

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

THIRD

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY/LATIN AMERICA

INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

MEXICO CITY

July 1977

F I N A L   A C T

---

25 August 1977



After the First Latin-American/European Conference held in Bogota in July 1974 and the Second Conference in Luxembourg, in November 1975, Delegations of the Latin-American and the European Parliaments met for their Third Conference in Mexico City, from 24 to 27 July 1977.

The Latin-American Parliament was represented by Delegations from the following countries:

Netherlands Antilles, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Surinam and Venezuela.

The Delegation of the European Parliament represented both the six political groups within that Institution and the nine Member States of the Community. The Council and the Commission of the European Communities also took an active part in the meeting.

Members of the dissolved parliaments of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Peru and Uruguay attended the Conference as observers.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS

The Third Conference was presided over by Mr Augusto Gómez Villanueva, President of the Latin-American Parliament and Mr Emilio Colombo, President of the European Parliament.

Mr James Scott-Hopkins and Mr Hans Lückner were appointed Vice-Presidents for the European Parliament, and Senators Gilberto Avila Bottia and Ricardo Elhage for the Latin-American Parliament.

Andres Townsend Ezcurra, Secretary-General of the Latin-American Parliament and Karlheinz Neunreither of the European Parliament acted as Secretaries-General of the Conference.

By agreement between the Bureaux of the Latin-American and the European Parliaments, eight topics were included in the agenda and these were assigned to the three Working Committees made up of participants from all the delegations.

The Political Affairs Committee was chaired by Senator Joaquin Gamboa and Mr Georges Spénale, with Senator Lucio Pabon Nunez and Miss Colette Flesch acting as rapporteurs. This Committee considered the new international economic order, human rights, and parliamentary institutions and democracy.

The Second Committee was concerned with economic and trade relations between Europe and Latin America and financial cooperation between the two regions. Mr Hector Rivierez and Mr Armando Sanchez Bueno were its co-chairmen and Mr Jesus Puente Leyva and Mr Renato Sandri the rapporteurs.

The Third Committee, chaired jointly by Mr Cornenio Hueck and Mr Alfred Bertrand, studied the problems of international terrorism, the population explosion and cultural and technological cooperation between the Parliaments. This Committee's report was drawn up by Mr Tam Dalyell and Mr Francisco Guerrero.

The European Parliament extended a cordial invitation to hold the Fourth European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conference next year in the European Community at a date and place to be decided in due course.

The Conference requested the Presidents of the European and Latin-American Parliaments to take the necessary steps to comply with the provisions of this Final Act.

The Conference also requested both Presidents to take all action they might deem appropriate to strengthen the ties between the two Parliaments and, with the approval of the respective Bureaux, to carry out the preliminary work for the Fourth European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conference.

The European Parliament and the Latin-American Parliament wish to express their gratitude to the people and Government of Mexico, and particularly to the President of Mexico, Mr José López Portillo, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, for their generous hospitality and for their contribution to the holding of this Third Interparliamentary Conference.

The list of the members of the delegations, of special guests and observers who attended the proceeding is annexed to this Final Act.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The Third European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conference approved a joint declaration and the reports produced by the three Committees, which constitute a true account of the agreements, conclusions and positions on which the members present expressed consensus.

## JOINT DECLARATION

### The Third European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conference

- having resolved to maintain and consolidate the links between the Latin-American Parliament and the European Parliament as a democratic and constructive form of international dialogue and cooperation;
- clearly recognizing that this solidarity between the Latin-American and the European Parliaments offers total support to all those who are struggling to establish and maintain democracy in their countries;
- having listened with emotion and sympathy to reports from members of the Latin-American parliaments that have been dissolved by unconstitutional means, and having learned of the conditions of insecurity, persecution and lack of freedoms which prevail in countries where no parliamentary institutions exist;
- believing that these painful facts should strengthen the resolve to maintain and intensify the defence of parliamentary democracy and respect for human rights throughout the world;
- conscious that a profound change is needed in the international economy in order to ensure a more just and equitable system of cooperation among all States;
- submits to the authorities of the regions represented by the two Parliaments the following conclusions reached by common agreement at the Third European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conference.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
POLITICAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

