

the guiding principles of coexistence, and a new order of co-operation among States.

21. In the last few months we have been witnessing a phenomenon of extraordinary interest: the unexpected effect that a single economic measure has produced in the entire working of international relations.

22. First of all, this event has proved the vulnerability of power relationships, both economic and political, which are based on the idea of the dependency of producers of basic raw materials with respect to countries that are better equipped to process them. But this is all the more significant if we consider that approximately 25 developing nations possess between 80 and 90 per cent of the total reserves of basic raw materials required by the industries of the more developed countries—or, if you prefer the term, the better equipped countries. This will doubtless force us to redefine our problems so that, replacing confrontation by co-operation, we will find adequate and flexible solutions.

23. A second and inevitable consequence will be a change in the simplistic blueprints that have served to measure development. In the light of recent events, the differences in degree of development have become accentuated and these differences can no longer be pigeon-holed with arbitrary names; they will make necessary greater interdependence, a greater development of the forms of international solidarity, and a search for means that will maintain the unity of the developing world.

24. The impact of recent events on the inflationary process, on the imbalances in the balance of payments and on the rising cost of living must lead us, if we wish to avoid a catastrophe, to new approaches to the problems and to bolder and more creative solutions. As a centre for co-ordinating international co-operation, the United Nations will have to utilize to the maximum the capacities both of its own organs and of those of its specialized agencies.

25. Today we are facing the challenge of multiple and difficult problems that call for new solutions. It is hardly possible to hope that in the short time we have before us at this special session we will find those solutions, but it is to be hoped that general principles and directives will be laid down for ultimately achieving them.

26. May I express the hope that positive co-operation will take the place of confrontation, and that solidarity will replace isolationism? Surely recent events have proved the growing interdependence of States and their indissoluble links within the international community. They have also proved that solutions cannot be found through the grouping of economic forces as though on a field of battle and that, in the complex world of today, coexistence cannot be based on norms which are arbitrarily imposed. That is why the United Nations, which constitutionally is the centre for international economic and social co-ordination, will have to devise new solutions for new problems if we truly and sincerely wish to avoid a crisis with unforeseeable results. On the efforts we expend will depend whether we are today setting our feet on the road to creative co-operation that

will lead to solutions or whether we shall leave the world terrified by a total, inevitable and dramatic crisis.

AGENDA ITEM 6

Adoption of the agenda

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In order to expedite our work, the Assembly may wish to adopt its provisional agenda [A/9543] in plenary meeting without referring it to the General Committee. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees to this procedure.

It was so decided.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now ask the Assembly whether there is any objection to the adoption of the provisional agenda as it appears in document A/9543. If there is no objection, I shall declare the agenda adopted.

The agenda was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 5

Organization of the session

29. Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone): I should like, on behalf of the African group of States, to propose that the General Assembly decide to establish an *ad hoc* committee of the sixth special session with a chairman, three vice-chairmen and a rapporteur and to accord its chairman, for the duration of the special session only and without in any way constituting a precedent, full rights of membership in the General Committee, including the right to vote.

30. The African group feels that, inasmuch as the *ad hoc* committee would be the only committee meeting during the special session, its chairman would deserve to be given the opportunity to participate in the work of the General Committee with full voting rights.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Sierra Leone has proposed that the General Assembly establish an *ad hoc* committee of the sixth special session with a chairman, three vice-chairmen and a rapporteur and accord to its chairman, for the duration of the session and without in any way constituting a precedent, full rights of membership in the General Committee, including the right to vote. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that proposal?

It was so decided.

32. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, wishes to address the General Assembly at this time. I now call on him.

33. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: It is an honour for me to address this special session of the General Assembly, which has been convened as the result of a most timely and opportune initiative by President Houari Boumediène of

Algeria in his capacity as President in Office of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries.

