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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 42

Second United Nations Development Decade

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART I) (A/8124 AND CORR.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the Rapporteur, I should like to congratulate the Chairman of the Second Committee, His Excellency Mr. Guevara Arze, and the officers and members of the Committee for making it possible for the plenary Assembly to consider the important document before us. I am sure that this was a result of their hard work, dedication and spirit of conciliation.

2. I request the Rapporteur of the Second Committee, Mr. Leandro I. Verceles, of the Philippines, to present the report of that Committee.

3. Mr. VERCELES (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the honour to introduce the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 42 [A/8124 and corr.1].

4. That item was allocated to the Second Committee by the General Assembly at its 1843rd meeting. On 18 September 1970, the Committee at its 1309th meeting decided to consider the subject of the completion of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade at the beginning of the session to enable it to reach final agreement on the strategy in time for it to be adopted by the Assembly at the commemorative meeting on 24 October 1970.

5. The Committee discussed the question of the international development strategy at its 1309th to 1315th meetings. At its 1310th meeting it heard a statement by the Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs. At that meeting, the Committee also heard a statement made by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on behalf of eight socialist countries listed in paragraph 4 of the report of the Committee.

6. At the 1311th meeting, on 28 September 1970, the representative of India, on behalf of 89 Member States listed in paragraph 5 of the report, introduced a draft proposal for an international development strategy. It is contained in document A/C.2/L.1104 and Corr.1. Amendments to the draft proposal were submitted by six Member States listed in paragraph 6 of the Committee's report. Those amendments were withdrawn at the 1313th and 1314th meetings of the Committee.

7. Extensive negotiations were carried on by a working group of the Committee in an effort to arrive at agreement on many issues contained in the draft proposal. Following the conclusion of these negotiations the representative of India, at the 1313th meeting of the Committee on 15 October 1970, introduced, on behalf of the sponsors, a revised text of the proposal as contained in A/C.2/L.1104/Rev.1.

8. Formal statements on the revised text consisting of explanations of positions, reservations, observations and interpretations, were made by the delegations listed in paragraph 8 of the report. Those statements are to be issued in an addendum to the Committee's report¹ in the course of next week before the commemorative meeting on 24 October 1970.

9. At its 1314th meeting, the Committee approved the revised draft without a vote, taking into account the formal statements of delegations made before and after its adoption.

10. The adoption of the international development strategy will be a milestone in the annals of international economic and social development. For the first time in the 25 years of existence of the United Nations, the international community has been able to map a concerted and convergent plan of action in global development. The strategy is the fruition of over two years of labour and dedication by developing and developed countries and by the United Nations family of organizations. It is a blueprint for progress, justice and peace. It is in the awareness of all these that I commend for adoption the draft resolution contained in paragraph 10 of the report of the Second Committee.

11. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like to recall that the General Assembly, at its 1860th plenary meeting, decided that delegations wishing to explain their positions or make interpretations or reservations concerning the final document to be adopted should do so in a plenary meeting prior to the commemorative session. Discus-

¹ Subsequently circulated as document A/8124/Add.1 and Corr.1 and 2.

sions will thus not take place at the special meeting on 24 October and only formal action will at that time be taken on the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade contained in the report, together with the adoption of other recommendations for the commemorative session.

[The President continued in Spanish.]

12. I now call on the Chairman of the Second Committee, Mr. Guevara Arze.

13. Mr. GUEVARA ARZE (Bolivia), Chairman of the Second Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Chairmanship of the Second Committee has given my country the privilege, which personally is an honour for me, of being able to speak from this rostrum at a time when the plenary has before it the draft international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [A/8124 and Corr.1, para. 10].

14. Referring to this historic document which represents the culmination of two years of work and in the drafting of which a number of international organizations have taken part, together with diplomats, economists, experts and statesmen, I think it is indispensable to open these remarks by emphasizing particularly the participation of UNCTAD, the Economic and Social Council and the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade, and also the tireless and intelligent devotion of those persons who, acting on behalf of the various groups of States, have negotiated and finally succeeded in achieving a text acceptable to all.

15. Among these latter persons I would particularly single out Mr. Dubey, representative of India, Rapporteur of the Preparatory Committee and Chairman of the Group of Seventy-Seven, whose vigorous and sustained zeal has been unanimously acclaimed; our Rapporteur, the representative of the Philippines, Mr. Verceles, who patiently and skilfully guided the meetings of the negotiating group; Mr. Kelso, representative of Australia, who co-ordinated the viewpoints of the market-economy countries; and Ambassador Zakharov of the Soviet Union, who contributed a formulation of the views of the East European Socialist States. I should also mention the tireless contribution made by the Secretariat, particularly Mr. Ahmed.

16. These tributes I am paying would be incomplete if they did not include distinguished statesmen such as Mr. Pearson and the members of the Commission of which he was Chairman; the now celebrated report they produced² on the problems of development has greatly influenced the formulation of organic thinking on this subject and the orientation of opinions of people and Governments of the developed countries.

17. As a Latin American I must not forget Mr. Prebisch, who has given rise to a continental awareness

of the problems of under-development and possible solutions for these problems.

18. I will proceed shortly to convey to the Assembly some of the concepts formulated in the Second Committee by various representatives at the time of the unanimous adoption of the strategy document.

19. I believe it is very timely to start by saying that the document that will now be submitted to this Assembly for its consideration should be judged in the light of the explanations, the interpretations and even the reservations which have been recorded in the Committee and which form part of a single context. Otherwise we should be offering the people of the world a view of reality which would be paradoxically altered by optimism.

20. In the Committee it was said that this is a text that reflects to the greatest extent possible in our day, given the present circumstances, the thinking of the international community and a text which contains a crystallization of the experience, both good and otherwise, of the first United Nations Development Decade. Therefore it also shows the stark reality of today, the fact of the lack of preparation of many States, both developing and developed countries, for putting into practice within precise time limits modifications of their economic and social structure and other measures which are judged necessary and appropriate for all. At the same time and on the other side of the coin, it also includes an expression of the political will of all States, large, medium and small, to advance in this grand undertaking, overcoming in a spirit of solidarity and co-operation the difficulties that exist and those that will arise in the future.

21. With this ambivalent understanding, I believe it is possible to say that this constitutes the reply that the United Nations, acting up to the very limits of its present capacity, can offer to the expression of trust that has been placed in it by the international community. We are not talking about a panacea or some magic formula capable by its mere application of resolving problems inherited from a past centuries old. This is so because it cannot fail to reflect the results of a negotiation—and negotiation is the essential function of the United Nations—which necessarily had to take into account the differing and frequently contradictory interests which exist not only between developed and developing countries but also within each of those groups. Therefore it is logical that the document on development strategy should be a pragmatic combination of realism and idealism. Moreover, it is a document which should be viewed within a dynamic perspective and consequently opposed to the freezing of today's economic and social structures. Indeed, for the modification of those structures, it traces out new courses and frameworks for action and means.

22. Member States in this sense agree to follow a common course of action over the next 10 years. They proclaim an individual and collective will to put into effect policies capable of creating a more just and rational economic and social order, an order which

² *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development*. (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

will offer equal opportunities for all nations and within them for all men and women. In my opinion, the common aim consists of the introduction of substantial changes to the various structures of the peoples of the world, without having to have recourse to violence in order to bring about such a result.

23. The dynamic characteristics of this document assume practical significance with the idea that its measures should be subjected to constant examination in order to ensure their effective application and adaptation in the light of new events, including the broad repercussions of technology and also in accordance with a will to find new areas of agreement and to broaden the present area.

24. What we are talking about is a coherent body of policies which will require a continuous effort by all peoples and governments in order to promote the economic and social progress of the developing countries, the underlying principle for this being the interdependence of their interests and the need to achieve a more equitable distribution of human effort. Both implicitly and explicitly, it includes the idea that development benefits not only the developing countries but also the developed countries, this being the reason why it is a common responsibility, since its benefits also will be common.

25. As a point of departure, everyone has recognized that the primary responsibility for development falls on the developing countries themselves, but it has also been seen that, because of the lack of growth power in their economies, they need assistance in the form of financial resources, modifications in the structure of international trade and favourable economic practices on the part of the developed countries.

26. The figures, familiar to all, speak for themselves. Eighty-five per cent of investment for development was provided by the developing countries themselves, and their rate of savings during the 1960s was 15 per cent as an average in relation to the gross national products of those countries. These figures demonstrate the effort which the developing countries are making to break out of their present condition. They take on a special significance if one realizes that only 34 per cent of the world's population lives in the industrialized countries, and they provide 87.5 per cent of the gross product of the world, whereas 66 per cent of the world's population lives in the developing countries, and their participation in the gross product of the world does not exceed 12.5 per cent.

27. There is hardly any need to add that the colossal populations inhabiting Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are contributing to development with their daily toil in the fields, factories and offices, and which has provided humanity with statesmen, scientists, experts and administrators of a universally recognized standard, some of whom we have seen working here in the formulation of the strategy promise new contributions of incalculable scope to the international community. Consequently, nothing seems to us more just than to grant them the institutional, financial, commercial and technical means and instruments which they

require so urgently in this Second Development Decade, which is what the developing countries have done in this strategy document.

28. I shall make a few remarks with respect to the less developed among the developing countries. I think this might be a useful point to dwell on briefly. The complexity of the international organizations and the interrelation that exists between them, and the very nature and intensity of the efforts required to get this undertaking going all carries within it the risk that knowledge and understanding of development may become solely the domain of those countries that can train leaders and officials of the highest capacity. But strategy also requires the active participation even of those who need aid to help themselves. The very structure and functioning of the many organizations that participate in the process of development constitute for public opinion and sometimes also for civil servants and officials from the small countries, such as mine, a kind of labyrinthine forest in which it is difficult to get one's bearings and all the more difficult, accordingly, to take advantage of the benefits that are offered.

29. Moreover, as in any other field of human activity, there is a tendency towards an increasing specialization of language: the transfer of resources and components in the public and private sector, the generalized non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory preferences, the connexion between the system of special drawing rights and the provision of new resources for development, and other similar points. All of this constitutes a precise and indispensable body of terminology, which is not always readily comprehensible to those who most need the benefits offered by global development strategy.

30. Consequently, I believe that it is very timely to suggest to the international organizations that they should intensify their activities so that they will not just wait for viable national plans or appropriate indications about priorities from the most needy countries, but rather that they should study those problems, propose courses of action and contribute with experts and resources to the utmost extent possible.

31. I would recall a sentence from paragraph 12 of the strategy document, which was included as a spontaneous expression of the general will, on which both the developing and the developed countries agreed without any difficulty. It reads:

"Governments . . . pledge themselves, individually and collectively, to pursue policies designed to create a more just and rational world economic and social order in which equality of opportunities should be as much a prerogative of nations as of individuals within a nation."

32. This is an undertaking which we shall have to give a real account of later on to our sons and grandsons. This is an undertaking of each Government to its people and of the United Nations to mankind as a whole. If it is not fulfilled or implemented, those who now maintain, in the developed nations as well as in the developing countries, that the alternative of

violence is the road to the creation of a social and economic order more fair and just, will in the end be right.

33. Mr. UDINK (Netherlands): I do not wish to hide my feelings of emotion, as I stand at this rostrum, at expressing the deep satisfaction of my country with the strategy for international development co-operation in the coming decade. The document now before us contains the result of a long struggle between contradicting views and convictions between and within nations. The object of our effort was to gain insight in what we jointly had to do to transform stagnation into progress and hope. For years we all had different ideas on this subject. It would have been easy to content ourselves with too little in our eagerness to reach agreement. It would have been just as easy for us to ask too much from each other in our eagerness to pursue our own demands. I once formulated my own ideas on an acceptable minimum of success, but reality has surpassed me; it has proved possible to achieve more, a great deal more than a mere minimum.

34. In my view, this document will be an example of what has happened so often in the past: an imaginative idea is stronger than the men struggling to formulate it. History teaches us, too, that many important documents, once adopted, proved to be stronger than their creators.

35. We have shaped this document. Now this document is going to shape us, our policies, our structures, our standards. Therefore, this document is not the omega of our efforts but the alpha of a new era. In the years to come our actions and attitudes will be judged in the light of this new mandate.

36. Reservations have been made concerning a number of paragraphs of the document before us. Should we be afraid of the impact of these reservations? Are these reservations the expression of the right of Member States not to comply? No, they are an understandable expression of hesitation at this moment of decision to move. The very fact that reservations have been made proves that we all of us take this document most seriously. It is normal and human to hesitate before crossing a new threshold, and we are not just crossing a threshold but are at the same time taking huge strides forward in the affairs of the world community.

37. The moment has come to pay a tribute to all those who, through their persistent labour and patient understanding, have contributed to the document now before us. I may mention—as my predecessor on this rostrum, the Chairman of the Second Committee, also did in an eloquent way—Mr. Raúl Prebisch, who was among the first to advance the concept of a development strategy for the next decade. The Preparatory Committee also deserves our recognition for its work in shaping the development strategy, and we cannot mention the Preparatory Committee without thinking of its Chairman, Mr. Chtourou, and its Rapporteur, Mr. Dubey.

38. The reports of the Committee for Development Planning, so ably served by Professor Mosak's Centre for Development Planning, Projections and Policies, have been indispensable. Through their valuable work, a gateway was opened for the imaginative formulation of policies. The specialized agencies, for their part, have made valuable contributions. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, together with the commission for Social Development, has also been helpful.

39. In the creative process we have all changed considerably. From thinking in terms of donors and receivers, we arrived at the conception of equal partnership in development. This was a fascinating experience for all those who participated. I recall the unique informal discussions during the summer of last year, under the able guidance of Mr. Perez Guerrero, in which the participants did not act so much as representatives of their countries, but as men who were personally committed to reach agreement on important elements of the contribution to the strategy made by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

40. I also recall the arduous discussions in Paris in what was once called "the rich man's club" but has since earned recognition under the inspiring leadership of Mr. Edwin Martin, a true development assistance group of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Among my most valuable experiences were small *ad hoc* meetings in places like Ditchley Park, Barbizon, Monte Bello, Tidewater, Heidelberg and Belgrade. The continual consultations among developing countries, which culminated in the recent Conference of Lusaka,³ have had in many ways an extremely important influence on our work.

41. Against this background of preparation and deliberation, the Pearson Committee brought into a new perspective all prevailing ideas and concepts.⁴

42. The strategy calls for a great effort from all of us; its goals are ambitious. This document will lead us in the years to come. We are at liberty to succeed or fail, but the strength of the document is that we are chained to its ideas. Failure would no longer simply mean the breach of promises made before this world forum. Failure would mean the destruction of a vital but delicate fabric of the new community of nations. Full of shame, history would turn away from such a destructive act.

43. But we are full of confidence. This week we are writing a new, important page in the book of history, for the benefit of mankind.

44. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Group of Seventy-Seven.

³Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

⁴See *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

45. Mr. DUBEY (India), Chairman of the Group of Seventy-Seven: It is a great privilege for me to speak on behalf of the Group of Seventy-Seven on the document containing the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. This is, in the opinion of the developing countries constituting the Group of Seventy-Seven, the most important document of the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly, and among the very few historic documents adopted by the Assembly since the promulgation of the United Nations Charter. We believe that the adoption and the proclamation of this document on 24 October will lend lustre to the twenty-fifth anniversary session and will enhance the stature of the Organization in the eyes of world public opinion.

46. The document on the strategy is the fruition of about two years' work in different intergovernmental bodies and organizations of the United Nations system. It is the realization, even though only partial and imperfect, of a long-cherished vision of all those who, over the past quarter of a century, have tried to grapple with the stupendous problem of development. In this context the names of Mr. Raúl Prebisch and Professor Tinbergen, the first winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics, naturally come to my mind.

47. In its conceptual design the document is a striking innovation. During the years to come, the students of international relations might regard it as a first decisive step towards the concretization of the idea of international planning for the development of developing countries. In any case it will impart a new direction, coherence and rationality to the efforts of the international community to refashion a new world economic and social order.

48. In spite of its many unique features, this document falls far short of the expectations of the developing countries. In many respects it derogates even from the very concept of an international development strategy. It is by no means an adequate expression of the aspirations of the developing countries; in fact, it does not contain even the minimum necessary to meet the modest objectives set out for the Decade. The question might well be asked why, in spite of these fundamental deficiencies, the developing countries attach such great importance to this document and are giving it their full support. The answer can be found in our keenness to take into account the difficulties of the developed countries and thus make the strategy a venture of true international partnership.

49. The position of the Group of Seventy-Seven is well known and remains intact. In this document we have tried to forge the common will and the collective determination of the international community to adopt a new, bold approach towards solving the problems of development.

50. We are glad that the document received almost universal support in the Second Committee. The statements and observations made by individual developed countries were not intended to qualify their general

support for the purposes of the strategy or their will to act in accordance with the policy measures enumerated in it; they were intended to bring out the difficulties which some of those countries faced with regard to the implementation of some of the policy measures.

