no longer operate normally lacking sufficient, cheap raw materials. The risks of a recession contributed to expanding what has been called the "energy crisis". Hence, different initiatives were undertaken to attempt to eliminate the crisis or at least to lessen its impact. Even though the convening of the Washington Energy Conference and the appeal launched by France to the world Organization to discuss the energy problem had different objectives, my delegation has no illusions and is convinced that these were not attempts to defend the

legitimate interests of the developing countries, since these initiatives would never have come about despite the pressure of the embargo and the steep rise in the prices on the economy of most of the "have not" countries.

166. We, the countries of the third world, find that we are more comfortable with the initiative taken by the Head of State of Algeria, who, being aware of the sterility of the confrontation between oil producing and oil consuming countries that would inevitably have arisen as a result of the initiatives that I have just mentioned, preferred to have an international gathering concentrating on a more general theme to find once and for all a just and equitable solution to the constant deterioration in the terms of trade, which has meant that the rich have become richer while the poor slide down to destitution.

167. Nevertheless I think it is fitting to say here that the delegation of Dahomey, in coming to this session, believes that we must not be deluded, because we know that, while there is unanimous agreement to discuss the question of raw materials and development, each delegation has its own idea of what it means by those terms and, accordingly, what it wishes to discuss. We must therefore approach this question realistically so as to find a solution that will take into account certain divergent interests. To be realistic is to recognize that when we speak of raw materials a distinction must be made between strategic raw materials and those which are not strategic. To be realistic is to affirm also that these two categories of raw materials do not play the same role in the world economy and that the question must be considered seriously on the basis of the fact that, by their nature, the two types of raw materials do not have the same impact on the world economy. If strategic raw materials are of vital importance for the industry and development of the rich countries, on the other hand non-strategic raw materials cannot play the same role. If the absence of the former can create a fever on the world market because the present state of scientific research does not enable the consumer countries to do without them because they have not yet found substitutes or because substitutes would be too costly, on the other hand the absence of non-strategic raw materials, because of the substitutes which an advanced study of strategic materials has made possible, cannot bring about the same international awareness.

168. This realistic approach to the question leads us to say that in truth one cannot place the two categories of raw materials on a footing of equality. It would therefore be mere illusion to seek to find a single solution for the two categories, because the truth is that the countries producing strategic raw materials can continue to use them as redoubtable weapons so as to demand a just redistribution of income, can compel the consumer countries whose economic, political and social life depends on their will to sell their primary products at desirable prices, and can compel the developed countries to accept what they have unilaterally decided; on the other hand, countries producing non-strategic raw materials cannot use their products as a weapon to impose their will on the consumer countries. Therefore this is no time to be blind and to claim that there is solidarity in this field when each one in his own mind knows that it is hollow. This is why Dahomey believes that if we do not wish this session to conclude at an impasse and if we do not wish to give the impression at

the end that we have discussed these matters at length without being able to say just what we did discuss and what purpose we sought, then this special session must necessarily be one of dialogue, understanding and co-operation.

169. The position of Dahomey is not difficult to understand. My country is essentially an agricultural country which, in the present stage of geological research, cannot yet be classified in the category of those that can unilaterally impose their will in the field of prices for raw materials. Dahomey is convinced of the justness of the cause which the third world intends to defend here. Like all the other countries in its category, and perhaps even more acutely than them, we have suffered the effects of the energy crisis. However, this has not made us lose sight of the fact that the only way for this session to reach concrete solutions is to leave antagonisms and sterile confrontations in the cloakroom, and to embark on a dialogue. This means that if Dahomey agrees that the present session should not discuss only the energy crisis, it also knows that a discussion of the serious nature of the "big sister" of the present crisis, namely, the deterioration of the terms of trade, cannot be held equitably unless the Members of this Organization accept from the outset the rules of the game and decide to carry out a serious dialogue that will be of benefit to all. This means, finally, that Dahomey cannot subscribe to a solution that will seek to solve only the present crisis while leaving aside the problem that it considers to be vital, namely, world market prices for agricultural products which, while they are not classified in the category of strategic raw materials, nevertheless constitute the basis for the harmonious development of a country and a people.