34. Special sessions of the General Assembly have usually dealt with specific problems which affect world peace. The question before this sixth special session is no less directly related to the future peace of the world; yet it also reaches far beyond specific current issues. It encompasses problems which affect the lives of virtually every man, woman and child on earth. It holds vast significance for future generations. It raises the fundamental question of the kind of world economic system and social order we wish to establish and live under. It challenges us to make a series of rational and agreed choices which may be decisive in determining the quality and condition of mankind's future life on this planet.
35. It is now a commonplace that the nations of the world are interdependent and that their interdependence will inevitably and rapidly increase. The forces—economic, social and political—which have led up to this special session have been building up for many years, culminating in a variety of developments and uncertainties which affect the stability and growth capacity of the world economy and also have the most fundamental political implications. What is new is the sudden and dramatic urgency of the present situation and the acute acceleration of the historical process which has brought us face to face with a global emergency. The question arises whether this special session, animated by this high sense of urgency, can ensure that interdependence will be a positive rather than a negative force; whether it is possible to agree on the basis for a more equitable and workable global economic system, a system which takes into account not only the interests and needs of all nations but also the imperative interrelationships of the several parts of the problem—poverty, population, food, the conservation and just apportionment of natural resources, the preservation of the environment and the problems of trade and monetary systems.
36. There is a natural human tendency to look to the past in times of crisis. But today we are facing a world of accelerating change and an entirely new range of interlocking problems—political, economic and social. We cannot return to the conditions of the past. We have no option but to concentrate on the realities of the present and on the prospects for the future. And the problems now confronting national Governments and international organizations are so vast and so complex that we have to deal with them in co-operation and as a community of nations. If this is a sobering thought, it is also an inspiring one, for the very seriousness of the situation may bring about those developments in international relations which all appeals to reason and goodwill have so far been unable to achieve. The pursuit of short-term national interests by any nation or group of nations can no longer provide even a brief reprieve from the inevitable results of the present trends. The Members of this Organization therefore have to decide whether they are willing to act collectively in a manner which will ensure that the United Nations system works effectively in the long-term interests of all.
37. The perspectives of different nations or groups vary enormously. To one group of nations the rise in prices, including those of industrial products, and the shortages of
- food-stuffs and fertilizers are of paramount importance. To another group the complex of problems which has come to be known as the "energy crisis" is of prime significance. To a third group of countries the rate of depletion of their raw materials and its relationship to their future development is the main preoccupation. To yet another group the present emergency represents a threat to the very lives of many of their people. On all sides there is now a constant preoccupation to protect and improve our environment.
38. These different perspectives can be freely expressed in this hall and can be considered as essential factors in the common endeavour. Differences can be expressed and taken into account here in a spirit of co-operation rather than of confrontation. The Assembly also provides a unique opportunity to put before world opinion the different concerns and points of view of the various sectors of the world community. This process of education is essential to create the kind of public understanding which alone will make it possible to evolve a new and better system of international relationships. In its Article 1, the Charter assigns to our Organization the purpose of being a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends. This special session challenges us to a task of harmonization of unique complexity.
39. These differing perspectives will naturally lead to a vast array of problems and proposals being presented to this Assembly. While each of them will undoubtedly receive the necessary consideration, I am convinced that the interest of the world community will be served best by the Assembly giving priority to those fundamental issues which now increasingly threaten economic relations between all Member States, and which, all too easily, could lead to political disaster and intensify still further the conditions of social injustice which have always plagued this world.
40. I have no intention of suggesting to this Assembly how it should go about its business, but I should be failing in my responsibility as Secretary-General if I did not draw attention to those fundamental issues which I believe now constitute a potential threat to world peace and well-being.
41. The main theme of this Assembly is to secure the optimum use of the world's natural resources with the basic objective of securing better conditions of social justice throughout the world. Let me suggest six primary issues which demand immediate action if progress is to be made in achieving that objective.
42. The first issue is mass poverty. The single most devastating indictment of our current world civilization is the continued existence of stark, pervasive mass poverty among two thirds of the world population. Poverty permeates every phase of life in developing countries: in the malnutrition of children, in the outbreaks of diseases, in widespread unemployment, in low literacy rates, in overcrowded cities. How can we renew our determination to eradicate mass poverty?
43. The second issue is the population of the world. It is anticipated that this special session will meet for three weeks. In that time the number of human beings on the planet will increase by 4 million. The increasing population