---

The Political Affairs Committee, chaired jointly by Senator Joaquin GAMBOA PASCOE and Mr Georges SPENALE held three working sessions on 25 and 26 July 1977. The following items of the agenda:

- (1) the new international economic order
- (2) human rights policy
- (3) parliamentary institutions and democracy

were discussed by the Committee on the basis of working documents prepared on behalf of the European Parliament by Miss Colette FLESCH and Mr Knud NIELSEN and on behalf of the Latin-American Parliament by Mr Jorge EFREN DOMINGUEZ, Mr Arturo HERNANDEZ GRISANTI, and Mr Andrés TOWNSEND EZCURRA. The committee's two rapporteurs, Miss Colette FLESCH and Senator Lucio PABON NUNEZ submit the following report:

I. THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The Committee expressed extreme concern that it had not proved possible to abolish the gap between industrialized and developing countries in recent years and that the less developed countries had not shared equitably in the prosperity generated in the developed countries. It pointed out that the less developed countries constituted a fundamental part of the process of world economic growth and therefore a new economic order was needed as much by the industrialized as by the less developed countries.

A profound change was needed in the international economic order, not only for reasons of ethics and international justice, but also for practical reasons of common sense and simple survival. In order to maintain world peace, solutions should be sought through dialogue and not through confrontation.

This did not mean an endless exchange of ideas; it meant that action should be taken at the appropriate moment in the interests of the participants in the dialogue.

This new international economic order must be brought about by a thorough modification of the structure of international economic relations, particularly as regards:

- the present economic and monetary system, which was in permanent disorder and threatened to cause a similarly permanent inflation, hampering international trade and menacing the stability and planned development of the world economy. The new international monetary system must respond better to the monetary needs of the less developed countries, principally by building up reserves. These countries should have a say in decisions that are taken in this area;
- trade in raw materials with less developed countries which must be changed to combat unremunerative prices, and to improve trade in, and distribution, processing and transport of raw materials. The integrated programme for raw materials as proposed in May 1976 at UNCTAD IV in Nairobi, should provide the basis for the restructuring of this trade;
- industrialization of the developing countries. Although agriculture and the export of commodities would continue to represent the developing countries' main source of income, for some time, these countries were rightly demanding a broader basis for their development, including, in particular, the industrial processing of their own raw materials.

It was pointed out that the measures to be taken in the aforementioned fields ought to be accompanied by others, notably as regards the transfer of technology and the allocation of financial resources.

In this connection, the Committee recommended:

1. that the decisions adopted at the recent Conference on international economic cooperation be put into effect as soon as possible, notably as regards a common fund for financing trade in raw materials. This fund should, if necessary, comprise buffer stocks, to be financed by both producer and consumer countries. In this context, it would be well to study the possibilities of creating an international system to stabilize the developing countries' revenues from the export of certain basic commodities of world importance, on the lines of the STABEX system currently in effect within the framework of the Lomé Convention between the ACP countries and the EEC;

2. that the developing countries' debt burden be examined case by case and an action plan drawn up to help the poorest countries through an appropriate international body, and that an analysis be made of the possibility of creating appropriate financial mechanisms, particularly in the case of Latin America;
3. that, in the field of transfer of technological expertise, the EEC and its Member States cooperate actively in drawing up an international code of conduct for the transfer of technology designed to meet the specific needs of the developing countries.

Finally, notwithstanding the fact that Latin America was an integral part of the Group of 77, the Committee emphasized that because Latin America and the Europe of the Nine shared common problems they should present a unified front, particularly in the international forums where matters of development cooperation are discussed. In this way, within a context of permanent concern for the exchange of information, the interdependence of Latin America and the European Community would be established in a spirit of international brotherhood to the benefit of all parties concerned.

## II. DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Committee noted that human rights policy is not a far-fetched goal but a concrete programme. In all too many places every day elementary respect of human life and dignity was being disregarded. Innocent people were kidnapped, arrested, jailed, tortured and murdered because of their race, religious creed or political belief. It would be indefensible for parliamentarians to remain silent and inactive. The Committee therefore decided to adopt the following recommendations and conclusions:

- The time is past when the *raisons d'Etat*, political opportunism and a misinterpreted or misapplied doctrine of non-interference could be opposed to the defence of human rights. All states recognize the inalienable nature of human rights as laid down in universal declarations and regional conventions, and they admit their validity as legal norms.
- This universal admission that the human individual is a subject of international law amounts to the acceptance of a universal obligation. All states have the duty to be actively concerned whenever human rights are endangered.
- The renewed interest in human rights should be regarded as a permanent moral concern, not a party-political issue.