170. My delegation knows that the question before us is a vast one and that in so short a time our Organization will not be able to consider it in all its aspects and implications. That is why, if at the end of our work a trend emerges to find an immediate and long-term solution to the burning contemporary problem while defining and agreeing on the fundamental principles which should in future guide the work of the specialized organs which will deal with the specific problems of agricultural products, Dahomey, in a spirit of realism and conciliation, will not object. Indeed, at the end of our work we must be able to congratulate ourselves on having finally succeeded in defining the international rules which will in future govern economic relations between the rich and the poor countries. This crying inequality, this international injustice, which increasingly widens the gap between the rich and the poor countries, must disappear for ever. The time has come when the rich must finally realize that it is not in their interest to continue to amass wealth while the poor continue to languish in poverty and destitution. This may be a pious hope, but it nevertheless can be fulfilled on the condition that our community accepts, in a surge of international solidarity and justice, a substantial rise in the prices of all raw materials so that those who produce most will earn accordingly. This would promote a certain competition and would make it possible to do away with the evil and eliminate the distortions which are constantly created by the deterioration in the terms of trade.

171. As will be observed, the delegation of Dahomey has sought to avoid any demagogic or inoperative formula. We

have above all wished to approach the problem before us in a sense of realism and effectiveness. We are also aware, however, that the purposes sought can be attained only if we all jointly accept dialogue and co-operation in an international impetus of solidarity for the well-being of the entire world community. Thus Dahomey comes to this special session with confidence, being convinced that no one here would dare to accept to sign a record of final failure and that, therefore, our work will be guided by constant concern for justice and equity in the properly understood meaning of the interests of each country so that we might achieve this ideal of peace and justice without which no developed or other country can permanently guarantee its political and economic existence.

172. Mr. EFON (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation wishes first to associate itself with the words of condolence which the Assembly addressed to the delegation of Sierra Leone on the untimely death of Mr. Ismael Taylor-Kamara, whose dedication to the cause of peace was well known throughout the Organization.

173. It is a pleasant duty for me to address to the President of the Assembly the warm congratulations of my delegation for the renewed confidence placed in him by all delegations on his election as President of the present special session of the General Assembly. How could it be otherwise when we recall the courteous efficiency, coupled with justice, impartiality and equity, with which he presided over the work of the twenty-eighth session?

174. I am gratified to see that the States Members of the Organization are thus, through him, honouring Ecuador a Latin American country very close to Africa because of its history, culture, geography and the fact that it too belongs to the emerging world. In him I greet a worthy and eminent representative of a country with which the United Republic of Cameroon enjoys relations of mutual respect.

175. His long and rich political experience and, above all, his profound knowledge of men and States allow us to foresee that the work of the present special session will satisfy all the interests at play.

176. Naturally, our congratulations are also addressed to the other members of the General Committee, who will assist the President in the fulfilment of his delicate task.

177. On behalf of my Government, I should like to take this opportunity to pay a particularly warm tribute to Mr. Houari Boumediène, President of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Algeria, who, as President in Office of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, was wise enough to call for the convening of the present special session.

178. By that felicitous initiative, Algeria has remained faithful to its traditions of anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle and is once again in the vanguard of the difficult task which the third world is carrying out to achieve its economic emancipation. My delegation is convinced that the important statement which President Boumediène was good enough to address to this Assembly will be a precious source of inspiration to all those who

support the efforts of our Organization to establish a world of justice, progress and freedom.

179. The importance of the subject that we are called upon to study is of such urgency that the international community must immediately mobilize all its intellectual resources in order to find acceptable and lasting solutions to the anguishing problems of raw materials and development which are confronting the world more acutely than ever.

180. My delegation has very often mentioned from this rostrum the omens of this dramatic situation which today we understand in all its gravity and which has been worsening dangerously over the years primarily because of the persistence of colonialist and racist régimes which, by keeping millions of Africans in subhuman living conditions, create an atmosphere of unacceptable frustration, and also because of the imperialist aggressions and the strengthening of the structures of pillage and exploitation of the resources of the third world, which constitute serious obstacles to the peace and progress of peoples, as was made clear in the Political Declaration of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers.<sup>6</sup>

181. The international community has, without conviction or enthusiasm it is true, nevertheless tried to apply some palliatives to the evil of our century: under-development. In this search for a solution our Organization had advocated measures that had given rise to real hopes at the time; but our populations were very quickly disillusioned after the first couple of years of the Second United Nations Development Decade, the fruits of which were far from meeting the promise of the flowers.

182. The results of the first review of the progress achieved in the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade were not such as to arouse optimism in anybody's mind. Those who have preceded me in this debate have stressed that that Strategy was still-born because of the lack of resolute support on the part of the wealthy Powers. My delegation shares the conclusions of that analysis of the catastrophic economic situation currently besetting our countries.

183. The third world does not hold out its hand for charity; we seek justice. We want justice to replace the present unjust economic system that makes us eternally poorer while the rich countries become eternally wealthier. But let no one see in our disenchantment a desire for confrontation.