- of the world presents a constantly growing demand on our limited natural resources. How can we meet this pressure?
44. The third issue is food. Never, in recent decades, have world reserves been so frighteningly low. The production of enough food to feed, even reasonably well, people all over the world—let alone to transport and distribute it—almost certainly represents the largest single pressure on our natural resources. How can we produce more food, create the necessary reserves, and prepare contingency plans to meet global emergencies?
45. The fourth issue is energy. The world at large has suddenly realized the critical importance of energy in our daily lives. The natural resources which provide the world's energy represent one of our most valuable heritages. What can we do to conserve this most precious resource? What can we do to eliminate waste?
46. The fifth issue is military expenditure. During the three weeks of this Assembly session some \$14,000 million will have been spent on armaments. This enormous expenditure by itself represents yet another vast pressure on our natural resources. The imperative need for substantial disarmament becomes more urgent as each day passes.
47. The sixth issue is the world monetary system. An effective world monetary system is essential if our natural resources are to be used to the best advantage. The existing system is not working efficiently. It contains a most dangerous, cancer-like disease, namely, inflation. Unless inflation can be controlled, no international monetary system can work efficiently. Unless inflation can be controlled, it is futile to talk about prices. At present it is impossible for anyone to forecast what may happen in the future. I repeat, unless inflation can be controlled, it is impossible to secure the optimum use of our natural resources.
48. Each of these six problems—all directly related to our natural resources—has a direct bearing on the future peace and stability of the world. No Member State can insulate itself from their effects. And, if those problems individually were not bad enough, we must recognize that they are all interconnected, and interact on each other, and in so doing have a multiplier effect.
49. Not all the elements of the question before the Assembly are new. In fact, most of them have been considered by the international community for many years. But the sense of urgency—even of emergency—is relatively new, for the events of recent months have dramatized the dangers of drift and inaction in such a way as to alarm all Governments, even the richest and most powerful. We are moving towards a more meaningful dialogue precisely because the well-being and prosperity of all nations are now threatened. I hope that in this sense this special session will be a turning point in our history.
50. Much of the framework for a solution of the problems we face, and many of the directions which must be followed, are already indicated in previous decisions of the United Nations system. What has so far been lacking is the political will to put these decisions into effect. One of the
- main aims of this session, it seems to me, must be to seek ways of strengthening and intensifying that political will.
51. Many aspects of the topic on our agenda are identified in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, adopted by the Assembly at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization in 1970 [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. The key to our difficulties was concisely put by the General Assembly at its last session in the review and appraisal of that strategy, in which it was stated that "... the International Development Strategy remains much more a wish than a policy" [resolution 3176 (XXVIII), para. 33]. Let us hope that the sense of urgency imparted by recent developments may provide a new opportunity and a new momentum to convert aspirations previously expressed into active policies.
52. In the coming months there will be a sharp focus on particular aspects of the problem now before the Assembly, culminating in the special session on development and international economic co-operation which is to take place next year. This year we have the World Population Conference and the World Food Conference. Another highly important meeting will be the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In 1975 there will be the mid-decade revision of the International Development Strategy, followed by the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1976. The process of constructing an effective world-wide environmental protection system is well under way. The role of multinational corporations continues to be under active examination. Elsewhere, other vitally important aspects of the problem are being dealt with simultaneously—for example, the critically important work on a new world monetary system and the continuing negotiations within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
53. Thus we have an agenda for the near future which includes the principal elements required for a long-term policy. It is essential that these elements ultimately become integrated in the framework of a new international economic and social system, a system in which the role, the rights and the aspirations of the developing countries are fully recognized in practice as well as in principle, and which also takes account of the interests and preoccupations of other sectors of the world community. This special session has the opportunity to begin to develop, on the basis of all the work previously done, an over-all and global long-term policy for the future. Progress in this task would certainly give the more specialized activities I have mentioned a heightened sense of purpose and direction.
54. It is important, I believe, both for Governments and for the public at large to keep constantly in mind what can be done and what can not be done by the United Nations. The General Assembly can delineate the main elements of a global approach. It can set principles and guidelines, as our President so rightly said. It can begin to formulate a plan of action. It can define short-term emergency measures to assist those members of the world community which are especially hard hit by the present situation. It must be remembered, however, that, whatever can be agreed on here in this hall, most of the necessary executive decisions will be largely a matter for Governments, or in some cases for

more specialized international bodies. I wish to make that very clear. Only through their actions can this Assembly's decisions be translated into effective reality. The new complexity and interdependence of problems also provides the opportunity to the Economic and Social Council, under the aegis of the General Assembly, to ensure that the collective endeavours of the world community are pursued in a rational and cohesive manner.

55. This special session is a recognition of the necessity to redress the disparities that afflict our world and the contrasts between affluence and poverty, frustration and opportunity, conspicuous consumption and destitution. It recognizes the need to reconcile sovereignty over natural resources, the availability of raw materials, and the way in which they are used. It recognizes both the necessity of

conserving natural resources and of distributing them more equitably. It recognizes the burning need for greater international economic and social justice. It recognizes the role of international co-operation and organization as the lifeline to the future. Finally, it recognizes that today no one can benefit from a sterile confrontation. This Assembly affords an opportunity, a unique opportunity, provided we maintain the present sense of urgency, to lay the foundations for a world-wide economic system founded in equity and justice.

56. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement, which was both timely and constructive.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

129. The proposals which we have set out are fully in accord with the United Nations Charter, the fundamental course taken by our foreign policy and the nature of the socialist system. Throughout the years of the existence of the United Nations, we have fought for the implementation of progressive principles which reflect the needs of the peoples; it is therefore quite natural that we should associate ourselves with their confirmation in decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

130. Mr. ZAVALA URRIOLAGOITIA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, my delegation, on behalf of the Government and the people of Bolivia, wishes to express its deepest condolences to the Republic of Austria on the great loss that that country has suffered in the sudden death of its President. My delegation wishes also to express to the delegation of Austria our sorrow and solidarity at moments of such distress.

131. Mr. President, my delegation wishes to express to you our warmest and most respectful greetings and also to state the satisfaction that we feel at your wise re-election to your high post. From that post, your qualities as a statesman and an internationalist have allowed you to preside over our work with your well-known wisdom and efficiency and have thus considerably contributed to the success of this session, which is intended to blaze trails in international relations.

132. Seldom in the last almost 30 years of existence of the United Nations have we acted as justly towards the poor nations euphemistically termed "the less developed nations" as we are doing today. At last recognition is given to our active, though silent and sacrificed, activities in the creation of the industrialized world enjoyed by the great Powers, luxuriating in assets and services while in our own countries we are languishing in poverty and frustration.

133. For those who believe in the possibility of magic formulas being devised, this new session of the General Assembly may be a new disappointment. But the same will not be the case for those who have come here sincerely to analyse and study the grave problems of our day. These are problems which to a certain extent are ever with us whenever wealth and misery have confronted one another in history. But this time the magic element is given us by the miraculous fact that it is the poor countries that have discovered in their raw materials the main element to ensure the growth of their industry and the progress of their development.

134. For many years the United Nations followed a slow progress of consolidation and of settlement. Yet, there was something that was jelling in the form of a background to its deliberations. It was a feeling of solidarity when confronted by the great crises which time after time shook the very foundations of human coexistence.

135. It is thanks to the fact that this Organization periodically faces the problems affecting the world that the international community has the necessary information and means to diagnose and to detect the ill, regardless of its origin.

136. Although it be true that we are far from having achieved the ideal of a world in which there will be no human beings that are too poor in contrast to those that wallow in plenty, we do nevertheless enjoy the inalienable right to bring to this international forum the aspirations, aims, grievances, achievements and frustrations of the majority of the mass of mankind.

137. Thus, too, for the first time we are eagerly seeking terms of equity in the relation of cause and effect between the countries producing raw materials and the countries utilizing them as a source of development.

138. The wide curve of technological evolution that goes from the extraction of the raw material to its conversion into manufactured goods has created the wide gap that separates the industrialized from the developing nations. But this time, perhaps in unprecedented form, we all agree on the basic points and on the need to find a more just and equitable relationship, if we wish to put a stop to the crisis and avoid its consequences.

139. Mine is a less developed country. But to the penalty caused by our chronic poverty must be added the specific and important aspect of its being a land-locked nation, land-locked because of a war which we did not provoke and for reasons that have no justification in history. But because of that unfortunate episode, Bolivia was isolated from the great economic and human currents that started the transformation of South America at the end of the nineteenth century.

140. That isolation has a very burdensome effect on our historical process; particularly, when referring to the fact that we have no access to the world trade routes. With the Andes as the barrier to the west and the wide valleys and plains to the east, Bolivia was able to find its raw materials in its minerals. But despite the wealth of our soil and the great rivers that rise in our mountains and flow into the basins of the Amazon and the Plata, our economy is still a mining one and our peoples for centuries still carry the onerous burden of a sad destiny, since only a very small part of the wealth that was drawn from the mines returned to those that drew it.

141. When we say that one of the causes of the present crisis is that prices negotiated in the wide international markets give a minimum value to the raw materials and the man who extracts it from the bowels of the earth, then we are describing Bolivia. When we speak of the true price, we wonder, "What price human effort?" And the only answer we can give is, "Little or nothing". Thus, our indigence. Thus our permanent instability. Thus, the impatience of a people which has poured its most valuable reserves out into the world and is still dressed in rags.

142. We do not deny the value to be attached to technological progress, but we cannot agree to constant underestimation of human labour that still acts as a factor in others' progress and prosperity.

143. But this sincere humanistic concern cannot be implemented and cannot be met unless there is a conversion of political will, not basing our solutions on momentary advantages that are as soon accepted as flouted. There must

be a firm political will. We must start from a new assessment of the human factor that must be implicit in any measure that this type of meeting may adopt.