- The Committee recommends that, save for humanitarian reasons in exceptional circumstances, support in any form whatever should be refused to regimes with a record of gross systematic violation of human rights and, conversely, that every effort to maintain or reinstate the rule of law and the respect of the individual should be encouraged.
- Human rights mean the effective existence of political, economic and cultural democracy through individual and collective guarantees ensuring freedom of personal development under social justice and access to culture for all. Man cannot be politically free if he is not free from want and fear.
- The right to work must be regarded as one of the fundamental human rights.
- Parliaments should promote in their countries public awareness of the need for full respect of equal rights for women.
- Constitutional law everywhere should include rights for full political participation of all minorities.
- The most intolerable violations are certainly torture, cruel and inhuman treatment, prolonged detention without charge or fair trial. Clearly, the fight for human rights must include efforts to break the chain of violence and remove the causes and sources of this violence. Since our Second Conference, the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted a resolution on the protection of all persons from being subjected to torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment. This world-level declaration must be complemented by regional guarantees, by cooperation among international non-governmental organizations devoted to human rights, and by intercontinental links between legislators and parliamentarians working closely together on human rights questions.
- The Committee sees as a particularly encouraging sign the creation by the Latin-American Parliament at its Curaçao Conference of a Human Rights Committee.
- The Committee requests all governments concerned to accede to, or, as appropriate, ratify and implement, the San José Inter-American Convention on Human Rights.
- The Committee has noted the proposal made by the Delegation from Colombia, that in each national parliament an Office be created for the Defence of Human Rights.

- The Committee has noted with satisfaction that the Community institutions have expressed, in a recent Joint Declaration, their resolve to guarantee full respect of human rights for all citizens and that the European Parliament actively promotes measures in favour of human rights.

- Referring to the Luxembourg Interparliamentary Conference recommendation that joint European Parliament/Latin-American Parliament working parties in the field of human rights be set up, the present Mexico Conference now recommends, as a matter of political urgency, that consideration be given to the setting up of a joint European Parliament/Latin-American Parliament working group on human rights that would express their common condemnation of systematic repression and their common resolve to intervene for humanitarian reasons. This group would naturally have a special concern for parliamentarians in difficulty.

All participants stated their determination to manifest international solidarity in defence of human rights against 'the international solidarity of repression'.

### III. PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS AND DEMOCRACY

The Political Affairs Committee of the Third Interparliamentary Conference heard moving accounts from parliamentarians in exile and former members of dissolved Parliaments from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Peru and Uruguay. The Committee expressed its solidarity with them and its determination to work for a return to true parliamentary democracy and restoration of full freedom of the press in these countries. It noted with great interest the declaration of the representatives from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay included in the Final Act of the Third Interparliamentary Conference.

The Committee expressed its hope that the promised elections in Peru would take place soon on the basis of universal, direct and secret suffrage, as laid down in the Declaration of Human Rights.

The Committee noted with satisfaction the European Parliament delegates' statements concerning the favourable developments which brought Greece, Portugal and Spain back to parliamentary democracy.

It also noted that preparations were under way in the nine European Community Member States for direct elections by universal suffrage to the European Parliament and that the major political movements had started to organize themselves at Community level.

The Committee made the following recommendations:

- that the parliamentary institution should receive firm support as the truest expression of democracy and freedom
- that all parliaments should fully discharge the constitutional duties entrusted to them by the people
- that parliamentary institutions, whenever they had been dissolved, should be promptly restored in order to re-establish democratic life.
- Finally, the Committee declared that freedom of opinion and expression and the right of association were the natural foundation of all elementary political and legal principles of democracy. These principles included the right of the people to establish the rule of law; periodical free elections; the right of existence for all non-violent political parties; the plurality of political parties; democratic safeguards for a legal opposition and for minorities, and their right to participate fully in political life; the existence of effective counter-vailing powers, such as an independent judiciary; liberal education and pluralistic information.
- In the fight for greater democracy, parliaments have the duty to make the best use of their powers and to work for full democratization of institutions. The torch of full democracy must shine everywhere.

o   o   o

The delegation of Guatemala stated at the Conference the position of its country in the search for a peaceful solution to the problems now arising in connection with Belize.