51. We must utilize the existing international machinery more effectively and, if necessary, devise new machinery to take care of these difficulties; for, within the framework of the global strategy, these difficulties become the concern of the whole world and, therefore, they must be amenable to solutions which are found mutually acceptable by the whole world.

52. Within the new framework of action that we are about to give to ourselves, these individual difficulties of developed countries must get wider recognition with a view to finding truly international solutions for them.

53. Paragraph 12 of the strategy obliges Governments to subscribe to the goals and objectives of the Decade and to resolve to take measures to translate them into reality. In paragraph 19 the Governments, reflecting their political will and collective determination, solemnly resolve to adopt and implement the policy measures set out in this document. There cannot be a stronger reiteration of the political and moral commitments implicit in the policy measures described in the document.

54. We do not wish to claim for these policy measures any legal sanctity because we know that by so doing we would undermine the sanctity of the document. No commitment can be of a higher order and value than a commitment before the bar of world public opinion. There is no greater commitment than commitment to the collective conscience of mankind.

55. By adopting this strategy we shall be putting at stake our pledge to secure justice for all mankind and to establish an equitable and fair world economic order. To the developing countries there cannot be a higher commitment than this.

56. The target dates set out in this document have been the subject of a series of formal statements and observations in the Second Committee, and this in spite of the fact that the targets have been diluted to a considerable extent. Whatever is left is indispensable for approaching the objectives of the Decade, and still more for fully realizing them. Time-bound measures are inherent in the very concept of a programme of economic development at either the national or the international level. These targets, when originally proposed by the developing countries, were based on detailed economic studies in different sectors and on the best available political and technical judgement of the needs of the developing countries. They were proposed also on the assumption that the international community was by and large prepared to accept them. If there are individual difficulties, these should be adjusted to the international norms rather than the international norms being brought down to the level warranted by individual difficulties. We, for our part, are prepared to discuss how the individual difficulties can be solved.

57. In the Second Committee a number of formal statements, observations and explanations were made. Now that we are going to adopt the strategy in a few days, let us leave these innovations behind us. I would suggest to our partners from the developed countries that there is no use at this stage in talking about what it is not possible for them to do. I would urge them, first of all, to take urgent action to do what can be done promptly and discuss with us how we can join hands to do more and better. Let us not magnify our individual difficulties. Let us be propelled by the cooperative and conciliatory spirit that has animated the formulation and adoption of the document and by the approach of partnership inherent in the very strategy for the Decade that we are going to adopt.

58. Mr. CHTOUROU (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure for my delegation, and for me personally, to take the floor after Mr. Udink of the Netherlands, who is one of the most effective pioneers of this international development strategy and who was kind enough to honour us with his presence here today.

59. In the opinion of the Tunisian delegation, the General Assembly will be accomplishing an act of historic moment when it solemnly adopts the international development strategy for the 1970s.

60. This act will be the culmination of the many efforts which have been made throughout recent years to place international co-operation in the context best adopted to its new dynamism thus enabling it better to meet the pressing needs of our times. Among these needs we would single out a reduction in the ever-growing disparities between what are usually called the developed and the developing countries.

61. These disparities, which are creating a yawning gap between these two groups of countries, risk being the basic cause of upheavals and disturbances which are likely to plunge all mankind into chaos.

62. These efforts have been made at all levels and in all forums. An ever-growing awareness of the problems posed by these disparities seems to be further enlarging the number of people whose task it is to deliberate on these problems. There can be no doubt that scientific and technological progress have contributed to this awareness both in the developing and the developed countries. By reducing distances on our planet, this progress has made it possible to bring to light the poverty of some and the opulence of others. At the same time it has made possible an increased understanding of those phenomena which are the root cause of these disparities. Much literature on the subject is now available to the international community. The United Nations specialized agencies have played a leading part in identifying the problem of underdevelopment and in defining the solutions to it.

63. Groups of experts have dedicated themselves to the same task. Among the most well-known of these groups I should like to refer to the Committee for Development Planning, headed by Professor Tin-

bergen, and the Lester Pearson Commission⁵ to which my delegation would like to pay a particular tribute on this solemn occasion for the exceptional work which these two groups have done to promote development.

64. It is because of these different kinds of contribution that the Assembly has before it today a document which represents an original approach to the creation of a new era in international co-operation based essentially on a deep sense of common destiny and collective responsibility in the field of development. This document also reflects the conviction that development is a unique phenomenon involving both economic and social factors which cannot be dissociated from each other. The injection of social factors into the development process represents a step forward for our Organization which, we hope, will guide it towards a greater measure of co-ordination and, accordingly, lead to a greater degree of streamlining in the actions which it undertakes in promoting development.

65. The document we are now considering, representing as it does the fruit of lengthy and difficult deliberations among government representatives, represents an innovation to the extent that it provides us with a first attempt at development planning for the countries of the third world as a whole in the form of a set of concerted and coherent actions. Undoubtedly, this attempt involves a number of shortcomings of different kinds, but what planning, even at the national level, does not? That is why my delegation considers this document to be a broad indicative outline of what is to be done, and therein lies its dynamism. It will be up to the various bodies of the United Nations to confirm in the field the hopes to which it gives rise and to continue their work of negotiation in order to put the final touch to the components of the international development strategy and to apply them fully and completely.

66. The adoption of this document, we believe, marks the beginning of this new stage in negotiations which should draw largely on the principles which have been endorsed by the international community.

67. No doubt it may be considered that this document is incomplete and even inconsistent, and that it carries with it the risk that the hopes placed in it during the early stages of its drafting may well be frustrated. That might be true if this document remained petrified in its present form, but we hope that such will not be the case.

68. It could also be argued that the developed countries have not entered into any specific commitment to the developing countries. That statement might be true in so far as the precepts contained in this document are not dynamic in nature. Thus, in the opinion of my delegation, the value of this document will depend on the use made of it by Governments during the next 10 years. That is why my delegation attaches great importance to the appraisal and review machinery which will have to be set up in order to ensure that the document is as effective as we hope it will be.

⁵ Commission on International Development.

69. The Economic and Social Council will, therefore, have to play a preponderant part in this, which will make it possible for fresh life to be breathed into it. We hope that our Assembly will be in a position to give it the tools it needs to fulfil its role properly.

70. In conclusion, my delegation considers that this Second United Nations Development Decade must be the one in which the developing countries will demonstrate to the world that they are determined to do everything they can in order to engender domestically an irresistible movement towards a genuine economic take-off. It is that will and determination which, in the final analysis, will be the best weapon the developing countries can use in order to mobilize public opinion and to create a flow of ideas favourable to their cause and propitious for more effective international action which will help them to bring about this economic take-off within a reasonable period.

71. At a time when our Organization is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, we would like to reaffirm that development is a necessary concomitant on the road to peace, justice and progress. If our Organization does not take up the challenge represented by underdevelopment throughout the world, it will be failing in its mission. Our faith in international co-operation and in the United Nations, nevertheless, leads us to believe that the United Nations will succeed in this area.

72. Mr. FRANZI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): The acclamation accorded yesterday by the Second Committee to the adoption of the international development strategy for the United Nations Second Development Decade is, in our opinion, the very best confirmation of the commitment of the States Members of the great United Nations family to serve the fundamental objectives of the Charter and to speed up, particularly, the economic and social progress of the developing countries.

73. The interpretative statements in the addendum⁶ to the document now submitted to the Assembly for adoption, do not lessen in any way the validity of the acceptance of the principles incorporated in the international development strategy.

74. As the Chairman of the Second Committee, Ambassador Guevara Arze, said only a moment ago, today, by giving unanimous support to the document before us, Member States in fact commit themselves to spare no effort in the quest for policies capable of reducing the disparities existing now in the world in order to create an economic and social order more just and more rational.

75. In order to adapt its policy of co-operation with the developing countries to the objectives and measures envisaged by the Second Development Decade, the Italian Government has undertaken a review of its co-operation policy which will equip Italy with more effective instruments in this area, thus enab-

ling it better to contribute to this undertaking of peace, justice and progress.

76. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): Before giving the Assembly my Government's views on the Second Development Decade, I should like to explain on behalf of the European Economic Community how the Community intends to integrate into that common undertaking the efforts which it has been making for many years now for the benefit of the developing countries.

77. The birth of the European Economic Community brought about the appearance in the international arena of a new entity which rapidly became the major trading partner of the developing countries. Since the early 1960s, in fact, the European Economic Community has itself absorbed over one third of their exports. But of at least equal importance is the growth potential which this market has offered to the exports of those countries. With an expansion rate higher than 7 per cent annually over a period of 10 years, the exports of the developing countries to the European Economic Community have experienced more rapid growth than those to other countries as a whole. Moreover, trade between the developing countries and the Community has long shown a considerable surplus in favour of those countries. These cumulative surpluses between 1958 and 1969 have exceeded \$27,000 million, thus compensating for a substantial part the deficit which the third world countries have experienced generally in their global external trade.

78. It has been possible to achieve those results not just because of the sustained rate of economic growth of the Community, but also thanks to the measures the Community adopted in order to favour the exports of the developing countries, such as the autonomous suspension or the reduction of import levies on products of interest to those countries. Thus, the process of economic integration in Europe, far from isolating itself from the rest of the world, has on the contrary communicated its dynamism to the world outside and enabled the developing countries to participate in this process.

79. In the field of financial and technical assistance, which is the second facet of contribution to development, the global aid provided by the member countries of the Community, either directly or through the organs of the Community, has already reached the objective of 1 per cent of gross national product, set in the strategy. The member States of the Community intend to continue their efforts in this field and thus make a positive contribution to the attainment of the goals of the strategy.

80. The policy of co-operation between the European Economic Community and the third world has hitherto found its most concrete expression in the particularly close relations the former has with the Associated African and Malagasy States. The terms of this co-operation are in fact tailored to the specific needs of those countries, most of which are amongst the least

⁶ Subsequently circulated as document A/8124/Add.1 and Corr.1 and 2.

developed of the developing countries. The Community, in the same spirit, has concluded a certain number of Association and commercial agreements with other developing countries.

81. The constant concern of the Community to reconcile these particular responsibilities with those it has towards the whole body of developing countries has led it to play an active role in the preparation of a system of generalized preferences. In this respect I am happy to be able to express the deep satisfaction of the European Economic Community, and of each of its member States, at the results which UNCTAD achieved only a few days ago in this field. The constructive attitude of our Community has been demonstrated particularly by the very nature of its offer which—and I emphasize this—in the case of semi-manufactures and manufactures provides for no exception to the principle of untrammelled access to the Community's market.

82. Of course, the establishment of those generalized preferences will not solve all development problems. The Community is aware that their very success is conditioned, particularly for the least developed amongst the developing countries, by the continuation and intensification of efforts in all the other fields of international co-operation. As far as it is concerned, it is prepared to discharge its proper role in this respect.

83. The Community is glad that a unanimous agreement has been reached in connexion with the adoption of a new development strategy for the coming ten years. We—the Community—intend to spare no effort to ensure the success of this tremendous undertaking.

84. Speaking now only as the representative of France, I should like to say the following.

85. The document which we are solemnly adopting to serve as a basis for international action to promote development during the next 10 years is an act of faith, of confidence and of courage.

86. It is an act of faith because there are very few undertakings which are more intimately linked to the total purposes and principles proclaimed by the United Nations Charter. While the first of these, to preserve peace, is a prerequisite for development because there can be no international co-operation nor—to be more specific—sufficient resources available in a world dominated by armed conflict, it is also true that peace cannot be guaranteed as long as deep economic inequalities subsist among peoples. Thus the strategy itself lays stress on the direct benefit which all nations can expect from the struggle against underdevelopment. As the President of the French Republic said, "If this struggle is not waged, the day will certainly come when there will be a confrontation between wealth and poverty".

87. Furthermore, the legal principles of the equality and sovereignty of nations can only be fully meaningful if the relationship of economic forces does not reflect a crushing disequilibrium and at all events does not

deteriorate further. Moreover, understanding and closer relationships among peoples will be platonic goals as long as the considerable differences in the human condition which exist from one country to another remain—differences which are even less acceptable today when the world is becoming ever smaller, indeed more inescapably aware of its every part.

88. It is obvious that men can value their individual rights only if their immediate needs are met. There is no genuine freedom without a given standard of living and training.

89. Any action to promote development would thus appear to be the necessary complement to any juridical and political action undertaken by the United Nations and, to a certain extent, would seem to be the prerequisite for their success. Over and above this unity of inspiration, many feel that it is in the struggle against poverty, disease and ignorance that the international community can, despite past failures and inevitable difficulties, continue its most effective work; the development strategy thus takes on the form of an act of confidence.

90. First of all, confidence in principles: adopting this strategy we indicate that we support the idea that in economic relations between nations order and justice cannot result from *laissez faire*. Undoubtedly, certain mechanisms for compensation or intervention between countries in the field of commodities have been set up for some time. But bringing together in a single document all the objectives and measures relating to development, expressed more rigorously and precisely, than at the time of the first Decade, is a stride forward. The strategy now has features which bring it very close to the national plans of many countries, including that of France. Thanks to this strategy a greater coherence, as our colleague from Tunisia said so appositely just now, can thus be given to domestic economic policies. The developing countries will find in this document the general guidelines for the efforts they will have to make, and the developed countries will find it an indispensable work of reference in connexion with certain aspects of their policies, particularly as far as international trade and assistance are concerned.

91. Secondly, this strategy is an act of confidence at the level of action. From this point of view the sentiment which prevails at the end of the first Decade is largely one of disappointment. The progress of the less advanced countries, while far from being negligible, has not been as rapid as we imagined it would be in 1960. But this is because, with the optimism—the perhaps rather naïve optimism—which accompanied the accession to independence of a large number of countries, the real nature of the obstacles in the way of development, such as the duration of the process itself was improperly gauged. At a time when growing bitterness was being felt by some and growing scepticism by other, the preparation for the Second Decade has provided an opportunity for a great soul-searching concerning the objectives and the methods of develop-

ment policies. The unanimous adoption of this document shows that over and above differences in ideological concepts, political organization and economic and social structure, common ground can be found on certain fundamental principles. The strategy aims to bring about a collective awareness of development needs.

92. However, the document which we are adopting has more than the value of a simple appeal to public opinion. It constitutes an expression of a political will, and in this sense the strategy can be viewed as an act of courage.

93. It is exhorting the developing countries to make further efforts, and in this connexion I should like to pay a tribute to the Seventy-Seven who understood that development was something which, in the final analysis, depended on them, and who made an inestimable contribution with praiseworthy understanding to the drafting of the text which we have finally agreed upon. For it is mainly they, the developing countries, that bear the brunt of the responsibility for their own economic and social progress. The formulation and implementation of a series of domestic measures, which only firm guidance can make feasible, must be particularly emphasized for matters such as the control of population growth; the need to ensure that development does not simply serve a small number; the promotion of individual saving; and the very close surveillance which should be exercised over public expenditure.

94. The road of effort is also pointed out to the developed countries. They are asked to facilitate, in particular by trade measures, a new international division of labour. They are assigned precise guidelines regarding the size of the contribution they should make to development, whether in connexion with the total volume of assistance, public assistance, conditions of loans, or scientific and technical research.

95. Undoubtedly the provisions adopted, as is usual in the case of General Assembly recommendations, have no binding juridical value. But the real meaning of what we have done becomes clearer if we see it in its context. I readily state in this connexion that the length and asperity of the discussions which preceded the final drawing-up of the strategy are in themselves enough to show the importance which developed countries attach to this document and confer upon it a weight which concessions too easily won would undoubtedly have compromised. Even supposing that the General Assembly had had the power of decision, it could not have exercised it usefully in a matter which is, to a large extent, still beyond human control. The French know, through the experience they have had in planning, that medium term economic policies and, *a fortiori*, long-term planning, are part and parcel of a programme of action and not of a juridical obligation. It remains essentially true that a unanimous determination accompanies the adoption of this programme, and France itself has this determination. The content of the strategy in effect is in accordance with certain principles which we think are essential. This content is a mixture of ambition and realism.

96. Ambition in so far as the strategy does not confine itself to setting up general objectives but rather it lists concrete steps. It would have been easy to have everyone's agreement on the principle that it is a good idea to raise the standard of living of the underprivileged populations, even if detailed figures were to be given. It was much more difficult to find some consensus on what exactly had to be done, because this meant that everyone would have to face his responsibilities. However, it is the straight and narrow path which has quite correctly been chosen.

97. It is also ambitious because the measures to be taken attack the problem of under-development from all possible angles, and firstly from the point of view of international trade. In this connexion emphasis is laid on organizing commodity markets, and this is something to which France attaches great importance. It is of paramount importance to provide equitable and stable incomes to the producers through measures affecting prices or, better still, production conditions. Emphasis has also been laid on measures to increase the consumption of these products and commodities in the developed countries. It is in this way that we must construe those provisions which relate to the liberalization of the access of basic products and their derivatives to the developed countries. It is quite clear that these provisions should not, unless they are to turn into their opposite, lead to an upheaval in the economic and social equilibrium of these countries, which would finally result in a restriction rather than a growth of consumption.