144. But in this discussion my country does not wish to strike the sour note of disagreement or reproach. On the contrary, we would like to add our voice to the voices which have brought messages of conciliation and not of confrontation, since we consider that the main objective of this session must and can only be that of adopting the necessary framework for negotiation to strengthen a state of independence without frictions or reservations, but full of a will to act. To the deterioration of the terms of trade we do not wish to add the even more serious deterioration of hope for a better world; a universal whole resting on mutual understanding, good faith and a common interest in confronting globally the problems that affect men all over the world.

145. As a logical consequence of the energy crisis, a certain number of fundamental truths have surfaced. The first that must be accepted as an irrefutable fact is that the States are equal, not only in the light of the classical principles of the law or of the Charter, but in the more realistic and pragmatic aspect of universal trade. For the balance of the world in which we live, capital and technology are not sufficient to ensure development, nor is the possession of abundant natural resources. Unless the balance of both parties rests on a just and equitable basis, there can be no stability; and if there is no stability, the very foundations on which peace rests are shattered. Another fundamental and basic truth which flows from the previous one is that of the interdependence of States. There are no isolated worlds and there are no developed autarchies that can be sufficient unto themselves. We live in a world of correlated interests and the recent energy crisis and the scarcity of food have been the evident proof of the fact that there is a close and intimate relationship that may make the apparent invulnerability of those nations usually deemed to be the most powerful.

146. But from this experience, in which once more the voice of Providence has been heard, there emerges, like a reality that is simultaneously new and eternal, a lesson of humility and wisdom, a type of elevating the less powerful, although new force were being given in the contemporary historical arena to the very wise Christian admonition that says that the mighty shall be humbled and the humble will be exalted.

147. My delegation listened with great interest to many of the initiatives voiced at this session, particularly those of the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Walter Scheel [2209th meeting], who recommended that the developed nations should help in the establishment of centres for the transformation of raw materials in the developing countries.

148. Bolivia has vast surfaces of land that can be used for agriculture and cattle-breeding. We also possess considerable natural resources and sufficient petroleum to meet our economic needs and ensure an economic exportable margin. We also have a great energy potential that can be developed and is being prospected at the moment.

149. The Nationalist Government of General Hugo Bánzer Suárez is acting realistically and without any political prejudices regarding economic co-operation.

150. We know that we possess vast resources in our subsoil, but in order to make them viable, we need investments of capital and technology that are possessed by the more developed nations. But to guarantee foreign participation on an equitable basis and by mutual agreement, my Government has adopted a law of investments that includes clear and precise, if bold, measures intended to encourage a flow of capital the object of which will be, not to achieve rapid profits at any cost, but to attain stable aims and a remunerative return within reasonable conditions that will make possible a stability that will be beneficial and equitable for both parties.

151. The resources in the funds that the petroleum-producing countries have decided to set up will, together with the contribution of the industrialized countries, doubtless have a wide field of action in those countries which, like Bolivia, possess the necessary elements to encourage this new type of undertaking where a full body can be given the spirit of co-operation and interdependence, which will stand as one of the most positive achievements of this session.

152. In the past, the establishment of a human and united world was based more in the field of aspirations than in that of achievement. It is for this reason that we express from this high rostrum our satisfaction that both the representatives of the industrialized and the non-developed nations have expressed their decision actively to participate in the creation of a new and more equitable and reasonable international economic order. At this stage of history, that is the only option that will allow us to improve the standard of living and widen and diversify productive activities, to use natural resources rationally and systematically to achieve a reevaluation of raw materials.

153. To sum up, we consider that the new order should be based upon the following: the formulation and application of measures to improve the terms of trade of the developing countries, as well as other measures that will ensure access to the exportable surpluses on the markets of the developed countries, as well as those assets that are produced and that flow from the policies of industrialization that are being implemented both in the regional and subregional groups; the gradual elimination of customs and non-customs barriers to assist the developing countries and as part of a wide policy intended to increase the export capacity of our countries; the signing of other agreements on raw materials in order to stabilize and reorganize their markets, on the understanding that, simultaneously, there shall be established suitable machinery to link and adjust automatically the evolution and the flow of prices for raw materials of the developing countries, linking them to the value of the manufactured goods derived from these raw materials and exported from the industrialized countries starting from equitable base prices, and thus, remunerative and just exchanges will be achieved for both parties; again, a generalized system of preferences—and we would stress the urgency of improving and harmonizing this system in order to simplify it as far as possible, with preferential treatment to be given the land-locked developing countries,

whose disadvantages in world trade are too well known to need mention here; a solution to the food crisis through the creation of buffer stocks, ensuring their financing through multinational financial machinery, and the holding of multilateral trade negotiations under the aegis of the principles of non-reciprocity and non-discrimination and, lastly, the growing participation of the developing countries in international transport, particularly shipping, with parallel progress in the field of insurance and reinsurance to reduce the internal costs and improve the balance of payments.