The British Members of the European Parliament Delegation stated at the Conference the position of their country in the search for a peaceful solution to the problems now arising in connection with Belize.

The Conference unanimously agreed that these statements be recorded.

o   o   o

The Third Interparliamentary Conference wished to commemorate the noble figure of Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, martyr for democracy.

o   o   o

At the second sitting on 27 July it was decided to insert the following at the end of the report by the Political Affairs Committee:

' the THIRD EUROPEAN COMMUNITY/LATIN AMERICA INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE affirms its solidarity and support for the asylum offered by the the Mexican Government to DR HECTOR CAMPORA, and appeals to the Argentine Government to grant him safe conduct to make the right of asylum effective.

o   o   o

The undersigned, Members of the dissolved Parliaments of the Argentine Republic, the Republic of Bolivia, the Republic of Chile and the Republic of Uruguay, meeting in Mexico City on the occasion of the Third European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conference, in their capacity as the legitimate representatives of public opinion in their respective countries,

- having regard to the establishment in the above countries of military dictatorships which have employed violent means to dissolve the national Parliaments and abolish the other democratic institutions expressing popular sovereignty,
  - having regard to the violation in these countries of all fundamental rights, with the result that deprivation of civil and political rights, persecution, torture and, in many cases, murder have become the standard means by which the dictatorships prolong their rule,
  - in the knowledge that the representatives of the European Parliament and the Latin-American Parliament share the ideals of freedom, democracy and pluralism which are implicit in the common culture and civic, political and social traditions of their peoples,
  - encouraged by the support of public opinion in the countries of Latin America and the European Community for these oppressed peoples:
1. Express their most sincere thanks to the President of the United States of Mexico, the President of the European Parliament and the President of the Latin-American Parliament for the welcome and expressions of sympathy which they have received;
  2. Address this APPEAL TO PUBLIC OPINION IN THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
in which they
    - (a) condemn once again the military regimes established in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay;

- (b) deplore the systematic violation of popular sovereignty in these countries and the disregard for the procedures of representative democracy;
- (c) urge once again the full restoration of a democratic system based on ideological pluralism and popular sovereignty;
- (d) pay sincere homage to those parliamentarians who have been abducted or assassinated for their political convictions, including Hector González Ruiz and Zelmar Michelini of Uruguay; Gatons Lobos, Carlos Lorca and Vicente Atencio of Chile; Mario Angel Amaya, Miguel Zavala Rodríguez, Leonardo Bettinain and Diego Muniz Barrento of Argentina;
- (e) call on the Latin-American signatory countries (particularly Chile and Uruguay) of the American Convention on Human Rights, adopted in November 1969 by eighteen participant states at the OAS Conference in San José (Costa Rica), to implement the Convention and urge those Latin-American countries which have not yet done so to sign it, so as to enable the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights to function;
- (f) request the Latin-American and European countries to spare no effort in the various international fora to promote the restoration of democracy and fundamental freedoms in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay.

REPORT OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE ON  
ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND LATIN AMERICA

---

After a lengthy exchange of views on the reports on economic and financial cooperation, the Economic Affairs Committee of the Third European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conference reached the following conclusions:

The Committee noted first that the Latin-American countries' trade deficit with the European Community has continued to increase, and that Latin America is playing an increasingly marginal role in the economic relations of the European Community, despite the warnings given in this respect at the 1974 and 1975 Interparliamentary Conferences.

The participants expressed the wish that the causes of this deterioration and means to end it be examined by both parties and that concrete proposals be made as soon as possible to the authorities of the European Community and of the Latin-American states for an appreciable improvement of the access of Latin-American products to Community markets.