98. Other very important provisions are designed to reduce the excessive role given to commodities in the foreign trade of developing countries and to bring about a diversification of production, which only industry can really do. In the development of exports of manufactured goods from these countries the concerted programme of action which has been started under the aegis of UNCTAD has already shown positive results. The principle of generalized and non-reciprocal preferences given by the more advanced countries has been adopted. The strategy commits Governments to the extension of this system to the problem of non-tariff obstacles to trade in manufactured goods.

99. The other great facet of this strategy relates to assistance. In this connexion, the setting of an over-all target equivalent to 1 per cent of the gross national product of each of the developed countries is doubtless of prime importance. However, the complementary aims relating to public assistance and the improvement of loan conditions will also make for considerable progress to the extent that it will make it possible to bring about the goal of 1 per cent, while avoiding a further increase in the external debt of the under-developed countries. Measures have also been considered to solve, if need be, the difficulties which might be caused by the existing debt.

100. Assistance is not only financial in nature: more precisely, financial presentation only translates into a convenient language the many and varied forms assistance can take. We must emphasize, among those

forms, the importance which this strategy attaches to scientific research and to the transfer of technology. We must see this as an effort to enable the developing countries to have access to something which is the source of progress and, thereby, to reach a stage where their economic growth will be self-sustaining. This laudable preoccupation with autonomous development can be seen also in traditional fields of action, such as health, information, agriculture, industry, and infrastructure. The provisions of the plan of strategy on these particular points make it quite clear that the main responsibility falls upon the developing countries, whereas the developed countries and international organizations play a supporting role—an essential role, to be sure, but secondary nonetheless. It is healthy that this idea has been stressed. As a French writer has said, “we cannot live someone else’s life for him”, and for the same reason we cannot be responsible for someone else’s development.

101. Here we can see the general tendency for the strategy not simply to adopt easy solutions. One can also see it in the effort being made to give a precise expression to its main elements: whether it be growth rate of the gross national product, savings, imports and exports; the percentage of total assistance or of public assistance; whether it be a question of the dates that have been at least provisionally fixed for the attainment of a particular goal, the document gives many proofs of a genuine desire to succeed.

102. These details attest also to the strategy’s realism. Other features show that even more clearly. I shall limit myself to discussing two of the main ones. As a result of the preparatory discussions, the formulae adopted were characterized by an indispensable flexibility, if only to allow for the unexpected over a long period in a world that is changing so rapidly. In many cases progress is expected from “intergovernmental consultations”, which, in respecting the dignity of the partners, are the only thing that will make it possible to adapt these measures to a variety of specific situations.

103. Realism can be seen particularly in those provisions relating to the examination and evaluation of objectives and policies. The principle has been adopted of having a “pause for reflexion” every two years, which, bearing in mind the results achieved towards carrying out the strategy by the developing and developed countries, should make it possible to decide on corrective action and, if need be, to lay down new guidelines. The document indicates very precisely the procedure by which that periodic revision should be carried out.

104. Whatever be its merits, the strategy cannot, however, cover all possible situations and all possible assistance policies; nor does it claim to do so. Its formulations leave sufficient latitude for States to determine their own particular positions. We can glimpse here the concept of diversified action, since particular provisions are laid down for certain types of developed States whose political and social organization would preclude them from being subject in all cases to the common rule.

105. France, as far as it is concerned, accepts that rule, and agrees with the idea of diversity. We have seen that history has forged close links between certain developed and developing countries, and that on that basis situations have been created which have been advantageous to all concerned, and we understand that they should be preserved. We consider that relations, whether bilateral or multilateral in a well-defined geographical context, would favour the policy of assistance both in terms of volume and efficiency.

106. To summarize the policy France intends to follow, I would say it is based on the following principles: to provide assistance equivalent to 1 per cent of the gross national product, stabilize prime commodity markets by controlling prices and diversifying production; to grant tariff preferences to manufactures and semi-manufactures from the developing countries; and to give importance to the human factors of development. I should like, in concluding, to emphasize two of these aspects.

107. The first is the relative importance of the various types of action described by this document and assigned to the developed countries. Among the latter, France attaches overriding importance to the volume of assistance. It is true that the trade provisions are of very great interest to the developing countries. However, to the extent that the strategy emphasizes the liberalization of international trade and stresses access to the markets of developed countries, there is a danger that the main beneficiaries may be the most advanced of the under-developed countries—those which have raw materials or essential agricultural products; those where industrialization has already begun. In the case of the others, for those countries where the economic “take-off” may be delayed, assistance is essential. France, which for 10 years has been doing a lot in the third world, as is known, feels it must recall this principle. In fact, we have just applied it to ourselves. For the very first time the goal of 1 per cent was included in the Sixth Plan, adopted last June by our Parliament.

108. But in a “market economy” country, the total amount of assistance can be guaranteed only if the State agrees to contribute an important share of it. It is only public assistance which is actually in a position to backstop such actions as the improvement of infrastructure, progress in education, and the development of foodstuff production for example. That is why France has decided upon a goal of close to 0.7 per cent of its gross national product to be allocated to public assistance.

109. The second aspect of French policy which should be emphasized relates to the importance of the human factor in development. The strategy, while not overlooking such factors, does not give them the place they deserve. Many examples could serve to show that development is in the first place, a frame of mind, that it is directly subordinate to the technical capability of the producers; in other words, it is, above all, a question of training. Efforts will still have to be made to ensure that training is more closely adapted to the

needs of the developing countries. But we must at least be convinced that it is the key to progress; and France, which has approximately 30,000 teachers of various kinds abroad, has been putting this idea into practice for a long time.

110. Furthermore, the strategy could have laid greater emphasis on the utilization of human resources—that is, on employment, particularly in the cities, where the situation is deteriorating, sometimes quite dramatically; it could have laid greater emphasis on the creation of a social and psychological climate that would make it possible to have the people actively involved in national development; and on sharing the fruits of economic progress, a final goal, but also a prerequisite for progress.

111. These human aspects have to be brought out by developing countries in their assistance policies. Experience shows that there can be no successful development action if it does not combine investments, technical assistance and training. And in order to imbue these actions with a feeling of warmth and brotherhood, without which they might not be effective, it is important that the donor countries should appeal to their youth; and this is also a policy that France has been following for some years now, and we have found it extremely beneficial to our own country.

112. "Between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, it is freedom which oppresses and law which makes free." This idea, which was expressed in the middle of the nineteenth century by those who were particularly concerned, in France, with what was then called the "social problem", is something which we are seeking today to make extensive in relationships among nations. Undoubtedly, the international community promulgates no "laws", but it does urge voluntary action to bring some order into the play of those natural forces which lead to imbalance.

113. I should like to conclude by emphasizing what is meant by the concept of voluntary action.

114. It is actually quite easy to take underdevelopment just as we take decolonization, as a theme for oratory. It is easy to pinpoint which others are responsible and to propose miraculous remedies. It is easy to make statements that amount only to excuses for impotence and inefficiency. But it is more difficult to identify the real, specific problems and to find the appropriate means for solving them.

115. In order to do this, it is not sufficient for the developed countries to agree to make certain sacrifices; they must also act in close agreement with the developing countries. They must, in a word, go beyond mere assistance and practise co-operation.

116. This has been, and still remains, the policy followed by France, and we are pleased indeed to find it embodied in the strategy.

117. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): I take the floor this afternoon because my delegation would like to stress

the historic significance of this occasion. The unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of an international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade bids fair to be remembered as one of the finest moments of the United Nations. For the first time in its existence, the United Nations has devised a programme for concerted action in economic and social development by the rich and the poor countries. It is a bold, far-sighted experiment in global planning, and if it succeeds, as we all hope it will, it is bound to be regarded as a landmark in our progress towards the kind of international community envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

118. When, during this solemn twenty-fifth commemorative session, we hear charges and counter-charges, and also sombre prophecies about the United Nations, it is good for the world and for us to emphasize the value of a document that shows that our Organization can come, despite our disagreements, to a unanimous decision on a matter of vital importance to all of us.

119. As we all know, there was no comparable planning for the first United Nations Development Decade. There was no framework for international action and no development strategy in the real sense of the term. The mainspring of the first Development Decade was the goal that all developing countries should attain an annual average growth of 5 per cent in gross national income, but there was no specific programme for its attainment.

120. The Second United Nations Development Decade will not suffer from this disadvantage. It is being launched under more auspicious circumstances, after careful preparation and planning. The international development strategy for the Second Development Decade contained in the report of the Second Committee, document A/8124 and Corr.1—for which we should like to congratulate the Chairman and the Rapporteur—is the product of several years of painstaking work involving difficult and delicate negotiations between developed and developing countries. It embodies a carefully evolved consensus on the roles that developed and developing countries have agreed to perform in the common task of development in the 1970s. It is tantamount to a rededication, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, to that lofty ideal of the Charter: "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

121. Permit me now to comment briefly on some of the significant components of the international development strategy, so that the world may know what this document contains.

122. The preamble enunciates the principles of international co-operation that will guide rich and poor countries in the implementation of a global development strategy for the decade of the 1970s. Those principles constitute the indispensable foundation of a more equitable world economic system. My delegation would particularly underscore paragraph 12, which contains the pledge of Governments "to create a more

just and rational world economic . . . order", and their common resolve to take practical measures to translate that great objective into reality.

123. The goals defined in section B of the strategy are well-conceived and realistic. The aim of an average annual growth rate of at least 6 per cent in the gross product of the developing countries is by no means over-ambitious, considering the encouraging performance of many countries during the first Development Decade.

124. An important feature of this section is the reference to the social policy sectors of development, such as population, housing, health, education and nutrition, which previously had not received appropriate attention. My delegation is particularly gratified by the inclusion, among the goals of the Decade, of the full participation of youth in the development process. Nothing could be more fitting than for the young to have a hand in shaping the world which they will inherit and which will be their world, no longer ours, the world we are seeking to fashion now for them through the instrumentality of the international development strategy.

125. The policy measures in section C constitute the heart and soul of the international development strategy. Paragraph 19 is not a simple expression of optimism, but a fresh and heartening assertion of "political will and collective determination" to accomplish the goals and objectives of the Decade, a pledge to which my delegation attaches the greatest importance. Animated by the spirit of constructive partnership and co-operation, Governments have solemnly resolved to adopt and implement the necessary policy measures. Those policy measures cover vital areas of economic life, among them international trade, the transfer of financial resources, shipping, science and technology, special measures in favour of the least developed countries and the land locked countries, and manpower development.

126. The measures concerning international trade aim at remedying entrenched, long-standing imbalances. It is hoped that during the Second Development Decade we will be able to dismantle the most onerous trade barriers and open wider the markets of developed countries to the export products of developing countries. Since the foreign trade earnings of developing countries are about four times the amount they receive in resource transfers from developed countries, it stands to reason that the success of the Second Development Decade will largely depend on the success of the policy measures in the sphere of international trade.

127. However, the degree of effort that developed countries will make to comply with the annual aid target of 1 per cent of their gross national product to developing countries remains of critical importance. This goal must be attained if at all possible by 1972 and at the latest by 1975, for a serious lag in this effort will jeopardize the attainment of the 6 per cent annual growth rate prescribed for the developing countries.

128. My delegation also attaches importance to the acceptance of the concepts of a quantified aid target for the support of science and technology in developing countries, and of adequate levels of expenditure that developed countries would allocate to research on the specific problems of developing countries. Although the establishment of the fund allocation targets will be made during the first biennial review, the acceptance of the underlying concept is, in our view, an important break-through in an important area of international co-operation.

129. In the same category are the policy measures on invisibles, including shipping. The road to agreement in this field was long and tortuous, but in retrospect, the efforts made were amply rewarded.

130. I hope I have not given the impression that my delegation is completely satisfied with the international development strategy. In our view, it has its imperfections, some of them serious ones. The Philippines, like other developing countries, expected something more than what appears in the text as it stands. We sought more definite and firmer commitments within specified periods of time on the part of the developed countries, particularly with respect to the fulfilment of the minimum targets in the fields of trade and aid. We deeply regret that unanimous agreement on these vital points was not achieved despite the prolonged negotiations and the earnest appeals of the developing countries. These commitments are urgently needed to ensure the success of the Second Development Decade. Our failure to obtain them casts a shadow, which we still hope will be removed on further reflection by those concerned, on our prospects of attaining the goals of the Decade.

131. My delegation also feels that the section on human development leaves much to be desired. A reading of this section gives the impression that it is a compilation of general objectives rather than a clearly defined set of policy measures which should constitute an integral part of a coherent development strategy. The inherent, inextricable interdependence of the economic and social aspects of development is either glossed over or obliquely implied rather than forthrightly affirmed and accepted.

132. The international development strategy does not fully reflect the integrated, unified approach, giving equal regard to economic and social factors, which is the United Nations most significant contribution to the concept of development as an all-embracing process involving all aspects of human life. Without detracting in any way from the crucial importance of the economic factors of development at this time, my delegation considers it necessary to remind the Assembly that the ultimate goal of all development is social in character, and that that goal is to enhance man's freedom, dignity and well-being.

133. This is not merely a matter of principle. It has important practical implications. One of the causes of the failure of the first United Nations Development

Decade was the neglect of the social side. My delegation hopes that the lesson of that experience will be taken to heart and that the omission we have noted will be reconsidered and corrected during the first biennial review of the international development strategy in 1972. Meanwhile, we respectfully suggest that everything possible be done to apply the unified approach to development even if it is not precisely recommended in the international development strategy.

134. I would now comment briefly on a matter of far-reaching importance. I refer to the last part of paragraph 5 of the preamble of the strategy which states:

“Progress towards general and complete disarmament should release substantial additional resources which could be utilized for the purpose of economic and social development, in particular that of developing countries. There should, therefore, be a close link between the Second United Nations Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade.”

I should like to underscore that last sentence: “There should, therefore, be a close link between the Second United Nations Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade.”

135. The wasteful expenditure of enormous resources in the arms race constitutes a very heavy burden on both the developed and developing countries. The military expenditures of the world community in 1969 reached the staggering amount of approximately \$200,000 million, or roughly \$550 million a day. In the language of both Sir Robert Jackson, author of the Capacity Study,⁷ and President McNamara of the World Bank, this emphasis on military spending is a manifestation of man's “ultimate folly”.

136. Even a quick look at the figures is most instructive. In 1969, a total of only a little over \$13,000 million was channelled by the developed countries to foreign aid. When this amount allocated for development purposes is juxtaposed against the heavy military spending totalling almost 20 times the funds appropriated for development assistance, one is at a loss to understand why some rich and powerful countries cannot give even 1 per cent of their gross national product as aid to the developing world. I submit that in the decade of the 1970s and in the remaining quarter of the century, which has been called the “century of destruction”, positive action should be taken to divert part of the huge expenditures for armaments to economic and social development. It is not the so-called balance of terror but world-wide economic and social progress that could provide a firm underpinning for international stability. If, for instance, 10 per cent of the \$200,000 million now being spent in the negative, sterile armaments race were released for peaceful purposes, immense benefits would accrue to economic and social development, and the whole climate of international security would change for the better. It would beyond doubt ensure the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

⁷ *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.I.10).

137. Summing up, my delegation joins in the general approbation of the international development strategy. Despite some flaws that we have noted, the strategy is worthy of being described as a charter for development in the decade of the 1970s.

138. However, let us remember that it is not a self-fulfilling instrument. Unless it is implemented in all sincerity, its noble aims will not be achieved. The attitude of the rich countries, the developed countries, is, therefore, of crucial importance; for, unless there is a genuine change of heart on the part of the economically advanced countries, the second Decade, like the first, is predestined to fail. What is not written in the strategy, what is not quantified in it, is the amount of political will that the developed countries will bring to bear on the task of global development, and in the final analysis that is what really counts.

139. We are recalling at this commemorative session the yearning for peace and progress that a world weary and exhausted by war found the strength and inspiration to express in the Charter. In our view, the collective efforts of developed and developing countries in this Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council and in the whole United Nations family of organizations, particularly the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, are an eloquent expression of that yearning. The international development strategy provides us with a soundly conceived plan for achieving peace, progress and justice through global development. The vital contributions we are called upon to make, as so aptly expressed in the document under consideration, are the political will and collective determination to implement the strategy and achieve its goals.

140. If this commemorative session under your leadership, Mr. President, accomplishes nothing but the approval of this memorable document, your term of office will go down in the history of the United Nations as one of its most constructive.

141. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like to consult the Assembly. We have a list of 30 speakers. Of those 30 speakers, eight have spoken—that is, not much more than one fourth—and we have already used up one hour and three quarters. If no other speakers ask for the floor, and if the speakers adhere to the time-limits they have indicated to the Secretariat, we might be able to terminate the debate by eight o'clock tonight. If we do so, instead of finishing at the usual hour of six o'clock, we shall avoid an extra night meeting, but in order to do so, I would suggest that we close the list of speakers 15 minutes from now.

It was so decided.

142. The PRESIDENT: Unless there is a formal proposal to adjourn, I propose that the Assembly continue until the debate is terminated on this important matter, a debate which so far has been eminently constructive.