184. Quite the contrary: because of the common destiny, and hence the interdependence, of nations and peoples, we believe that this special session of the General Assembly should be characterized by co-operation and justice.

185. But how much longer can we disguise our distress and our indignation when the lives of millions of human beings are tragically jeopardized by unjust economic machinery?

186. I come from a country the main export products of which are agricultural, as is the case of the majority of developing countries. Our populations are hard-working, but their efforts are counteracted by the low prices imposed on their products. The constant fluctuations in the prices of our agricultural products on the world market do not allow us to make any serious projections for the future likely to hold out any hope of success for our development programmes. Yet it is from our agricultural products that we derive the basic resources that we need to finance our development projects.

187. The Head of State of the Cameroons, El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, speaking at the inauguration of a big agricultural show in one of our provinces in March 1973, strongly deplored the flagrant injustice that the third world population is suffering in the sector of trade. Thus he stated that:

"...in 1970-1971, Cameroon exported 104,700 tons of cocoa and cocoa products, from which it derived an income of 18,000 million CFA francs; while in 1971-1972 the export of 112,700 tons of the same products returned only 16,000 million CFA francs, a net loss of 2,000 million CFA francs for a production that was clearly greater than that of the preceding season".

188. That example gives proof, if more proof were necessary, of the difficulties confronting the third world countries when they export raw materials to finance their own economic and social development. It is true that we sometimes observe certain slight upward movements in the prices of raw materials on the world market. Such a situation has prevailed since 1972. But such price rises are not spontaneous: they are caused in particular by the deficit between supply and demand, and by poor harvests in the majority of producing countries. Moreover, these increases in the prices of raw materials exported by the under-developed countries are far less than the price rises in raw materials exported by the developed countries, which results in an aggravation of the disparities between third world and developed countries. To put an end to this situation the international community must evolve a new system which will bring greater justice and equity to international economic relations. Particularly with regard to raw materials, which serve as the basic element of the participation of third world countries in international trade, this new system must lead to a revaluation of their prices by the establishment of some sort of correlation between the prices of raw materials and manufactured goods.

189. The achievement of such a target presupposes, first of all, the existence of a political will to strengthen international solidarity; but it also calls for the organization of the markets of these raw materials, product by product, as a first means of achieving agreement. These arrangements should not only tend to stabilize prices but, over and above all, should serve to encourage the efforts of the third world countries by guaranteeing them remunerative prices. My delegation is ready to make its contribution at any time to the furthering of such initiatives, as advocated from this rostrum by a number of speakers.

190. While our export income diminishes in inverse proportion to our efforts, we must, on the other hand, pay

<sup>6</sup> See document A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 3.



ever more dearly for the manufactured goods that we import from industrialized countries.

191. In such a cynically unjust situation you will easily understand why the third world is justified in calling more than ever for the setting up of a new world economic order, based on principles of justice and equity, in order to assure the welfare of all mankind.

192. The achievement of such a new world-wide economic system requires the urgent transformation of the unjust and obsolete structures operating at present in the fields of trade and international monetary arrangements, to the sole profit of the wealthy countries.

193. The present situation, apart from the arrangements among producers, requires that the developed countries open their markets to our products by doing away with all the protectionist barriers which unfortunately make it even more difficult for us to meet their needs and thus result in a decrease of exports by the under-developed countries.

194. We had pinned certain hopes on the 1972 International Cocoa Agreement, but, as you know, its implementation has been jeopardized because certain developed countries, great consumers of that commodity, have not agreed to ratify that Agreement. However, we do hope that at this present special session a recommendation will be issued calling for corrective and concrete action in this specific field.

195. Furthermore, the implementation of the system of generalized preferences, non-restrictive in nature, would improve the position of our products and give them access to the markets of the developed countries. But specific account must be taken of the particular situations in the developing countries, the economies of which could be upset by such a generalization. Non-tariff barriers must be reviewed and, ultimately, perhaps eliminated altogether.

196. Likewise, a better international division of labour must be devised in order to allow the third world to develop the capability for on-site processing of some of their own raw materials. The developed world should give us its assistance in this undertaking for the diversification of our export products and should also allow the unhampered access of our manufactured or semi-manufactured products to their markets.

197. Recent events that have taken place in the world economy have clearly proved that in order to ensure the continuous prosperity and welfare of the developed countries, effective solutions must be found to the problems of development confronting the third world. The international community must bend every effort to reduce the gap that so dangerously separates the industrialized countries from the world of misery and want.