154. With regard to the reform of the international monetary system, we advocate the full and effective participation of the developing countries so that the impact of the effects of inflation in the developed nations will not have an adverse effect on the raw materials trade, as has been the case previously. We insist on the creation of a link between special drawing rights and development finance.

155. We are in favour of the formulation and application of specific rules to improve access to technology and to reduce its cost. We also consider it necessary to widen direct technical assistance from the more advanced nations to the developing countries. The creation of institutions of scientific and technical research at the regional and sub-regional level would constitute an undeniable contribution to this end.

156. There can be no doubt that the foreign trade difficulties and the scarcity of financial resources do put a brake on the social and economic development of our peoples. But to obviate this partially we believe that it would be possible to make use of the great technological, financial and commercial potential of the foreign enterprises under flexible and equitable formula that would be agreeable both to the host country and to the investor.

157. Conditions now exist as never before to set up policies and machinery that will allow the developing countries to work on raw materials and to increase co-operation in the trade, financial, technical and transport fields.

158. We could hardly refrain from mentioning at this time, and expressing our gratitude for, the assistance that we have been receiving from a number of friendly States, and particularly from the World Food Programme and the European Economic Community. This co-operation has been all the more valuable since it has contributed to the vast efforts of my Government to assist the thousands left homeless because of the floods caused by the intensive rainfall of last autumn which caused losses amounting to over \$50 million, without taking into account the crops destroyed and the cattle drowned.

159. Added to the great calamities of under-development these natural calamities have led my Government to ask for co-operation from international loan organizations, and we trust that we shall obtain such assistance.

160. I referred earlier in this statement to the land-locked character of Bolivia. May I stress that the position of the Government of Bolivia in its demand to have access to the

sea only interprets the strong will of the people. This is the popular will of our people and it acts as a catalyst for all our aspirations and is considered to be the true cause of all our frustrations.

161. But we also wish to set forth clearly that our claim does not mean a resumption of old resentments or that we have awakened warlike intentions. As the President of the Bolivians, General Hugo Bánzer Suárez, has stated, our lack of access to the sea is "the active and the major problem of Bolivia, which has always constituted our greatest national tragedy". We are not challenging anyone and we are not seeking revenge. We are calling for international solidarity, and more particularly that of those nations that participate in the historic fact of a tragic war and in the subsequent negotiations which, all the more selfishly because they were among brother nations, seemed to close off any possibility of settlement of our encirclement. As the national consultations held in the city of Cochabamba made clear, Bolivia will not and cannot accept its encirclement; but Bolivia cannot consider any solution other than one brought about by negotiation and dialogue. With the outstanding representative of El Salvador, Mr. Galindo Pohl, we share the view that the only holy war of our day is the war against under-development. We are involved in that war, and it is for that reason that we want a return of our access to the sea.

162. This is not a threat and it is not an obsession. It is the unshakable will of a people that wishes fully to live up to its destiny. We are a country that understands contact. We are aware of this, but we want to be a nation of contact without limitations and without egotism, but also without having to transfer sovereignty or power.

163. Thus, the former Foreign Minister of Bolivia, Mr. Mario R. Gutiérrez Gutiérrez, in a statement made from this rostrum at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, stated:

"There are no insoluble problems or insurmountable differences. Reason, which persuades men and peoples, can lead us to modern and constructive ideas. Security does not lie in our own capacity to commit aggression or to defend ourselves, but in joining our efforts with those of others and putting together the resources we have."

He then expressed his hope that through sound integration reasoning, Bolivia and its neighbours on the Pacific would find a way to unite and build a better tomorrow.

164. We offer our soil and our potential wealth to any enterprise that abides by our laws, but our destiny will always be limited and restricted while we remain a closed country. We do not wish to impose onerous conditions that are not realistic in content. But we trust that once we sit down at the negotiating table solutions will not be long in coming. Our claim is a claim for peace. And if we have one reproach to the other parties it is for their reluctance to engage in a dialogue—perhaps because of a fear of being out on their part or because they continue to believe that just solutions do not have a place in history.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2055th meeting, para. 168.

165. If they do think that, they are gravely mistaken. This present session is a further proof that over and above the decisions of man—and those who govern the great Powers are only men—there does exist an immanent justice that flows from Above.