143. Mr. CUBILLOS (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As this General Assembly is considering the report of the Second Committee on the Second Development Decade, my delegation wishes to make some comments and state its position on the international development strategy.

144. For the Government of Chile an international development strategy should be supported by two essential pillars: on the one hand, a conviction that the economic growth and social progress of the developing countries depend fundamentally on the effort of each country and, moreover, the explicit recognition by the developed countries, through a formal political commitment, of the responsibilities that they have for adopting and putting into practice international measures capable of achieving whatever goals are agreed upon for the decade.

145. My delegation came to this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly feeling certain that the national objectives of the developing countries and the international measures which the developed countries would adopt would meet in order to make way for a new stage of international co-operation. The developing countries have already formally stated in the Algiers Charter their firm belief that responsibility for their development is primarily their own matter. Therefore we hoped that the developed countries would come to the twenty-fifth session prepared to undertake formally to make a decision to participate in an international development strategy.

146. Confronted with the crisis through which international co-operation is now passing, we believed that there would be a fundamental agreement to find a new formula for international association for development. We trusted that the launching of the Second Development Decade would be an opportunity to open up new horizons for international co-operation.

147. Unfortunately, in the course of the debates and negotiations which took place over more than a month in the Second Committee, we were disappointed to see that nothing had changed. It was not possible to obtain from the developed countries the formal and explicit political undertaking that they would adopt and execute the policy measures established in the strategy.

148. Consequently, the international development strategy now submitted to us by the Second Committee is a one-sided document in which only one of the parties, the developing countries, undertakes to fulfil the agreement. Therefore, it does not have the basic prerequisite for an international development strategy. The strategy does not have the conditions to which my Government has frequently referred for more than two years, to enable it to associate itself with an international development strategy. Nor does this document meet the conditions which the developing countries, the Group of Seventy-Seven, proclaimed in the Algiers Charter. I shall take the liberty of quoting the relevant part of that important document of the developing countries:

“Traditional approaches, isolated measures and limited concessions are not enough. The gravity of the problem calls for the urgent adoption of a global strategy for development requiring convergent measures on the part of both developed and developing countries.”⁸

149. These convergent measures were not achieved in the negotiations in the Second Committee. The developed countries did not agree to grant their political commitments for the fulfilment and implementation of policy measures. For this reason, the delegation of Chile must enter a formal reservation to the whole of the chapter on policy measures contained in the development strategy now before the Assembly. A more detailed account of the reasons for this reservation appear *in extenso* in the addendum to the report of the Second Committee in which we also felt obliged to record our views.

150. This reservation on the part of the Chilean delegation to the chapter on policy measures of the development strategy document reflects a serious position, one which is in full accord with the position adopted by my Government and maintained by it throughout the whole period of the preparation of this strategy. It reflects a policy of full loyalty to the interests of my country and the general cause of international co-operation, in which my country is in complete solidarity with the developing countries as a whole.

151. A development strategy that does not have a formal commitment to carry out measures required really has no validity and will cause the greatest frustration amongst the countries of the third world, with the grave political, economic and social consequences that we can all imagine. Our peoples for years now have been looking forward to well-being, prosperity and justice. If the conditions of total disparity that exist in the world today prevail, we shall not have created the conditions of peace that mankind wants. Therefore, in adopting the global development strategy, we are not just working out measures to improve economic and social conditions for the developing countries, but we are at the same time preparing conditions for peace and political stability on the international level.

152. It is for this reason also that our Government required this explicit formal commitment to discharge policy measures by the developed countries. That commitment, in my Government's view, does not exist, not just because it was not reflected in paragraph 19, but because these governments have not accepted any manner of interpretation of paragraphs 12 and 19 of this document. Some important developed countries in the Second Committee expressed their reservations to paragraph 19 of the development strategy. Moreover, our position, and our interpretation on the lack of commitment becomes all the stronger if we

⁸ *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, Vol. 1 and Corr.1 and 3 and Add.1 and 2, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.II.D.14), p. 432.

bear in mind the number and magnitude of the reservations made in the Second Committee by a number of developed countries on the most vital paragraphs of policy measures with respect to both international trade and financial assistance for development.

153. When we state our reservations we would like, at the same time, to make it clear that this does not mean that the Chilean Government will not go on fighting to bring about the political commitment that has been denied us today. We shall for this purpose make use of all international forums and bodies. Notwithstanding present conditions, my country has faith that it will be possible to change the conditions of international co-operation when suitable conditions are brought about and when the commitment that we are seeking today also is achieved. Then and only then will my Government be able to drop this reservation we have entered to the chapter on policy measures.

154. The PRESIDENT: The list of speakers is now closed.

155. Mr. THORSSON (Sweden): Sweden takes a great interest in the Second United Nations Development Decade and has actively participated in the preparations for the development strategy for the 1970s. We should like now to express our great appreciation and pay our sincere respects to all those who have played a leading part in this preparatory work. My country is convinced that the United Nations, in accordance with its Charter, has a fundamental role to play in the international endeavours to diminish and ultimately bridge the widening gaps between rich and poor nations. Indeed, that is one of the most important tasks of this Organization.

156. Sweden was among those members of the Economic and Social Council which in 1966 initiated a discussion in that body regarding the need in the 1970s for concerted international action for development based on thorough preparations. In the course of these preparations the experiences of the first Decade were, so it was said, to be kept in mind.

157. The purpose of the work that started following the Council's formal decision on this matter was to examine, in a pragmatic way and against the background of a realistic assessment of the factual situation in various developing countries, how to utilize existing resources in an optimal way and how to increase the supply of resources.

158. As regards the supply of resources, we welcome those paragraphs of the strategy dealing with the urgent need to increase the total flow of resources for development and, particularly, official development assistance from the economically advanced countries. The targets set in this respect are consistent with the views of my Government.

159. The rationale for international discussions of national development problems must be, *inter alia*, to make it possible for countries to confront and to draw on each other's experiences. We have, of course, to

keep in mind that the experiences of a single country are never fully applicable to any other country; their respective basic situation is often fundamentally different. It is, furthermore, understandable that various countries should be influenced by their own experiences in their concept of the development process. That is also the case for Sweden, which entered the industrialization process rather late and remained poor relatively far into the twentieth century. I do not mention this because I think that the poverty Sweden experienced then was wholly comparable to the conditions in the developing countries, but in order to give a background to our concept of development.

160. In our view, development, the ultimate objective of which is social, is a many-faceted process comprising economic as well as social, human and other so-called non-market components. It is self-evident that, in order to achieve economic growth, the developing countries will have to be assisted in accelerating the growth and the diversification of their production and exports. One most important method to achieve this is the system of non-reciprocal, non-discriminatory preferences in world trade, which now, to our great satisfaction, has been approved by UNCTAD's Trade and Development Board.

161. However, economic expansion which is restricted to limited segments of the population will not by itself create the conditions necessary for long-term economic and social progress. Hence the need for structural change and social reforms. Appropriate adjustments of existing economic and social structures will have to be undertaken. Glaring inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth will have to be eliminated, not only between countries but also within countries. Agrarian reforms will have to be carried out, leading to improved land distribution, a more satisfactory allocation of agrarian income, an increase of agricultural productivity, and thus an improvement of the economic and social well-being of rural populations. Productive employment opportunities will have to be created in urban and rural areas. To prevent areas within countries from lagging behind in development, it will be of importance to integrate regional planning with national development, with a view to reducing existing regional disparities. In order to achieve a well-balanced development, involving men and women at every level of society in efforts to improve their own living conditions, planning for development must imply an integration of economic and social objectives and methods. This is what has been called the unified approach to development, stressing that economic phenomena are socially conditioned and have social consequences.

162. It is in line with this thinking that Sweden has constantly argued that the strategy should contain both clearly defined goals and objectives and specific policy measures aiming at the fulfilment of those objectives.

163. We note with satisfaction that in the strategy now agreed upon considerable progress has been made in the recognition of the unified approach to development. The mutual interdependence of objectives set

in different sectors has been brought out. This will help us to recognize the fact, first, that in any given society, at any stage of development, there exists a set of different interacting forces influencing the shaping of that society, and, second, that any meaningful development efforts will have to consist of measures aimed at bringing out the optimum combined effect of these forces in moving, as part of the development process, the whole system upwards.

164. Let me stress the fact that the Member countries of the United Nations, by preparing and adopting this strategy in such a relatively short time, have laid the foundation for world wide understanding and co-operation based upon a common concept of objectives as well as of methods to reach them. Given the magnitude and complexity of the problems involved, this ultimate success is a proof of the strength of the method used—the technique of international negotiations and compromises.

165. To our mind the strategy constitutes a political manifesto of great importance. We sincerely hope that it will prove to be of fundamental value for new and vigorous action in all the countries concerned. In the translation of the guidelines contained in the strategy into programmes of action, the basic need to make them country-oriented and well-integrated should consistently be kept in mind.

166. The international development strategy is about to be adopted. And now the most important part of the work will begin: its implementation. Now the emphasis must be put on developments in individual countries, policy measures taken and progress achieved at the country level, which will have to be continuously reviewed and appraised. Now it is for us to confirm our obligation to see to it that the statements in this debate on the strategy for the Second Development Decade do not remain words spoken at a solemn moment, but a living reminder to our conscience, and to our own interests, of what we have to do, what job will be expected of us in the next few years. For there will be a day of reckoning. To quote a well known source of wisdom: "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment".

167. Mr. ILONIEMI (Finland): The adoption of the international development strategy is a decisive step in the history of this world Organization. It adds, as the Secretary-General states in the introduction to his annual report, "a new dimension to the concept of international co-operation" [A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1, para. 55]. My delegation sees in this strategy a programme of action for the United Nations system and, indeed, for the world community, in order that the relevant provisions of the Charter can more effectively be translated from principles into action leading to desired change.

168. This development strategy is based on the experience that we have of our first joint effort with similar over-all aims. But the practical experiences have been supplemented and deepened by a consider-

able amount of careful and informed preparatory work. The Committee for Development Planning has made a most valuable contribution to the strategy and my delegation wishes to pay it a tribute. The role of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade has been a crucial one. Two years of intensive work have led us to results which are far more concrete and practical than many of us expected in earlier phases of the work. I should also like to add that the Commission on International Development, appointed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has highlighted many of the central problems of development strategy and thus made a significant contribution.

169. "Strategy" is a word which implies that we have before us a coherent and concerted programme of action and it takes into account all major aspects related to economic growth and social change. My delegation attaches particular importance to the clearly stated and strongly underlined principle of the interrelationship between economic growth and social well-being. In that sense paragraph 18 is of fundamental importance to the entire concept of the strategy. As stated in that paragraph, the ultimate purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better life. For that purpose it is essential to bring about a more equitable distribution of income and wealth for promoting both social justice and efficiency of production, to raise substantially the level of employment, to achieve a greater degree of income security and to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing and social welfare, and to safeguard the human environment. Awareness of that and of the fact that these objectives are both determining factors and end results of development is, in our view, the essence of the strategy.

170. The Government of Finland sees in this strategy a set of principles and a work-oriented programme to which it pledges its strong support. My Government, while being mindful of the fact that primary responsibility for the development of developing countries rests upon themselves, is prepared to increase substantially its own support of such efforts. In recent years the steady growth of the Finnish economy has enabled my Government to increase its official aid appropriations by as much as 40 per cent per annum. It is the intention of my Government, on this basis, to sustain and, if possible, to accelerate this rate of growth with the aim of achieving as early as possible the target of 1 per cent of gross national product in the course of the Decade and the sub-target for official aid in the middle of the Decade.

171. The first task before us after having adopted the strategy is to make world public opinion aware of its main contents, its aims and principles. Without such awareness and without the active support of public opinion, very little can be done. The strategy, when translated into action, calls for many decisions, some of which may be painful and agonizing. Those who cannot see the interdependence of actions cannot appreciate the unavoidable nature of certain measures. Those who are unaware of the complexity of the

development process may be frustrated if they expect instant results from long-term plans. To engage public opinion and to win its support is the keystone of the success of the strategy. We for our part pledge our efforts towards the achievement of the goals of the strategy.

172. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil): I am privileged to come to this rostrum to express the qualified approval of my Government for the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. This final result of our work has emerged as a platform of action in problems that largely touch upon the very goals and principles of the Charter; and by this I mean the very essence of peace, justice and security. Time and again the Brazilian delegation has stressed the close association between development and security and its firm belief that collective security and economic development are interdependent components of a single concept.

173. Our negotiations were hard, sometimes exhausting, and often marked by clashes of opinion not only on specific measures to be introduced into this decennial programme, but even as to the very concept of the strategy itself. To some, the strategy should have been a sort of running description of policy measures which are currently being considered and negotiated in different international bodies, and which might be taken some time in the near or distant future. To others, particularly to the developing countries, such an enumeration of measures would have amounted to a sophisticated progress report on work being carried out in such bodies as UNCTAD, and would not justify the launching and celebration of a new development decade that would stand by itself as a global strategy for economic and social progress. It was also often said that the strategy had to be "realistic" to be effective; and to this, it was answered that the strategy, if it were to be a valid instrument for 10 years of international co-operation, should be imaginative, bold and ambitious. Realism was not enough, as long as realism was synonymous with the reluctance to break the present patterns of international division of labour, of world trade and of old-fashioned formulas of foreign aid and investment.

174. What we were striving for—and what I believe all developing countries wanted—was a strategy broadly conceived in a threefold manner: a strategy of imagination, but leading into a realism of the future; a strategy of foresight, but providing for very specific, concrete action; a dynamic strategy, designed to foster development and not merely to stabilize it. So, in not heeding those who urged us to limit ourselves to a "realistic", report-like strategy containing nothing but a narrative of what is being done and what might be done, we were not being unrealistic; we were tempering realism with imagination.

175. In line with that conception, developing countries laid out, in their original draft proposals, their deepest aspirations for the coming 10 years. These aspirations rested on three pillars: first, the need for a commitment, a political commitment of the interna-

tional community, to action; second, the need for a concerted set of policy measures from which to derive this action; and third, the need for specified targets and objectives to give direction to this action. In short, we aspired to a system of international economic security, without which international political security simply cannot exist. Our final document does not embody such a far-reaching—and I repeat, ambitious—conception of the strategy. Yet it has been elaborated in a spirit and a manner such as to include a set of provisions that allow us reasonable hopes for a change in the attitude of the economically advanced countries towards the problems of development.

176. For the purpose of putting together this strategy, through the inevitable interaction of negotiations, and in a forceful spirit of compromise, developing countries agreed to lay aside many of their revindications and many of their initial proposals. That was done in an enormous effort to meet developed countries in the middle of the road, before starting down this road which is to take us through the next 10 years in a combined and collective effort towards progress. We did not want to exclude any of those who, in a genuine willingness to co-operate, wish to make their way along this road with us and to promote a truly effective international co-operation for development. So, we have left in this document only the acceptable minimum of our original proposals, but we will never surrender our basic aspirations.

177. This amounts to saying that, to the Brazilian Government, the strategy in its present form is good only as a starting point for international economic co-operation over the next 10 years, and certainly not as its end-product. It contains only a set of timid objectives and target dates for action in trade, financing and the transfer of technology, as well as minimal provisions for other important additional action—such as adjustment assistance measures for industries and measures in the field of shipping. But all this will be of value only if there is a true political will on the part of developed countries to take action in accordance with these provisions and to meet the established targets and objectives. Therefore, the Brazilian Government accepts this blue print for trade and development efforts over the next decade on the understanding that developed countries have committed themselves to act upon it, and that negotiations will be pursued, in the course of the Decade, in a greater spirit of dynamism, foresight and imagination, to give greater impetus to the economic and social development of developing countries, and thus, finally, to begin to close the gulf that still separates the nations of the world into two different categories, qualified by the past and present tense of the verb "develop".

178. Otherwise, the strategy which we have drawn up and brought before this Assembly will prove a failure, and that failure will be denounced to the world community, which will have to face its own incapacity to cope with growing social and economic problems, and the dire consequences which these problems might bring to bear upon international security and peace.

179. At this beginning of the Decade, let us not forget Sir Francis Bacon's comment that hope makes for a good breakfast, but is a very poor supper.

180. Mr. RANKIN (Canada): The Canadian delegation, throughout the long discussion on an international development strategy, has sought the elaboration of fundamental and attainable principles which would guide those engaged in the critically important work of economic and social development towards goals and objectives which were unanimously agreed upon and which were both reasonable and practicable.

181. To a very large extent, that aim has been fulfilled in the draft strategy for the Second Development Decade. In supporting the strategy, Canada is reaffirming its commitment to the support of international development as one of the most constructive ways in which Canadians can participate in the international community in this and future decades.

182. The Canadian Government accepts the international development strategy as a declaration of the will and determination of the United Nations and its Members to share, as members of the international community, in the processes of economic and social development for all mankind. My Government can, without reservation, pledge itself to pursue policies designed to create a more just and rational world economic and social order in which equality of opportunity should be as much the prerogative of nations as of individuals within a nation. We accept the goals and objectives of the Decade enunciated in this historic document.