198. The constant deterioration of the terms of trade to the detriment of the third world keeps our balance of payments in a constant state of chronic deficit, which is being aggravated. Very soon our own States will be forced to take out new loans in order to pay for the old ones. Under the circumstances it is easy to understand that the rate growth of 6 per cent set as the minimum target for the

Second Development Decade for all the developing countries can never be achieved. In many cases, furthermore, it may scarcely reach 2 per cent, according to the projections of the World Bank. In other words, the developing countries are at present in a most invidious financial situation so far as the future of their economies is concerned.

199. The monetary crisis through which we have been living in the last few years, and the unlimited inflation that has taken place in the industrialized countries and has spread to the rest of the world, have very profoundly affected the interdependence of the international community. The obsolete Bretton Woods monetary system has sufficiently proved itself no longer able to confront the problems of the developing world. Therefore, this Organization must design new and genuine principles that will allow us to set up a new monetary order that will take into account the development needs of the poor countries while also taking into account the monetary, trade and developmental problems indissolubly attached thereto.

200. Healthy co-operation of a mutually advantageous nature between the developed and the developing nations should make it easy to establish this new monetary system, the need for which is beyond dispute. Such a system should in part be based upon special drawing rights that would be given the role of international currency while the problems of development and assistance were being coped with.

201. The necessary democratization of the IMF must lead to an equitable increase in counterpart payments from the third world and also assure the developing countries of a just degree of participation in keeping with their importance.

202. Apart from the proposals and suggestions I have made concerning the stabilization of prices, just remuneration for raw materials, the adoption of a trade policy favourable to the developing nations and the democratization of the IMF, my delegation considers that recent events have created an exceptionally grave economic situation calling for immediate measures. In fact, a large number of developing countries urgently need additional resources to purchase their staples, to assure the investments foreseen for the future and to cope with the intolerable weight of their balance of payments. Effective reaction from the international community cannot be long in coming. In this regard my delegation believes that the special programme of solidarity proposed by President Boumediène to assist the needy countries constitutes a serious effort to find a solution to our problems and warrants active support from all Members of the United Nations.

203. The creation of a new world economic system that takes fully into account the specific interests of the third world presupposes constructive measures being adopted immediately and being accepted by all States if we wish to avoid an unprecedented universal economic catastrophe by the end of the present decade. It is therefore not accidental that I mention that the international community must assume its responsibilities in order to reduce the rapidly growing disparity between the wealthy and the needy nations. As that gap increases, so the difference separating



the needy from the wealthy has become a huge powderkeg that may well ignite the entire world. The international community must avoid such a danger, since that process could imperil peace and security on the planet.

204. With regard to the oil crisis, which certain news media maliciously and obstinately try to hold fully responsible for the present economic crisis, I believe we should recall that for a long time the great transnational companies and cartels laid down the law as absolute masters of the petroleum and petroleum-products market.

205. During that entire period, the producing countries had nothing to say. They received their royalties or they received payments, but the amount was very small, and it was only raised a little when the companies did not agree ahead of time on the price to be imposed or when they were fighting over the same production zone.

206. Since the moment when a few political leaders decided to rebel against that injustice, they have met with blind and deaf aggression from the companies.

207. Strengthened by their united action in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], and also strong because they themselves were able to control their own natural resources, the oil-producing countries decided to exploit and export their own oil and to set their price taking into account the monetary erosion and general inflation from which the world was suffering and thus be able to meet the development needs of their populations.

208. We are gratified at the victories chalked up by OPEC in this field. We believe this to be a precious achievement, an example and a source of hope. Even if it leads to a temporary upset of our economies, we are still happy.

209. Furthermore, to attenuate the effects of the rise in the price of petroleum on the economies of the developing countries, a number of oil-exporting countries showed a true will to co-operate and a high sense of solidarity which has been manifested in a number of bilateral initiatives within the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States and, at the level of the Islamic countries, in Lahore and in OPEC itself.

210. But their efforts are still not enough to meet our difficulties, though they do represent an important step towards the necessary and active international solidarity for which we call most vehemently.

211. This special session is called upon to adopt decisions that are crucial to the survival of our peoples, and it has many responsibilities fully and concretely to assume. No diversion, no procrastination can be allowed. Our Organization will be failing in its mission if it does not save succeeding generations from the scourge of misery, if as of this moment it does not create better conditions of justice and equity within a new world economic order in which all peoples of the world can aspire to welfare, progress and peace.

212. The United Republic of Cameroon, which has always placed man at the very centre of all its development efforts, is resolutely committed to contribute to the achievement of such a new economic order in which international social justice will become a reality honestly set up and sincerely practised by all men.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*