166. Mr. AL-ZAWAWI (Oman): On behalf of His Majesty the Sultan of Oman, the Government and people of Oman, I wish to convey our sympathy to the Government and people of Austria on the passing of the late President of Austria, Franz Jonas.

167. Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I have the pleasure of congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the sixth special session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your long experience will contribute a great deal towards the success of this session.

168. I also wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Houari Boumediène, the President of the Revolutionary Council and the President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, for the initiative he took to convene this important session.

169. This session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is of very special importance. It is meeting in a critical and decisive moment in the life of the entire international community, now facing an acute economic crisis which can affect all nations, regardless whether they be developed or developing, rich or poor. We have come to this session with great hopes of finding a way both to control inflation and rising prices, and to set targets for the promotion of enduring international economic relationships.

170. The Charter of the United Nations declares the intention of the world Organization to promote social progress and better standards of living and to use for this purpose existing international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all people. The United Nations in the 1960s undertook, to this end, a programme of co-ordination among all nations of the world. The United Nations and its associated organizations and specialized agencies participated in laying down guidelines and setting targets for attacking the ancient enemies of mankind—disease, hunger, ignorance and poverty—and attempted to lay the foundations in all developing lands for a more modern and productive economy. As a part of these efforts the first session of UNCTAD was called to meet in Geneva in the spring of 1964. For the first time, an international gathering was held in which all the nations of the world participated to discuss economic problems. The rich and the poor, the developed and the developing, those who co-operate in organs of the United Nations and those who stayed outside the United Nations, met in Geneva in a spirit of co-operation, regardless of their divergent political ideologies and with the expressed willingness to permit international interests to prevail over the national interest. That spirit was the main reason for the success of that first session, and we hope that same spirit will prevail during this session of the Assembly, because it is the key to the success of any work done in solving such sensitive and important economic international problems.

171. The developing nations have not lost hope. They have continuously been reaching for solutions to these

problems through international economic organizations as well as through bilateral or collective inter-State conferences. There were several attempts, the last of which was the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algeria last September, in which members were trying to find a way to awaken developed nations and to remind them of the developing nations' rights, and indeed their obligations, and of the necessity to co-operate. Unfortunately, all efforts to reach these goals have failed so far.

172. As a result, action is being taken along two lines. Firstly, an effort is being made by the developing nations themselves to increase trade substantially among themselves and so decrease their dependence on the developed industrialized nations; and, secondly, those developing countries that are producers of raw materials are attempting to unite to gain a stronger negotiating position in order to place themselves on equal grounds with the developed nations. This, of course, involves the continued insistence on the part of those countries on their right to own and exploit their own natural resources. With the latter aim in mind, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] was formed; it found that the prices the developed nations had been paying for their oil were much lower than the oil's value in the international market; it further found that such prices remained at such low levels for years, while at the same time the prices of the goods exported by the developed nations to the developing nations were increasing during the same period at an increasingly rapid rate. That is why the developing nations have found it necessary to increase the revenues realized from the sale of their crude oil. That increase was not designed to cause economic harm to any country, developed or developing; it was, and is, meant to correct an inequitable and unfair situation that has existed for many years.

173. We are all aware of the fact that the world today is suffering from inflation. This inflation is not confined within national boundaries and therefore cannot be controlled within them. It is an international kind of inflation which needs international co-operation. We in Oman, as a developing country, feel this inflation in many areas, most severely in construction materials, food and manufactured goods.

174. It has been alleged that the main cause of the present world-wide inflation can be found in increased oil prices. This is not so. There are many factors that have been and are contributing to rising prices. The exceptionally high taxes on petroleum products imposed by the importing countries is a very significant factor in this regard. It has also been suggested that the increase in the cost of fertilizers is attributable to higher oil prices. Technologically it is a well-known fact that it is possible to produce fertilizer from natural gas far more cheaply than from crude oil. Nevertheless, at the present time, natural gas is being flared throughout the Middle East at an unbelievably wasteful rate.

175. Thus, no matter where we look and to what facts we attribute the blame for inflation, and no matter what the justification for higher oil prices, the world's economic picture is unpleasantly clear and has to be dealt with. There is, however, one group of nations which is the least able to

deal with the situation. The poor developing nations, faced with high import prices for oil, raw materials and food, are faced with economic disaster.

176. This situation has been the subject of several meetings of OPEC and the League of Arab States as well as sessions of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries. The result has been the establishment of the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa and the Islamic Development Bank for the purpose of making long-term loans with no, or only minimal, interest to these nations. That is what oil-producing nations have done; now it is up to the developed nations to offer their assistance to unfortunate developing nations and to remove the barriers which hinder the development of their international trade.