183. In July of this year, the Canadian Government completed its review of development assistance policy. As a result, the Government is now committed to making further significant improvements in the quantity and quality of its development assistance programme, involving a large volume of support for multilateral institutions, substantial untying, the financing of ocean shipping and associated costs, more research on development problems and greater participation by the private sector.

184. My Government reaffirms its support for the 1 per cent volume target as an objective for the total flow of financial resources to developing countries and accepts, as a new objective, the target of 0.70 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance.

185. My Government is, moreover, as a matter of declared policy, committed to increase the amount of funds allocated to international development assistance over the coming years and to move towards the internationally accepted targets. Canada will attach the highest priority to increases in its official development assistance, which we will continue to provide, mainly in the form of outright grants and long-term interest-free loans.

186. We attach high priority to this form of assistance because of its clear development purpose, because it

is the portion of total flows over which Governments have direct control, and because in our view it provides the best basis for comparing the contributions of individual countries to the international development effort.

187. We firmly believe the development process must be insulated against fluctuations in the allocation of development assistance. Next year, for example, Canada's official development assistance will increase by about 17 per cent, or almost double the recent rate of increase in our national income.

188. My delegation believes that this historic document should receive the unanimous approval of the Assembly and, conscious of the high principles which it enunciates, and from the most compelling of motives, my delegation supports the strategy for international development.

189. Mr. VRATUŠA (Yugoslavia): The painstaking and dedicated work carried out over the past two years is about to come to fruition. The long process of difficult and arduous negotiations involving developed and developing countries and a large number of organizations within the United Nations system—as well as other international forums—has reached the culminating point. The General Assembly is about to adopt the international development strategy and solemnly proclaim the 1970s as the Second United Nations Development Decade.

190. I feel privileged to be able to avail myself of this opportunity to express the satisfaction of my country at the successful completion of this endeavour and to express congratulations to all who have contributed with their untiring efforts, zeal, imagination, experience and faith to the preparation of this document. It is the belief, however, of the Yugoslav delegation that the document could have been bolder in providing a forward thrust to the process of the economic and social development of developing countries so as to contribute in a more resolute and effective way to the elimination of the afflictions of mankind in a much shorter time.

191. With its available resources and existing capacities, the international community could more fully have satisfied the hopes and aspirations of the developing countries, had there been greater determination and political readiness on the part of the economically advanced countries to do so. However, we would not be doing justice to the accomplished tasks if we were to indulge in laments on this momentous occasion. What is paramount is that the international strategy for the Second Development Decade has been formulated for the world community in a spirit of constructive understanding. The representatives of different nations, of countries with different systems, that engaged in a renewed common endeavour to achieve the fundamental objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations were animated by a spirit of constructive partnership and co-operation, based on the interdependence of their interests.

192. The document on the international development strategy constitutes, therefore, a compromise between or, to put it more aptly, a reconciliation of the diverse interests of Member States, reflecting the present phase of their collective determination to advance international co-operation in one of the most crucial areas. Consequently, the substance and the significance of this document should be viewed in a dynamic context.

193. Although we call it the strategy for the Second Development Decade, in effect this will be the first true common endeavour to give a concerted push, at the international level, to the process of economic and social development in its entirety, within countries as well as on the international level. The international development strategy for the Second Development Decade represents a comprehensive and integrated programme of national and international action, covering virtually every facet of life. It is truly a unique document in the annals of the United Nations. It may become a milestone of historic importance in the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and in consolidating international solidarity. It would be too much to say that the strategy is a world development plan, of the same nature as national development plans, but it is surely designed as a framework for assisting and facilitating the implementation of the national development plans and programmes upon the success of which rest the hopes and aspirations of millions. Therefore it constitutes a major political action of our Organization, setting into motion a world-wide movement to change existing international economic relations and to assist the efforts of individual countries to mobilize their own resources for their speedier economic, cultural and social development.

194. In this context, the document has met at least half-way the conviction of the participants in the Lusaka Conference of non-aligned countries, as stated in their Declaration:

“ . . . that the Second United Nations Decade provides an opportunity to bring about structural changes in the world economic system so as to meet the pressing needs of poor nations, to strengthen their independence, and to provide for a more rapid and better balanced expansion of the world economy.”

195. The document on strategy is, in our opinion, also unique in character: although it is not of a legally binding nature, undoubtedly it is a clear-cut expression of the highly moral and political commitment of the Governments of Member States to pursue policies designed to create a more just and rational world economic and social order, in which equality and opportunities would be a prerogative as much of nations as of individuals within a nation.

196. What we are about to adopt, although of profound importance, is only the first step in the indicated direction. The true test of our dedication and commitment does not consist in the formal adoption of the international development strategy, but rather in the way we shall discharge our responsibilities in the era

ahead. The success of our common endeavour will be determined by the vigour and efficiency with which we carry out the full chain of tasks which together lend substance to the Development Decade. There is no doubt that the objectives and goals set can be achieved only if policy measures are timely and fully implemented. In this endeavour a total engagement of all bodies and organizations within the United Nations system dealing with the problems of economic and social development will be necessary. Moreover, certain adaptations in the working methods and improvements in the structure of the main organizations like UNCTAD will also be called for.

197. With the adoption of this document, the international community will assume such a responsibility that any hesitation in its implementation would cause a very serious loss of faith which could, in turn, have far-reaching negative consequences. The development problems of the developing countries represent one of the central problems of the world in which we live. They concern the world community as a whole and constitute a component part of the struggle for peace. As a matter of fact, the speedy and substantive solution of economic, social and cultural development problems will create a sound material basis for the strengthening of the independence of individual countries and peace and contribute decisively to international security as well as to greater confidence among all nations throughout the world.

198. We have before us a very challenging opportunity. Let us do everything in our power to lay stable and secure foundations for a prosperous world in which economic domination yields to economic co-operation between equal partners, and where economic strength and modern technology are used for the benefit of the entire world community.

199. Mr. KELSO (Australia): The Australian Government recognizes that the crucial problems of economic and social development require concerted international effort and willingness on the part of Governments to work towards a solution of the problems on the basis of mutual help and co-operation. Accordingly, my delegation will warmly welcome the adoption by the commemorative session of the General Assembly of the international development strategy approved yesterday by the Second Committee.

200. The development strategy is, of course, a symbol of international co-operation, but it is much more than a symbol. It will provide for the concrete application of measures and policies designed to achieve the goals and objectives of the strategy.

201. Australia's approach to the negotiation of an international development strategy has sought to be a positive one. Australia has always felt that a country's performance is the one valid test of whether its approach to development is positive. Australia's own performance record compares favourably with the performance of other donors, and the Australian commitment is to performance rather than to promises. We will continue to apply this attitude in the new Decade.

202. The Australian Minister for External Affairs has already announced in the General Assembly [*1846th meeting*] that Australia's aid will increase significantly in the first year of the Second Development Decade, as it has done in each of the last 10 years. Our budget for the fiscal year 1970-1971 provides for over \$200 million of official development assistance. This figure represents an increase of 11 per cent over the sum for the preceding year. Furthermore, this assistance is, for the most part, in the form of straight grants carrying no burdens of interest or repayment.

203. Conditions in the various developing countries are different and require different treatment. Similarly, donor countries face a variety of conditions which must influence the commitments which these countries are able to make. Australia itself faces many problems of development. Although our people enjoy a relatively high standard of living, our ability to contribute to development assistance is influenced by factors very different from those applying in more populous and heavily industrialized donor countries. We have therefore stressed the need for flexibility in the negotiations on the strategy document to take account of the capacity to contribute of countries like my own.

204. The capacity of Australia to grow, and its ability to sustain an important and growing contribution to development assistance, depend to a significant extent on its being able to sustain adequate levels of exports of primary commodities under fair and equitable conditions. This remains true even though Australia has made great progress in diversifying its economy in recent years.

205. Australia shares many of the trading problems of the developing countries and has often found itself making common cause with them in negotiations. It is always necessary to address our attention to the problem of encouraging and ensuring maximum participation by the major donor countries in development efforts. The developing countries have themselves acknowledged that they must bear the main responsibility for their own development. Clearly, however, the major donor countries are the only donors whose assistance can have a significant impact on the problems of development. Accordingly, we must hope that the international development strategy will provide a stimulus to the participation of the major donor countries in this process.

206. Let me conclude by saying that my Government fully supports the provision of more assistance to the developing countries and will work for the achievement by the earliest possible date of the economic trading and social conditions which will enable them fully to utilize their own resources.

207. Mr. JAVITS (United States of America): The United States delegation first wishes to express its appreciation and thanks to the whole team which worked under Chairman Guevara Arze to bring about this unusual and historic result, that team including not only the representatives of countries, like himself, but the United Nations personnel and those who pres-

ided over the formal or informal groups which helped to fashion the final document.

208. There have been few times in the history of man when so many nations, for so many different reasons, with so many different social systems, have come together in solemn resolve, to address themselves to a common problem and prepare for a common future. The adoption of an international strategy for the economic and social progress of all mankind in this paper before the General Assembly from the Second Committee is an historic occasion and provides an auspicious beginning for the Second Development Decade. The fashioning of this charter for development is perhaps one of the most momentous tasks undertaken by the nations of the world since the original Charter of the United Nations was drafted some 25 years ago.

209. In turn, the strategy and the Decade address themselves to the most central economic and social problem on man's immediate agenda, namely, can the benefits of modern technology be made available in sufficient measure to all mankind to lift off the backs of hundreds of millions in the developing world much of the burden of ceaseless toil and anxiety that they have endured for centuries?

210. The proclamation of an internationally accepted development strategy is a major step toward a systematic and more rational approach to the economic and social developments so desired by all men, and it will greatly enhance the efforts of developing and developed countries alike. It will provide the basis for a meaningful co-ordination of national and international programmes.

211. It is already clear from President Nixon's foreign assistance message of 15 September that United States policies have moved significantly in this direction and will continue to do so.

212. This strategy will be launched in a troubled world. The economic and social problems of the coming decade are no respecters of persons or of nations. Throughout the world cities, and the countryside, are suffering crises and these crises are the crises of our civilization.

213. It is in the cities that the problems of poverty, unemployment, underemployment, disease, dislocation, overpopulation, and environmental pollution are the most intensely focused. It is in the cities that the despair of man triggers the clock on the time bomb that threatens all society. Throughout the world youth is in ferment and not willing to accept the old economic and social doctrines, or to die or to be maimed in war without any real acceptance of its purpose.

214. The world is increasingly interdependent and this is particularly true of the world of economics. In the age of multinational co-operation, even the hold of the nation State seems to be weakening and, at the least, regional economic blocs are being formed or strengthened in all major areas of the world. Certainly

the view of the earth we saw from the astronaut's camera makes clear that our interdependence, one upon the other, daily grows greater. Arnold Toynbee wrote that all men look at the same god through different stained glass windows reflecting their cultural differences. Equally true is the fact that all men live on one small, fragile planet and through this share a common interest and a common experience.

215. Our growing interdependence directly contradicts those who would set system against system, rather than let these systems peacefully compete with each other for the happiness of all mankind. Hunger, ignorance and disease come with no ideological labels. Nor is it useful to employ neat schemes about moral accountability to permit any man or any nation to opt out of what should be the universal human effort to improve the economic and social conditions of mankind everywhere. Non-negotiable positions in the name of enhanced social justice do not contribute to establishing social justice. The past of any nation is too long and too chequered to permit easy escape from responsibility or easy exit from the struggle for human betterment.

216. Therefore, the United States Government joins in this solemn effort to promulgate a global development strategy, for the effort to loose chains and lift loads from tired backs is a universal wish which requires unified strategy and action. We must unite our resources as well as our resolve if the poverty, hunger and deprivation of millions throughout the world are to be eliminated, or even put more adequately on the road towards elimination, and this we must make a great effort to forward during the Second Development Decade.

217. If the minimum development goals that have been projected for the developing world in this paper are to be met during the next decade, the rate of investment and saving must be increased dramatically above the existing levels. This increased saving and investment must come mainly from the developing countries themselves—indeed, paragraph 11 of the strategy makes that very clear—but if the goals are to be reached, this internal effort must be stimulated and fortified by external public and private investments of goods and services.

218. The importance of private external capital investment cannot be over-emphasized. The famous Pearson Report is very clear on this point. It states:

“There can be no doubt about the contribution which private capital can render to economic development. Indeed, dollar for dollar, it may be more effective than official aid both because it is more closely linked to the management and technology which industrial ventures require, and because those who risk their own money may be expected to be particularly interested in its efficient use.”⁹

219. It is clear that much of the effort of multilateral aid programmes—and I refer in particular to the pre-investment survey work of the United Nations Development Programme—and much of the effort of bilateral programmes has been to stimulate private capital investment abroad. Again quoting the report of the Pearson Commission:

“ . . . official aid for investment in infrastructure is a prerequisite for private investment and tends to stimulate it. Far from being alternatives, private investment and public aid can complement each other and it is to this end that immediate efforts should be made, both in bilateral and multilateral aid operations.”¹⁰

220. Now, I make this point because we in the United States are on the threshold of a great effort in this regard. President Nixon has made that immediate effort here. His Administration's sponsorship of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation bill, which I had the honour to father and propose in the Senate of the United States last year, has helped to ensure its passage through the Congress. It is now law, and the operations of that Corporation will contribute to ensuring continued private capital flows from the United States to the developing world. In this historic foreign aid message of 15 September, the President said:

“ . . . the most important efforts of the new agency will be the operation of the investment insurance and guarantee programme and a strengthened programme for assisting United States firms to undertake constructive investment in developing countries.”

221. Incidentally, the President also supported—and again I quote his words—the “early inauguration of an international investment insurance agency, under the auspices of the World Bank, to provide multilateral—and thereby more effective—guarantees against expropriation and other political risks for foreign investment”, and he called for an increase in the scope, operation and resources of the International Finance Corporation, further to promote the role of the private sector—particularly within the lower-income countries—in the international development process.

222. In the field of public assistance, the intentions of President Nixon's Administration are equally clear. In his foreign aid message of 15 September the President said: “ . . . I agree with the conclusion of the Peterson Task Force”—which is a task force we had appointed in the United States—“that the downward trend of United States contributions to the development process should be reversed”. And in his message to the Congress on foreign Assistance in the 1970s, the President further noted—and I quote: “ . . . my programme for reform is a reaffirmation of the commitment of the United States to support the international development process”, and he urged the Congress to join him in fulfilling that commitment.

⁹ *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 122.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

223. Concerning the matter of aid targets, as I said yesterday, speaking for the United States delegation in the Second Committee [*1315th meeting*] though we cannot accept at this time the specific target dates or be confident as to when or whether our efforts may be successful, we are willing to join in the international reaffirmation of the aid target of 1 per cent.

224. The seriousness of our purpose is further certified by historical deeds. Well after the tremendous effort of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which followed the Second World War, and taking the immediately preceding decade from 1960 to 1969, net capital flows reaching the developing world from all sources, including the United States, totalled \$103,500 million, of which \$102,000 million—or 95 per cent—came from the developed countries, the countries which are members of the Development Assistance Committee. And of this latter amount of roughly \$100,000 million, \$47,700 million came from the United States. Thus the United States alone provided 47.1 per cent of the new financial flows from all sources to the developing world in the last decade.

225. These figures make it clear that the United States has not been found wanting; and I express the personal belief that it will not be found wanting. Also the figures make it clear why the burden of the foreign aid programme we have been carrying has become more intense when the United States itself faces serious domestic problems. These feelings must be understood, and they highlight the reason why other developed countries should now provide major assistance stimulus to the less developed countries—and most are already doing so, as we have even heard this afternoon, in steadily increasing amounts—and also they show why co-operation among developed nations is increasingly essential to successful support for the aspirations of the developing countries.

226. In addition to reaffirming our nation's intent to carry its share, President Nixon's foreign policy message proposes that in the 1970s the United States increasingly channel development assistance through multilateral institutions and provide our remaining bilateral assistance within a framework established by these international financing institutions. The success of this new approach taken by our President now rests in the hands of the Congress, while the task of strengthening the multilateral institutions and international co-ordinating mechanisms rests in the hands of the international community.

227. An essential component in the implementation of the strategy throughout the 1970s will be the review and appraisal mechanism to be established to monitor the performance of both developed and developing countries. I view this mechanism as an international development alert system which will pinpoint what the world should know about the whole process. There is great interest in the Congress on this subject, and also on ensuring appropriate Congressional review of United States assistance flows through international institutions.

228. President Nixon's message and the recent OECD meeting in Tokyo¹¹ have made it clear that the United States will play a leading role in the untying of aid. Also the President's intention of proposing legislation which provides for the establishment of a generalized, non-discriminatory, non-reciprocal treatment of the exports of developing countries to the United States is also clear.

229. Now, the trade policies of the industrialized world in the 1970s will have a material effect on the economic prospects of the developing world. I realize that there is great concern among Members of the United Nations about the future direction of United States trade policy—a concern arising from the recent actions of key committees of the United States Congress in voting out trade legislation which shifts radically from our traditional liberal trade posture. The Secretary of State has alerted the Congress to the fact that the enactment of a trade bill as it is presently being considered may bring retaliation—or indeed a trade war—in its wake, and has indicated that the provisions of the bill are not in the national interests of the United States.

230. I deeply believe—and I am a member of that body—that these views will have every consideration in the Congress. I can not rule out the possibility that a trade bill will pass the Congress, but I think the views of the Secretary of State will have very great weight.

231. In closing, I should like to refer to the theme that has been so nobly sounded by Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank, and by Secretary-General U Thant in his message to the first meeting of this commemorative session. Negotiations having a critical effect on the ability of the developed nations to progress toward meeting the targets of the Second Development Decade through arms limitations—particularly as regards nuclear weapon expenditure—are now under way in the strategic arms limitation talks, and in these the developing countries, as do the developed countries, have an enormous—perhaps the preponderant—interest.

232. Already, the reduction in defence expenditure, as well as increased expenditures for human resources development, has had the result that the United States is now spending more for human resources development than for defence for the first time since before the Second World War. The continuation of this encouraging trend clearly depends on certain factors, many of which are totally beyond the control of the United States. But I believe that the lines which I have indicated, and their importance, should be very profoundly emphasized in this tremendous effort of the Second Development Decade and the approval by the United Nations of this very great document.

233. I close as follows: it is my fervent hope that events over the next decade and the success of the

¹¹ Meeting of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, held at Tokyo on 14 and 15 September 1970.

Second Development Decade will bring mankind infinitely closer to the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more".

234. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): The completion and adoption of an international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade testify to a determined effort by the international community to see the interdependence of nations in a new, global perspective. As has already been pointed out in the statement of my delegation in the Second Committee [1315th meeting], the strategy is of special significance to a country like mine which, in view of its history and geographic position, has been able only at a relatively late stage to become actively engaged in the field of development assistance. We therefore welcome the international development strategy as a most valuable and indeed indispensable framework for our future action in this field. We accept the strategy and will make our full contribution to the attainment of its objectives.

235. It is an encouraging element, in this context, that Austria, over the last years, was able to expand the volume of its development assistance at an average annual rate of 10 per cent. Austria has accepted the principle of the 1 per cent target for the volume of aid and will make every effort to achieve that target during the Decade.

236. My country is also fully aware of the special importance of the role of official development assistance and will, within the limits of its economic and budgetary possibilities, continue to contribute every effort in that field.

237. Development assistance—and this is clearly spelled out in the strategy—must be accompanied by an improvement in the trade relations between developed and developing countries. My Government therefore attaches particular importance to the proposed measures in that area. In this context, Austria especially welcomes the agreement which was recently reached in Geneva regarding the arrangements for the establishment of generalized, non-discriminatory, non-reciprocal preferential treatment for the exports of developing countries.

238. We are also gratified by the progress made in the sector of commodity agreements. Austria not only has ratified the relevant international instruments, but will continue to lend its full support to all future efforts in this field.

239. With the adoption of the international development strategy we shall reach a decisive turning-point in the history of the United Nations. It may be difficult to evaluate the various and far-reaching results that may emanate from this historic step, but one aspect can and should already be stressed now. The increased, intensified co-operation in the economic and social fields amongst developing countries themselves and between the developing and the developed countries will also lead to new and imaginative patterns in other

fields. It will thus contribute to strengthening the United Nations as a whole and to the realization of the ultimate aim of all our activities: peace and human dignity. It is in this spirit that my country gives its full and wholehearted support to the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

240. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): The Danish delegation welcomes the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade as a framework for future concerted action to accelerate the economic and social progress of the developing countries and as an expression of the will of all countries to intensify their efforts within that framework.

241. Like many other countries, Denmark has to make its acceptance of the strategy subject to a few reservations and interpretations. I shall not go into detail here about these, since they have already been recorded in the Second Committee. There should be no doubt, however, as to the intention of my country to participate to the best of its ability in the common development effort during the 1970s.

242. During recent years, Danish official development assistance has increased rapidly. In 1969, official and private net flows of financial resources from Denmark to developing countries accounted for more than 1 per cent of our gross national product.

243. Half of our assistance is channelled through multilateral institutions, while the other half consists of technical assistance on a gift basis and of development loans which are free of interest.

244. For many years Denmark has been advocating a scheme for supplementary financing to meet the difficulties of developing countries caused by fluctuations in their export earnings.

245. We have also consistently expressed ourselves in favour of a system of generalized, non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal preferences for exports of manufactured goods from developing countries. We welcome the agreement which has now been reached in UNCTAD on such a system and hope to see it introduced in the very near future.

246. The strategy before us may not meet all the expectations of developing countries for firm commitments to action on the part of the developed countries. However, in our view the strategy represents a significant step towards a truly concerted action to solve the problems of the developing countries. Further, the strategy must be viewed in a dynamic context. We are confident that the strategy will pave the way for wider and deeper co-operation between developing and developed countries, so that the Second United Nations Development Decade can bring about major improvements in the opportunities of all people, which is the ultimate purpose of development.

247. Mr. GALLARDO MORENO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Our statement yesterday

in the Second Committee [1314th meeting]—which will form part of the addendum to that Committee's report—came before the adoption by acclamation of the document on the international development strategy. We said, in effect, that in our view the adoption of that document constituted a step ahead towards proper international co-operation even though it fell far short of meeting the aspirations of the developing countries.

248. This document is the result of lengthy negotiations and we had expected that when it was adopted there would be no expressions of reservations which, in a sense, are a permanent feature of the views of certain developed countries.

249. My delegation is concerned about some of the statements that were made after the draft had been adopted. This was of concern to others too. We felt that these were serious reservations about fundamental points in the strategy. My delegation continues to give its support to this strategy in the hope that through sincere and positive action all countries will make a contribution even though they have made reservations.

250. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): The strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade was adopted yesterday by the Second Committee [1314th meeting]. The adoption of the strategy represents, in the view of my Government, a solemn pledge on the part of all the developed as well as all the developing countries to do their utmost to achieve the goals and objectives set forth in that strategy. Although it is generally recognized that the strategy is not a legally binding instrument, it must be understood by Governments as a set of commitments to which they consider themselves politically and morally bound.

251. The Norwegian Government for its part considers itself politically and morally committed to the strategy.

252. The Norwegian Government has set itself the target of total transfers of 1 per cent of our gross national product in 1974. This target is based on the assumption that private transfers will amount to 0.25 per cent of our gross national product annually. Thus, my Government will propose appropriations which will bring Norwegian official development assistance, according to the international definition, to 0.75 per cent of our gross national product by 1974 at the latest.

253. Mr. LIEVANO AGUIRRE (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Colombia is pleased to note the progress made in the formulation of international development strategy. That strategy is the outcome of the difficult evolution that has been taking place in the field of economic theory, the subject matter and preoccupations of which are no longer limited simply to the economies of the rich developed countries; they have advanced very much in the exploration of the major issues raised by the backwardness of peoples and the machinery necessary to overcome this. In this task a most leading role was played by the Economic Commission for Latin

America of the United Nations and Mr. Raúl Prebisch, the former Director of the Commission. My delegation should like to single out the name of that distinguished Latin American at a time when the General Assembly is considering a document which represents the crystallization of a new philosophy about the treatment of economic and social problems in the world.

Mr. Dosumu-Johnson, Liberia (*Vice-President*), took the Chair.

254. Colombia was privileged to participate in all the debates and in the bodies in which this strategy was prepared and we knew how slow and difficult the negotiations were. While some concessions were achieved from the developed market economy countries, it was impossible to eliminate serious reservations as to the setting of targets, dates and political commitments which are indispensable for the execution of an effective international development programme. These limitations are all the more clear when one takes a look at the weak texts of paragraphs 19, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 43, 53, 61 and 62, to which my delegation attributes particular importance, and which were the subject of serious and grave modifications. To all this we must add the discouraging statements read out yesterday in the Second Committee by the representatives of certain developed States.

255. In recent years a clear divorce has gradually come to be established between the conduct of those developed countries which effectively lead world policies in these matters, and the increasingly meagre determination that these countries show in the solution of the grave problems that affect the major part of mankind. To justify the accelerated manner in which they have been reducing their financial contribution to the world-wide struggle against backwardness, they invoke their need to increase their investments in the solution of the social and racial problems that arise within their opulent societies, so as to see to it that public liberties are protected in them. Here and now my country should like to emphasize that if the rich societies decide to sacrifice international development as a way of lessening their internal tensions, not only are they going to help aggravate social tensions in Latin America, Asia and Africa, but also it is going to become increasingly difficult for them to recommend to the world the preservation of political freedoms.

256. Such a preservation requires the transfer of a significant part of the savings achieved in the rich societies to the backward peoples so that they may be able to solve the problems of under-development without finding themselves forced to require of their peoples those traumatic sacrifices and radical limitations on consumption which very often turn out to be incompatible with the survival of political freedoms. If in conditions of opulence tensions arise which are considered dangerous for those freedoms, what can one expect from the tensions that are generated in conditions of squalor and backwardness?

257. In any case the delegation of Colombia welcomes the adoption of the international development strategy

for the Second United Nations Development Decade in the hope that in the course of the Decade there will be a favourable shift of the rigid positions of the developed market-economy countries and that the appraisals carried out every two years to check on the progress of the strategy will make it possible to record changes occurring in the positions of those countries and in the positions of the socialist countries in a direction which will be favourable to broad and effective co-operation in the world-wide struggle against backwardness and under-development.

258. Mr. ALLEN (United Kingdom): Yesterday in the Second Committee the delegations of a number of countries, including that of the United Kingdom, went on record with formal reservations, explanations and interpretations, subject to which they approved the draft strategy without a vote. We shall, of course, regard the eventual adoption of the strategy as subject to the statement we made on that occasion. However, today the General Assembly has the more congenial task of looking ahead to the wider horizons which the strategy opens for us all.

259. October 1970 may well go down in history as an important date in the story of international co-operation in development. Two events of very considerable importance are taking place this month. The first is the approval by UNCTAD's Trade and Development Board, meeting in Geneva, of the scheme of special preferences in favour of developing countries. The strategy takes account of that important development.

260. The second important event of this month will of course be the adoption, a week from today, of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade and the proclamation of the Decade itself. The strategy attests the recognition by all countries that the 1970s must mark a step forward in securing the well-being and happiness not only of the present generation, but also of the generations to come. The international community is now preparing for perhaps the most important and largest venture in international economic and social co-operation in history: a venture designed to put into effect one of the chief purposes of this Organization.

261. The strategy, like the preference scheme, is the outcome of delicate negotiation and, indeed, of hard bargaining. There is nothing wrong with that. No one may have got the strategy precisely the way he would have liked it, but, in so complicated a situation as this, it was hardly to be expected that everyone could be entirely satisfied. It is wise to recognize that this is the way in which new international endeavours, at any rate successful ones, almost always start. The international community is going to explore territory for which the maps are incomplete. We should expect—and we have every right to do so—that, as our knowledge of the territory grows, so will the efficiency of our travel and our endeavour.

262. The representative of Ghana said some very wise words, we thought, in the Second Committee yes-

terday, and I should like to quote one or two of her remarks. This is what she said:

“My delegation attaches the greatest importance to the spirit in which the document has been worked out—a spirit of give and take and of mutual trust. We attach even greater importance to the spirit in which the strategy will be implemented—a spirit which will demonstrate to the whole world that the international community can marshal the necessary political will and moral commitment to implement a global strategy within a dynamic framework.”¹²

263. My delegation very much agrees with those words. What matters in the last resort is indeed the spirit in which we shall implement the strategy between now and 1980. Will that spirit be grudging, grasping, self-centred? Or will it be generous and understanding of the rights and difficulties of others? Will the strategy be in our minds a ceiling, an upper limit, or will it be a launching pad for increased efforts through the Decade?

264. So far as the United Kingdom Government is concerned, I can assure the representatives that it will not be found wanting in spirit or in achievement. The Secretary-General reminded us in the introduction to his annual report that the strategy does not constitute a legal commitment. Nevertheless, it does reflect the positive will of Governments to achieve very far-reaching policy objectives in many fields of human activity. The United Kingdom Government has undertaken to pursue an expanding aid programme and is determined to see that Britain plays its proper part in dealing with world poverty by working for the expansion of international trade, by encouraging private investment overseas and by providing capital aid and technical assistance. We look forward to working with our other partners in the strategy, partners from developed and developing countries alike, in the achievement of economic and social progress in the 1970s.

265. Mr. LAL (India): Mr. President, may I have your permission at the very outset to recall to mind the pledges the United Nations took in 1945 in San Francisco? In that fateful year the United Nations reaffirmed its “faith in fundamental human rights . . . in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”. It declared then its determination “to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”. For these ends it pledged to unite its strength and “to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples”.

266. I have thought it necessary to seek your permission to remind you of the promises made to the peoples of the world 25 years ago because during the period that we have covered, the world political order, the world political scene, has undergone a revolutionary

¹² This statement was made at the 1314th meeting of the Second Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

transformation and many of the purposes of the Charter have been largely achieved and observed.

267. In the economic field, however, the progress which has been made in the refashioning of the political order has yet to be reflected. In fact, during the first Development Decade the developmental process was caught in a number of contradictions. In fact, a virtual crisis of confidence between the developing and the developed world occurred. This crisis owed its genesis to some misconception of the developmental process as one involving a donor-donee relationship, as one in which the developed countries give and the developing countries take. Because of this misconception the developed countries have found it more difficult to give and increasingly the developing countries have found it even more difficult to take.

268. Over the last 25 years the benefit of science and technology has tended to be concentrated on a small segment of the globe. In consequence economic dependence has deepened, not diminished. Economic equality has not been promoted; in fact the inequality amongst nations has been accentuated. The structure of economic power in the world today threatens to put in jeopardy the gains of the political process. As a result of the gains of the political process we have seen the longest period of peace in Europe and yet during this period we have seen the devastation of war in the poorer parts of the world. This correlation serves to point out the need for the economic processes to march in step with the political process.

269. The leader of the Philippine delegation drew our attention to the enormous amount of money which is spent for preventing these bush fires from spreading from the periphery to the centres of political and economic power. We are not disheartened, my Government is not disheartened by this depressing scene. On the contrary, the ferment which grips all the peoples of the world is the most heartening fact of recent years. The universality of dissatisfaction, the restlessness of youth in all countries, rich or poor belonging to one socio-economic system or another is the basic genesis for a universality of approach.

270. The second factor which heartens us is the universality of needs and benefits. This conception has not yet been fully accepted by all the peoples and all the Governments of the world. It has yet to be accepted that the further growth of the advanced economies of the world is dependent on the activation of the inactive parts of the globe.

271. A lot of attention has been drawn to the poverty of the poor nations. Sufficient attention has not been paid to the wealth of the poor nations. Sufficient attention has not been drawn to the resources with which the poor nations are endowed: their human and material resources. The task of the development strategy which is before the Assembly for consideration is to press the wealth of the poor nations into the service of the world as a whole. Once their resources are brought into play, it will be easier to see that the developmental process has cyclic characteristics and growth impulses

that can be transmitted not merely by the developed parts of the world to the developing parts of the world, but that the development of the under-developed can transmit the most powerful growth impulse to the developed economies over the coming decade.

272. Medical science has advanced sufficiently for us to come to the conclusion that both overfeeding and undernourishment lead to premature demise and inefficient work. When a like discovery is made by social scientists the world community may find it easier to lift the burden, as observed by the distinguished Senator of the United States, off the backs of millions of people, and at the same time to deal with the troubled spirits and minds in other parts of the world. In this context my Government views document A/8124 and Corr. 1 as the silver lining on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations which we are holding at this time in New York.

273. Many of my predecessors at this podium have already recalled to your minds the enormous preparation which has been put into this document. To us this document articulates and identifies not merely the needs of developing countries, it identifies on a global scale the needs of the world community. It charts a course of action not for one or two countries but for all the countries of the world. I am also glad to see that this document is objective-oriented.

274. The goals and objectives, phrased in a broad sense in paragraph 12, are "to create a more just and rational world economic and social order". In the paragraphs which follow, this over-all goal has been broken down into a series of sectoral and specific objectives.

275. This document also embodies certain characteristics of action. The distinguishing feature is the coherence it imparts to action. The other distinguishing feature is that it calls for concerted and convergent action. In this concerted and convergent action, it seeks not merely the integration of the efforts of the developing and developed world; it seeks the integration of endeavours on the part of countries with different social systems.

276. If I may call attention to one inadequacy in this concerted and convergent action, it is in paragraph 18 (h), which says: "The full integration of women in the total development effort should be encouraged". I would have wished this to read "the full integration of men and women" because I do not like the contribution which men can make to the developmental process not to be mentioned at all in this historic document.

277. Another characteristic is the comprehensive nature of the approach. It covers the field of trade, finance, infrastructure, science and technology and, above all, it is time-bound. Many reservations have been made on this subject, but the strategy cannot be conceived except in the dimensions of the time span which are given here.