177. The international economy has been managed for too long by a small number of highly industrialized States which have ignored all but their own benefit. These nations not only control the international economic and monetary systems; they also consume a great percentage of the world's raw materials. It has become necessary to find a new economic system where decision-making is shared by all nations and where the poor ones are fairly represented. This, from our point of view, should be the aim of this United Nations meeting. After all other efforts have failed, the developing and poor nations have placed their hopes in the United Nations.

178. There can never be complete economic independence for any nation or group of nations; there is, rather, a complete need for co-ordination and interdependence among States. In other words, the advanced States and the developing States have to deal with one another. What is required now is a search for laws and rules to govern the relationship among nations and to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor. These efforts must recognize the right of every nation, first, to own and control its raw materials as well as its strategic economic sectors; secondly, to control foreign enterprise within its borders; and thirdly, to participate in setting the bases and the rules that organize international economic relationships. These efforts must be made within the framework established by the 15 general principles adopted by UNCTAD at its first session,¹⁵ and those set up by the Conference of non-aligned States last September.¹⁶

179. Therefore, we must clearly define and strengthen: first, the relationship among the developing nations themselves; second, the relationship between developing and developed nations; and third, the relationship between economic organizations and specialized agencies and between the member States to enable these organizations to play an active role in setting up the broad lines for solving all international economic problems.

180. We think that the economic problems which need more concentration and long-term urgent solutions are:

(a) The establishment of a link or relationship between the prices of the primary commodities exported by

developing countries and the manufactured and semi-manufactured goods imported by them;

(b) The bringing of food and primary agricultural products, especially wheat, within the reach of all nations and fixing a standard international price for them.

(c) The financing of development projects in the poor nations by offering technical assistance and food products to raise the standard of living.

(d) The adoption and implementation of an international code of conduct for the transfer of technology to developing nations and for giving them a hand in their industrialization projects;

(e) The removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers and the elimination of any restriction on business practices between developed and developing countries;

(f) The establishment of a new world monetary system with the full and effective participation of developing nations—the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank should be able to play a greater role in designing and implementing a better mechanism to help easily adjust balances of payments of both developed and developing countries and promote economic development;

(g) The examination and limitation of the role played by international corporations in order to prevent their interference in national internal affairs, their activities to be controlled by the nations from which they operate. The developed countries have declared time and again that they are willing to transfer their technological know-how to the developing nations. This may in part be accomplished by requesting international corporations to train citizens of developing countries in technological and administrative know-how. These are the main problems which require quick solutions.

181. The Sultanate of Oman believes that this special session of the United Nations should aim mainly at creating co-operative relations with a view to finding solutions which will create a better life for everyone, rather than a confrontation between nations.

182. We truly and faithfully pray to God that this session will succeed and that the international interests will prevail over the national interests to create peace, co-operation and understanding among nations.

Statement by the representative of Austria

183. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Mr. President, this morning after the moving tribute you paid to him, the Assembly observed a minute of silence in memory of Franz Jonas, the late Federal President of the Republic of Austria. That you, Mr. President, and the members of this Assembly should have thus honoured his memory is a token of sympathy for which the Austrian delegation in this hour of national grief is profoundly grateful.

184. Franz Jonas, who passed away in Vienna in the early hours of today, was the seventh head of State of the

Republic of Austria. In the democratic tradition established by the Austrian Republic, the Austrian people elected him twice to his high office—in 1965 and in 1971. His life was a life of service to his people and its democratic ideals. As Mayor of Vienna and as President of Austria, Franz Jonas has engraved his name in the history of his country. The name of Franz Jonas the Mayor is inextricably linked to the rebuilding of the Austrian capital, ravaged by many years of war and disfigured by foreign occupation. The name of Franz Jonas the President is linked to his nine years in office, during which time the Austrian people made great progress in building a modern, prosperous society founded on democracy and tolerance. As the highest elected representative of his people, Franz Jonas had frequently become the respected interpreter of the friendly feelings of

Austria to the peoples and nations of Europe and the world. By his travels abroad and by his unceasing interest in the peaceful development of international relations, he symbolized Austria's desire to contribute to the building of a new, peaceful world. The last days of Franz Jonas were passed, like his first days in public office, in serving his people and performing humbly the duties of the day.

185. Mr. President, in honouring the memory of Franz Jonas you have honoured the Austrian people and given it comfort in a moment of deep sorrow. This will certainly not be forgotten.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

¹⁵ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, vol. I, *Final Act and Report* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), third part, annex A.I.1.

¹⁶ See document A/9330 and Corr.1.