278. A notable feature which has impressed my Government is the recognition of the interdependence

of social progress and economic advancement. In this context, I should like to draw attention to paragraph 14, in which the average annual rate of growth of gross product per head in developing countries as a whole during the Decade has been given as 3.5 per cent. The document itself recognizes the inadequacy of this rate of growth in per capita incomes. That is why I should like to call the attention of the Assembly to the concluding sentence of paragraph 14, which says: "In countries with very low incomes per head, efforts should be made to double such incomes within a shorter period". Two decades for doubling a low level of income is so long a span of time that it may be impossible to contain the social explosion which is bound to be generated if a slower rate of growth is achieved.

279. There is another distinguishing feature. We have talked about commitments. I find that the commitments of countries which suffer from handicaps inherent in the low level of their economic growth are set out in somewhat more specific terms, whereas the commitments of countries which bear a smaller or less direct share of responsibility, but which have a greater capacity to assume it, have been described on a best-endeavour basis.

280. Nevertheless, many of the doubts in my mind have been dispelled by the forthright speeches which my delegation has had the privilege of listening to during the course of this evening. These hesitations have also been overcome by the language of paragraph 19. As far as I can recall, the words "collective determination" appear for the first time in a document of this nature. We have used the phrase "political will" often enough, but we have shied of the phrase "political commitment". The best way of making a political commitment is not by changing this word; the best way of making a political commitment, in the view of my delegation, is by adopting the strategy.

281. I am aware that the strategy has been adopted after taking into account the statements and reservations which have been made by a number of countries. To my delegation, those statements and reservations draw attention to current difficulties, and to the inadequacies of the political structures of social systems to meet the growing needs of the world community. Those statements do not constitute a qualification of the strategy. Those statements do not constitute a qualification of the goals and objectives. Those statements do not in any way qualify the determination, the political will, to implement the measures set out therein. Those statements and reservations only draw attention to the difficulties which individual countries will experience in implementing some of the measures.

282. It should be the resolve of the Assembly to provide for adequate machinery through which these difficulties could be resolved in a dynamic context. We have referred in paragraph 35 to changes in the structure of production. There was a great deal of negotiation on this paragraph, and the furthest some countries were prepared to go was to give assistance for the structural changes only in response to certain situations arising from their desire to promote the import of goods

from developing countries. My delegation would have liked to see a recognition of the need for changes in production structures, not merely in developing countries but also in developed countries, in a wider perspective so that the good of the entire world community is promoted.

283. It is in that context that we would like the developing and the developed countries to address themselves to the task of changing their respective production structures over the period of the 1970s.

Mr. Hambro (Norway) resumed the Chair.

284. My delegation recognizes the advance which has been made in respect of official development assistance in paragraph 43. No commitments in regard to target dates have been made. Having recognized, however, the importance of the role of official development assistance, it would be extremely difficult for individual developed countries to satisfy themselves that they have discharged their responsibility if the volume and the nature of their assistance are not of a kind which will impart the necessary impulse in the developmental process.

285. Lastly, I shall refer very briefly to the paragraphs dealing with science and technology. This is the first time that an attempt has been made by the international community to consider this most vital issue. So far, the problems of the application of science and technology for the development of developing countries, the problems of these countries' products and environment, have received inadequate attention, and that is the main reason why the progress of the developmental process has been so slow. In countries—such as my own—in which skills have expanded beyond the current capacity to utilize them, there is a brain drain, and the brain drain—such is the iniquitous structure of the world today—is employed for the solution of the problems of affluent countries and not for the solution of the problems of the countries from which the brains originate.

286. My delegation would like to express the hope that, as provided in paragraph 62, the research work should be so concentrated, in such locations, on such problems, in such adequate measure, as to become a real catalytic agent for the acceleration of development.

287. The provisions of the document so far as institutional machinery is concerned are, like the document itself, good as far as they go, and for the rest promising. The relevant paragraphs provide for systematic scrutiny, for evaluation, for appraisal. They do not yet adequately provide for the well-known procedures of consultation, confrontation and conciliation to be used for helping those in difficulty. Neither do they emphasize sufficiently the instrumentalities of action. Towards the end, the strategy draws attention, however, to the need for the mobilization of public opinion.

288. Finally, I would suggest that this august Assembly should submit the strategy to the heads of Govern-

ment, heads of State and senior representatives who will assemble at the commemorative meeting on 24 October. On that date, the world community, through its highest level accredited representatives, will proclaim the Second Development Decade and adopt for the first time a coherent strategy for action, and I hope that they will urge all concerned to take effective action to implement the measures which have been recommended.

289. Mr. RAHMAN (Pakistan): We are gathered here today for our final deliberations before the General Assembly puts its seal of approval on a truly remarkable document. The final adoption and proclamation of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade will have brought to culmination the fruit of perhaps the greatest concentration of multilateral endeavours in the history of the United Nations. It has embodied within it the results of a massive mobilization of effort and knowledge from the widest variety of sources. This is in a real sense a historic occasion, one that bears witness to and evokes a reawakening of hope and belief in the concept of international solidarity and co-operation enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

290. While our participation in this important endeavour has been a source of pride and dedication to my delegation, the dictates of objectivity demand, however, that we must assess the relative merits and demerits of the strategy within a certain vital perspective. This is implicit in the fundamental assertion contained in the preamble to the international development strategy. Paragraph 9 states: "International co-operation for development must be on a scale commensurate with that of the problem itself."

291. The question that inevitably arises is whether the international development strategy can measure up to the challenge and urgency of the developmental situation—a situation that has rapidly assumed the dimensions of one of the central crises of our time.

292. The answer to this question is obvious. It is evident that the strategy document cannot and does not provide a panacea for all our ills. It can only be considered as a first step—a basic minimum. The goals and objectives contained in it and the policy measures to fulfil them can at best be regarded as essential pre-conditions on which a just and stable world order can be founded. But even beyond the obvious shortcomings that must accompany an exercise of this kind, there are several factors that have tended to lessen the impact of the strategy document.

293. First and foremost is the magnitude of the problems facing developing countries. The strategy has failed to evoke that maximum response needed to meet the tremendous urgency of these problems: the exploding consequences of a world population that will approach 6,000 million people by the end of this century; the rapid acceleration in the pace of change of all world aggregates; the appalling extent of unemployment; the scourge of malnutrition and hunger; the millions of people without education, shelter, opportunity and even hope. These are some of the dimen-

sions of the development crisis. They have been given added focus and direction by the great complexity of changes that have come in the wake of the scientific and technological revolution.

294. Thus, on the one hand we see the unleashing of unlimited sources of production and the demand for greater human skills and, on the other, the increasing polarity between the growth of these forces and the capacity of developing countries to utilize them in order to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor nations. This is the substance of the dilemma posed by the technological gap. The real magnitude of these problems takes on chilling proportions when seen in the context of the political maladies that beset the world: the mad momentum of the arms race, the simmering cauldron of racial hostility and the scourge of war.

295. The Tinbergen Committee for Development Planning significantly concluded its contribution to the preparation of the strategy by asserting that it is the twin problems of poverty and threats to international peace which constitute by far the most crucial priorities of the coming decade. The development strategy must be interpreted to some extent in the light of its relevance to finding solutions to these problems. Read in this light, we cannot but conclude that its objectives and goals fall far short of the requirements needed to meet this challenge of development.

296. Secondly, the strategy as it now stands does not in any sense reflect the ideal position of developing countries, nor indeed even a real approximation to what they had desired. It represents the irreducible minimum that could be accepted and for many it is even a significant weakening of their consistent positions. The present text has been perforce tempered by the acceptance of political reality and has paid heed to the oft-repeated warning that majority votes cannot engender action. It has often been asserted that the negotiating positions assumed at various stages by developing countries represented a unilateral list of demands. Yet it is a fact which has already been underscored by the Chairman of the Group of Seventy-Seven, that the arguments adduced in favour of many of these demands have not been derived from any arbitrary considerations. They have been proposed and backed by the most objective and authoritative opinion available and on the basis of the soundest economic justification.

297. It is also a fact that none of the objectives or policy measures can be considered in isolation. They must be regarded as a totality, each contingent upon the other. And yet many of the objectives, their variables and the basic conditions governing their realization have been diluted and weakened to some extent. Thus, the very nature of the compromise that has been finally arrived at has to a significant degree fallen below the expectations of many of the developing countries and correspondingly reduced the value of the document.

298. Thirdly, the basic premise on which the strategy has been predicated is the essential need for implemen-

tation. It is not merely the fact that we have been able to agree on a preamble or to specify quantitative and qualitative targets or that we have arrived at a negotiated consensus on policy measures, or indeed that we have established a continuum through an appraisal machinery—these in themselves do not constitute tangible solutions. What is of fundamental importance is the degree of commitment on the part of both developed and developing countries to act upon the measures set out in the document and to implement them. The fact that so many developed countries have made observations and explanations constitutes one limitation and compounds yet another, the fact that the strategy document has no binding commitment other than that of the moral force and conscience of mankind.

299. These obvious shortcomings and limitations notwithstanding, the Pakistan delegation has sought to view the totality of results in a positive and constructive way. Our support has been influenced by many important considerations.

300. It is recognized that any corporate endeavour must, in the end, reflect a certain degree of latitude for give and take. That is the essence of negotiation. We cannot, however, fail to recognize the welcome demonstration of involvement on the part of many of the developing countries in this exercise. Their positive attitude and the degree of action that has already been initiated by many of their Governments in pursuance of some of the basic goals in the strategy is a basic reaffirmation of faith in international co-operation.

301. It is with a sincere feeling of pride that we have participated in an endeavour that has strengthened the unity and co-operation of the group of 89 developing countries. This sense of conjoint participation and partnership, even at the expense of individual positions, is one of the most unique examples of international solidarity.

302. Finally, my delegation has accepted the adoption of this strategy in the firm belief that it is founded on a dynamic approach and not on a mechanical and static basis. We consider it to be a stepping-stone towards further consolidation not only of past achievements but also of proposals for future action.

303. It is our sincere hope that on this auspicious occasion the first tentative steps we have taken in the interests of international co-operation and solidarity will undoubtedly lead to the attainment of the basic goal, the achievement of better standards of living for all in larger freedom.

304. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): It is my feeling that my statement may strike a discordant note in the middle of this group of persons which has generally been in favour of the document we are now considering.

305. Yesterday, before the end of the morning, the Second Committee of our Assembly adopted by acclamation—I would even say enthusiastically—the text of the international development strategy for the

Second United Nations Development Decade. After that decision, and in accordance with an agreement previously reached, certain delegations took the floor in order to make clear the way in which their approval of the document adopted should be construed.

306. Firstly, this text had a number of amendments tabled to it. As a result of negotiations which took place among the various groups in the Committee, these amendments were withdrawn and were to be replaced by what could be called "explanations of vote".

307. On this occasion, when listening to the various speakers, I indulged in the mental exercise of comparing the burden of what was said with the nature of the amendments which had previously been withdrawn and I found that not only were all the amendments reiterated by their authors but other reservations were added to those which had already been put forward. Among the latter I would quote those—perhaps the most important ones—made by certain market economy countries on paragraphs 12 and 19 to which they had previously not brought forward any form of reservation although these are precisely the paragraphs which contain the commitment of governments to proclaim the 1970s as the Second United Nations Development Decade and where they express their wish to ensure its success.

308. However, the Chairman of the Second Committee, like the Chairman of the Group of Seventy-Seven, this afternoon underscored the importance of those paragraphs which were subject to express reservations. Regarding the spokesman for the socialist countries, he refers us—and possibly quite rightly—to what he considers to be those who are responsible for our economic under-development although the role which these countries have historically committed themselves to play, makes it equally imperative for them to work for the removal of injustice, exploitation and poverty within our international community.

309. My delegation, which wanted to endorse the text we now have before us, at that time decided to wait until the end of the discussion in order to get a clearer picture of the situation.

310. Unfortunately, I owe it to veracity to confess that the light which I expected to be shed on the matter from the debates is not perceptible to me, nor have I been convinced by the masterly summarizing statements made by the Chairman of the Group of Seventy-Seven in the Second Committee. I did not share the optimism of the latter, I must say; quite to the contrary I started to ask myself whether it would not have been better to receive and deal with the amendments which had been submitted in the time-honoured manner, and then allow their authors themselves personally to draw the conclusions they wished from the decisions which had been taken. Such a procedure would at least have had the merit of being clear and would have spared us the unusual situation of having produced a document consisting of some 30 pages to which is attached a bulky annex more than twice the size of the document itself.

311. In view of the late hour at which we completed our work yesterday, and particularly in view of the awkwardness of my delegation's position, I preferred at that time to refrain from speaking at the end of that meeting of the Second Committee. However, my delegation experiences great difficulty in disguising its doubts and its anxiety when it thinks of the use which could have been made of all the statements which we have heard yesterday and today and which their authors have asked to have annexed to this document on strategy.

312. Are the delegations who made these statements to be regarded as shorn of all commitment to the obligations contained in the paragraphs to which they referred in their statements? If that is the case, my delegation could only agree with those who consider that the text which we are going to submit to the General Assembly on 24 October is simply a piece of hocus and that thus we would be in danger of being disloyal to the international community by adopting a document whose essential matter is contained in annexes which completely negate its substance.

313. My delegation would very much like to see representatives of delegations—particularly delegations of developed countries—who made restrictive comments in the Second Committee expressly seek to allay the misgivings of the General Assembly. Otherwise many delegations, including my own, will not be able to refrain from feeling grave misgivings about their political will—to use the language of our Declaration—to create in the world a more just and rational legal and economic order.

314. Mr. OGISO (Japan): On this auspicious occasion of the adoption of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, I should like to see inscribed firmly the full support which my Government extends to the strategy as a whole. As representatives may recall, my Government has recently made a number of positive decisions in the fields of development assistance and international trade. Last May a new policy decision was taken to endeavour to attain the 1 per cent aid target by the year 1975, bearing in mind the particular importance of this issue to the Second Development Decade. Then, in September, my Government made another major decision in the aid field, namely, the acceptance of the principle of the untying of aid. In the trade field as well, a comprehensive and extensive trade liberalization programme was formulated last year and not only has been implemented in full but also has been further expanded. I may add that my Government is now making preparations for an early implementation of the generalized system of preferences which was recently agreed upon in the forum of UNCTAD. My Government is determined to accelerate the momentum thus gathered in its endeavour to co-operate with the efforts of the developing countries to advance their economic and social development.

315. The General Assembly is expected to adopt and proclaim the international development strategy on 24 October. It is undoubtedly a most important resolution

of the General Assembly in its history of a quarter of a century. While supporting the adoption of the strategy by the Second Committee yesterday, my delegation stated its position on some parts of the strategy and it will maintain that position.

316. I am convinced that the United Nations has been able to respond to the expectations of the entire world in formulating the comprehensive programme of action for the Second Development Decade. Now the task ahead of us will be the effective implementation of international co-operation for the cause of development, which will indeed call for a continuing and dynamic endeavour. My Government stands ready to take a most positive part in such a joint endeavour throughout the coming 10 years.

317. Mr. SIRIWARDENE (Ceylon): The acceptance of an international development strategy on this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is a historic and significant occasion, and my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express our support of the Second Development Decade and to comment very briefly on our collective effort and determination to launch the Decade.

318. We have participated in and also observed very closely the lengthy discussions and protracted negotiations that have taken place and, in the context of the difficulties that arose time and again, the ultimate result is in a sense a matter for some satisfaction. The document which we are adopting today certainly falls short in form and content as far as the aims and aspirations of the developing countries are concerned. While it contains to some extent the basic objectives which the developing countries are seeking to achieve, it also reflects the frustrations and disappointments which the spirit of compromise that characterized the negotiations could perhaps not have avoided.

319. The resolution represents in a sense a milestone in the long and arduous path of economic development, but it symbolizes at the same time a collective effort to meet one of the most pressing and challenging problems of the future. Let us hope, therefore, that it will provide inspiration to the determination and will of both the developed and the developing countries effectively to co-operate in carrying out these measures and thus ensure that the efforts of the Second Development Decade will allow for a substantial improvement in the economic conditions of the developing countries, which the first Development Decade failed to achieve.

320. There were occasions during the negotiations and discussions when our patience was almost at the point of exhaustion and when the prospect of achieving any worth-while agreement appeared to be grim. But the spirit of compromise and understanding—as indicated by other delegations in the course of today's statements—which was shown by the negotiating groups enabled us to present the consensus as recorded in the resolution which we are to adopt.

321. In view of the very limited gains of the first United Nations Development Decade much more vig-

orous and dedicated international action is required during the Second Development Decade. A more successful struggle for development requires a new solidarity among nations. It also indicates the need for concrete measures to achieve it. In this perspective the sharing of resources must be seen as a matter of justice and not of generosity. The gains of economic development and the resulting social justice serve the real interests of all nations, an achievement which is possible given the political will which, to say the least, implies a political commitment as well.

322. The idea behind the international strategy is basically one of co-operation. In our effort to achieve the results which we have outlined for ourselves the schemes must be so designed as to promote soundly planned economic development. Any form of political or economic domination will naturally retard the benefits that come from international co-operation.

323. We have been heartened during the course of the discussions to hear about the form of international assistance that the developing countries receive, but I would like to point out in this connexion that we should not be satisfied with, and pat ourselves on the back about, receiving the kind of assistance which in general appears to be substantial but which, when the net value is taken into consideration, really amounts to something small. For example, we find that in the calculation of a net flow of real resources from the developed to the developing countries in 1968 it has been estimated that out of a total of \$12,800 million nearly \$11,000 million has been accounted for as having been repatriated in one form or another by interest and amortization, recorded capital movements and even unrecorded transfers which have not been accounted for in the actual transfer of reserves.

324. Therefore the important thing is to recognize that we have to address ourselves to the question of finding the necessary resources, because unless a sincere effort is made to provide the vast amount of resources that is needed to help the developing countries to come out of the situation in which they have been for so long, the fate of the Second Development Decade will be the same as that of the first.

325. Everyone is agreed today on the need for an intense dedication to economic and social progress. In practical terms this means the harnessing of substantial resources to achieve the very modest target set out in the international strategy for the Second Development Decade. It was only the other day that the President of the World Bank referred to the fact—and this has already been mentioned by other delegations—that the world spends over \$180,000 million annually on arms as against a mere \$7,000 million for economic development assistance. He went on to say: "Such a policy appears to me to be the mark of an ultimate and, I sometimes fear, an incurable folly".

326. I think that is striking. A change of heart and a change of attitude are absolutely necessary if we are to face the challenging prospects of another

development decade. May we therefore sincerely hope that the approach which was heralded at the recent conference of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will continue to influence the larger nations and, with the lessening of tensions, release our energies and resources to meet the challenge of the Second Development Decade.

327. The developing countries' expectation of receiving from the developed nations a minimum percentage of their gross national product is a modest and reasonable one. In this connexion it need hardly be stressed that what we are seeking is genuine public gain, since private investment could in the future—as was the case in the past—contain within it severe limitations and even abuses which can negate the very assistance that is so provided.

328. It has been rightly stressed by many countries in statements made both in the General Assembly and in our own Committee that trade must be recognized as a key and dynamic factor if solidarity and partnership are to have adequate expression. While efforts should be made towards reducing tariff barriers, there should be positive international co-operation in the marketing not only of manufactures and semi-manufactures but also of primary products. This approach is basic to the idea of the international development strategy, and the new attitude towards trade should be a mainstay of development.

329. In many developing countries, including Ceylon, the high incidence of unemployment and underemployment is a problem to which we have to give close attention. Practical schemes appropriate to a country's own development needs and requirements have to be designed and implemented with a view to making labour more productive and making it play its rightful role in the country's future development. The recognition of the role of science and technology need hardly be underlined. The gap between the developed and the developing countries must be narrowed, for its continuance will invariably endanger peace and progress. The warning signals continue to mount and a new concerted effort is called for to meet this critical human challenge.

330. In this context we hope that the resolution on the international development strategy, which certainly represents a landmark as far as decisions relating to development policies are concerned, will provide the basis for dynamic and concerted action towards removing the present imbalance and making the substance of economic development a reality to many nations now struggling to attain the modest goal of development, thereby building a sound foundation for improving not merely the economic prospects of the developing nations but also the general economic health of the world.

331. Mr. ZAKHAROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): As a representative of the delegation which is Chairman of the group of socialist countries during October and on behalf of those countries, I should like to make

the following statement. The delegations of the socialist countries—the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—set forth their position on the Second United Nations Development Decade in a joint statement at a meeting of the Second Committee held on 21 September. That statement was circulated as an official document of the General Assembly [A/8074]. Before the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade was approved by the Second Committee, the delegations of the socialist countries explained—and they again confirm—that they will continue to base themselves on the position set forth in their joint statement and that they support that document to the extent to which it reflects that position.

332. Mr. GOBBA (United Arab Republic): The experience acquired from the endeavour to set up our respective societies properly has taught us that the coherence and harmonization of economic and social activities for the benefit of all members of society is an imperative prerequisite to ensure a stable climate devoid of the elements of frustration and disenchantment which emanate from disparities between rich and poor members of society. Such a climate is conducive to constructive human activities.

333. If these principles were found useful in the local arena, they could easily fit well into the international field, especially with the current trend towards oneness in the world, for political, economic and social shortcomings in one part bear consequences on other parts of the world. In this context, we regard the international strategy which is about to be adopted as an endeavour by the international community to secure social and economic justice in the world. It is likewise a means to remedy past injustices inflicted upon most of the developing countries—injustices which have contributed to present circumstances.

334. We regard the international strategy as it stands now as insufficient and inadequate to fulfil the task of harmonizing the activities of the international community in a coherent manner, let alone the aspirations of the millions of the third world, who represent two thirds of the world's population.

335. Yet we welcome the adoption of this document because of its dynamic nature, directed towards relentless efforts to achieve economic and social equilibrium in the international arena. Our concurrence emanates from our belief and hope that new agreements will emerge during the Decade within the framework of the relevant international organizations.

336. This does not mean that we belittle the importance of such a document; the reverse is true. We hold dear the role it could play, and we are convinced that the efforts exerted in the different bodies of the United Nations system have come to fruitful results.

Suffice it to say that in one single document the broad goals and aspirations of the international community have been pin-pointed, together with guidelines for measures to deal with them.

337. We accept the adoption of this strategy in its entirety. All the concepts incorporated therein are interrelated and leave no room for selecting some parts and excluding others. It has undergone thorough and extensive negotiations in the span of two years in different forums, with the aim of reaching the most appropriate conciliatory position at this stage.

338. In expressing our concurrence with the strategy, we earnestly hope that the new page which we intend to open during the coming decade will be better than the previous one. We wish at this juncture to pay our sincere tribute to all the collective efforts that were exerted in this regard, particularly those of various bodies and affiliated organs of the United Nations, and to the efforts of those of our colleagues who spared no efforts for the attainment of such a valuable document.

339. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure for my delegation to express its satisfaction at the adoption by the Second Committee of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. That satisfaction, however, is, unfortunately, not unalloyed; it is tempered by the fact that the unanimity that we finally succeeded in achieving in the adoption of this document came only at the price of continuous effort, of difficult and arduous bargaining and negotiation, both official and unofficial, and at the cost of concessions which sometimes went beyond all our apprehensions.

340. I say "apprehensions" because those concessions, more often than not, were made to the detriment of the third world, which is intended to be the beneficiary of that strategy. It is even more noteworthy that the concessions made by the representatives of the third world were not met with matching concessions on the part of countries which, because of their economic and social structure, can and should turn this strategy and this Decade into a success, not a failure.

341. Nevertheless, my delegation is still strong in its hopes, because we believe in man and in the destiny of the human race; we believe that it is a common destiny and that the world, whether it lives in squalor or prosperity, should display unity and solidarity. Indeed, it will either survive together or perish together; and if it were to perish, it would undoubtedly be because of the poverty to which I referred just now—which could be remedied by the contribution of the developed countries, which enjoy abundance, by providing substantial and valuable assistance to enable two thirds of mankind to live decently and in the conditions demanded by human dignity.

342. To everything done at various levels in the different bodies of the United Nations, my delegation has

always willingly and sincerely made its own modest contribution, and we did so in order to serve the fundamental vocation and purpose of the country we represent, namely, solidarity regionally, nationally and internationally. In Kuwait we have had a very striking and encouraging experience, and I venture to allude to this in passing by saying that, domestically speaking, we have worked for an integrated development programme, economically, socially and in the humanitarian field. I should like to emphasize the human aspect because we consider that over and above all else, the decisive element and the paramount factor that can bring about development in the world is the human being.

343. Regionally speaking, the vocation of my country is also one of solidarity. My country established a development fund, the capital of which has been increased to 500 million Kuwaiti dinars, which is more than a million dollars, despite the burden caused us by the Israeli aggression against three sister Arab countries, an aggression which made it necessary for us to give to our sorely stricken brothers whatever assistance and aid was within our modest means.

344. The Kuwaiti development fund, during its short existence, has been able to accord to those countries the assistance and help of my country under the most favourable conditions, with no political or other strings attached, in order to assist them in carrying out their national development in the economic, social and humanitarian fields, and in the fields of education and public health.

345. In the light of the experience we have had, we are able to feel that our regional solidarity has had some impact on the international level; and in that field we have stinted no effort in giving tangible proof of our determination to ensure that the third world may live in better conditions.

346. Development is a global and integrated process. It must be based solely upon the concept of solidarity and upon the notion that solidarity involves obligations and does not consist in giving hand-outs.

347. When the strategy came out strongly in favour of assistance, implicitly or explicitly it was speaking in favour of the sort of trade that would give the developing countries the means to enable them to stand on their own feet and advance along the road of development.

348. Our experience, to be sure, is a modest one, but in all humility I would say that it has been most convincing. I do not intend to set it as an example, but I venture to hope, that the experience we have had, though it may be within a limited ambit, may lead to the kind of success we wish for the developing strategy, so that all our friends in the third world may enjoy the well-being and plenty to which they are entitled, and so that the life of coming generations may be a better one.

349. The third world stands at the edge of the abyss of poverty, wretchedness and privation. If it falls with-

out a helping hand to hold it back, it will, in its headlong plunge, drag down with it not only the developed countries but the entire world.

350. I should not like to conclude on such a gloomy note. On the contrary, I should like to voice a sincere hope, because I have the unmistakable feeling that the world will not allow itself to perish while it has all the possibilities it does have for a life in better conditions.

351. Mr. TORRES (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Prime Minister of Peru, General Ernesto Montagne, on the 14th of this month here in the General Assembly [1865th meeting] said that we could not adequately commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations if we accepted a strategy for the decade that would even further increase the economic dependence of the developing countries on the developed nations—a dependence which was not in keeping with the legal obligations set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. Article 56 of the Charter establishes the obligation of all Members to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55. Those principles reflect a commitment of all Member States to encourage higher standards of living, permanent employment for all, and conditions of economic and social progress and development. These imply the convergence of international and national effort to achieve the proposed objectives. International co-operation for development, therefore, is a common responsibility and should be shared by all Members of the Organization.

352. The Government of Peru views this joint responsibility in two ways: first, that the primary responsibility for development belongs to the developing countries themselves; they must work within their own countries to transform their social and economic structures.

353. The second point is that however great the domestic efforts of the countries themselves are, in many cases they will not suffice if the developed countries, particularly those with greater economic power, do not decide, as a counterpart to this, to abandon any policy which will impede internal transformations and if they do not decide to grant true co-operation and assistance in order to bring about such modifications.

354. As a co-sponsor of the strategy document, the delegation of Peru joins with the other Members of the United Nations in endorsing it, in the belief that it is a minimum result, the outcome of long and disappointing negotiations about the targets, objectives and policy measures that have been carried out in the Organization.

355. My delegation would like to say once more that the strategy document is an insufficient, weak instrument. Notwithstanding the great efforts made during the negotiations with the developed countries in order to achieve agreements that might contain the measures required to improve the living standards of the peoples

and in order to bring about a just distribution of wealth for the benefit of the needier classes, it has not been possible to achieve this because of the lack of political will on the part of the majority of the developed countries to change the relationship of dependence that exists between them and the developing countries.

356. In spite of this, and in spite of the disappointing way in which the document was drafted, yesterday, in the Second Committee, important developed countries expressed very serious reservations which affect vital parts of this document and which weaken it even further.

357. The delegation of Peru has also made observations and reservations about the strategy because we believe that many of the international measures do not commit the developed countries in any concrete way. This being so, those measures are not in accord with the clear policy of my country, which is exerting considerable efforts to transform its socio-economic structures in a peaceful way through a whole series of legal instruments and measures to implement them, thus making possible the annulment of the former unjust social and economic order which was the cause of under-development in my country.

358. These clarifications and reservations on the part of my Government are recorded *in extenso* in the addendum to the report which the Second Committee has presented to the Assembly.

359. Peru will continue to work for the cause of the United Nations through the creation in my country of a new, just society, since the great goals of peace, justice and progress, which the Charter of the United Nations has set on a world-wide level as the aims of the peoples and as the purpose of the Organization, have been and are the goals which the Peruvian Government within its national framework is trying to achieve in harmony with the aspirations of our own people and in accordance with the unique realities of Peru. In the international field, in all appropriate forums, my country will continue to co-operate with the other countries of the Group of Seventy-Seven in order to achieve the improvement of the conditions and terms under which international co-operation for development takes place and in order to bring about an international economic and social order which will be just and rational.

360. Mr. PEAL (Liberia): Liberia could not let this great moment in the history of the United Nations pass without joining others in paying a just tribute to it.

361. The international development strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade presented for adoption at this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly must be considered a landmark in the history of our Organization. This is so because of the import this strategy gives to one of the essential elements in our Charter: the creation of conditions conducive to stability and thus to peace.

362. We are here, therefore, to raise a new and timely signal for peace in the form of a concerted and consis-

tent attack on those frustrations that have contributed to instability in our world. We agree that no other action during this twenty-fifth commemorative session can bring more meaning and hope to the vast majority of the peoples of the world. It is in that spirit that Liberia now welcomes this historic moment for the United Nations and commits itself to the fulfilment of its provisions and the achievement of its objectives.

363. Liberia will be among the first to recognize the imperfections, both explicit and implicit, inherent in this development strategy as in all instruments devised by man. They result mainly from the fact that we could not fashion such a strategy outside the realities of our world today—realities covering the whole vast spectrum of the behaviour and conduct of men and nations. Suffice it to say, at this point in time, that if this strategy has not completely levelled our sights on the target, we of the developing world can never remove our direct aim from that target.

364. Consequently, as experience with such documents has shown, it is not so much on what it says or does not say that our judgement must eventually and meaningfully be based, as on the manner and spirit in which Governments undertake to carry out its provisions. Liberia recognizes the spirit of co-operation which had to be brought to bear in order for this document to receive the approbation of Member States.

365. While congratulating all those who were so faithful to the cause of bringing this document into existence, we express the hope that that same spirit of co-operation will continue to move all of us so that what we have thus accepted becomes a new, effective instrument in the hands of our world community to raise the spirit and well-being of that long-deprived half of the world.

366. Today our Organization is about to emphasize a new direction. Over the long march of history we have seen efforts made to ensure peace by action mainly based on building up machinery to wage wars of destruction. Such efforts have invariably failed. Now we want to engage ourselves in a new undertaking by calling on all nations to lend their material, political and moral resources to strengthening the means of peace by bridging the gap that continues to exist between the rich and the poor nations. Thus, instead of coercing man to keep the peace, we now focus on what goads him towards instability and war. This Assembly can congratulate itself on this new orientation of its efforts, which is bound to usher in a new era of international co-operation for the benefit of our world.

367. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel has asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. I would remind him and other representatives who may be tempted to participate in the debate in exercise of the right of reply as they did on the last occasion that, since a full debate on the Middle East is scheduled for 26 October, they need not have such a debate today.

368. Mr. HILLEL (Israel): I shall be very brief. It was with dismay that I heard the representative of

Kuwait abuse this forum to make an unwarranted accusation against my country. For my part I do not want to abuse the time of this Assembly to discuss a subject which is being dealt with in a different context, but I have to put on record that aggression in the Middle East was not committed by Israel. Israel is forced to defend itself against a continuous, well-prepared and publicly announced onslaught on its existence. No verbal aggression can change these facts. We firmly believe that the countries participating in this debate will not be impressed by such utterly irrelevant aspersions but will continue to devote their full attention to the great tasks of economic and social development and progress through international co-operation. I am glad to reiterate my country's sincere willingness to continue to participate effectively in this noble common endeavour.

369. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Kuwait in exercise of the right of reply.

370. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) (*interpretation from French*): I do not wish to abuse the patience of representatives. It is very late, but it is my duty to correct certain statements and bring them into line with the facts.

371. Those who come here and arrogantly proclaim that they want to co-operate to keep the peace should do something to restore the peace. Those who would

have everyone believe they are desirous of living in peace should stop the massacres, so that when they come here they can come with hands that are clean and not covered with the blood of the thousands of victims they are responsible for. Words alone will not suffice; they will have to be confirmed by deeds, by constructive action, not by massacres and destruction.

372. Having said that, Mr. President, I would, through you, invite the representative of the authorities of Tel Aviv to re-examine his conscience, so that tonight and in future he can sleep in peace—the peace we desire for all the populations of the Middle East.

373. The PRESIDENT: Before we finish this meeting, I should like to state from this Chair that the document we have dealt with will probably stand out in history as one of the most important and constructive documents ever adopted by an international organization or diplomatic conference. It has already been stated that no discussion will take place at the special meeting on 24 October. On that day, only formal action will be taken on the draft resolution containing the international development strategy for the Second Development Decade, together with the other documents prepared for the commemorative session.

374. I thank the representatives for their patience.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.