The Committee felt that means could be found to increase mutual trade on the basis of the principles of complementarity of resources and of mutual interest of the two partners, to whom the conclusions of the Second Interparliamentary Conference, held in Luxembourg, were expressly addressed. Only in this manner will it be possible to improve the balance of trade, which has remained unfavourable for the Latin American countries. In this context, concern was expressed about the serious problem of the growing indebtedness of the Latin-American countries - equally a reflection of their unfavourable export situation. It was noted in this connection that simultaneously with the growth of the external debt of the developing countries, there has been a reduction in official financial assistance from the industrialized countries, while costly borrowing from the private international banking sector has increased.

The Committee took note of some measures that had been taken in recent years by the European Community in order to achieve a better trade balance between the two regions.

The participants welcomed the improvement and enlargement of the Community's generalized preference system and its express wish to continue the system in the years to come.

The Committee, nevertheless, carefully noted that the members of the Latin-American delegation felt that the system, because of its unilateral nature and because of its slight effect on industrialized agricultural products, had not been able to meet Latin America's need to develop its exports to the European Community. The Committee also pointed out that the system lacked those guarantees of permanence that would encourage Latin American countries to carry out long-term industrial plans and projects.

The Committee expressed the wish that the scheme be improved and made more efficient, that more complete information be provided on beneficiary countries, and that new trade opportunities for Latin American products be considered.

The Committee also noted with satisfaction the Community's decision to lift from 1 April 1977 the temporary ban on the import of beef from third countries into the Community. In order to prevent the reintroduction of measures prejudicial to Latin-American interests, the Committee proposed that a study be made of means to promote exports from these countries, within the framework of interdependence of the interests of both regions.

It likewise took note of the Latin-American countries' criticism of certain aspects of the Community's agricultural and trade policies, particularly as regards Latin-American exports of coffee and bananas.

The Committee invited the European Community authorities to take full account of Latin-American interests in the distribution of financial assistance granted by the Community to non-associated developing countries. The Committee felt that at least 50% of the total resources allocated by the Community for this type of financial assistance could be channelled to Latin-American countries.

It was stressed in this connection that cooperation should not favour the interests of the privileged classes and that it should be directed to democratic developing countries and projects that promote regional integration and the social progress of the people.

The Committee welcomed the progress of integration on the Latin-American continent, as shown by the creation of the Latin-American Economic System (SELA) and by the consolidation of subregional organizations, such as the Central American Common Market and the Andean Group. It also expressed satisfaction that, during the recent visit of the Permanent Secretary of SELA to Brussels in May 1977, the European Community authorities said they were prepared to collaborate with this organization.

The Committee recommended that possibilities of Community aid being granted to implement the first regional projects adopted under the SELA action programme and within the framework of the Central American Common Market and other regional and subregional integration organizations be examined and that substantial decisions be made on this in the near future.

The Committee agreed that the present economic crisis in the industrialized world could not be resolved by protectionist measures. The Committee welcomed the industrialized nations' commitment to maintain a free trade system as the basis of world economic relations. At the same time it recognized that these nations needed to provide for a minimum of organizational norms so as to support, in certain circumstances, the weaker nations.

The Committee felt that financial cooperation based on equality and compatibility of mutual interests was desirable in order to promote the use of European technology in the development of the natural resources of the Latin-American continent. It also recommended that the European Investment Bank should contribute by granting 'soft' loans for the exploitation of these resources, but without detriment to any type of priority projects. This would be a concrete expression of the fundamental solidarity that exists at the economic level between the European Community and the Latin-American countries, pending the early establishment of a European/Latin-American Bank to promote financial cooperation between the two regions by making use of existing subregional financing agencies, such as the Central American Economic Integration Bank and the Andean Development Corporation. The European/Latin-American Bank should essentially fulfil the following functions:

- finance trade and regional investment projects in collaboration with existing regional and subregional organizations;
- promote non-traditional exports;
- establish discount and rediscount systems;
- improve terms of trade; and
- offer more favourable terms than those of the Euro-currency market.

In view of the international economic crisis and its negative repercussions for developing countries, the Committee expressed its full support for the United Nations General Assembly resolution concerning the allocation of 0.7% of the industrialized countries' GNP to the less developed countries.

In this connection the Committee considered with interest, but without achieving consensus, the possibility of establishing mechanisms which, through a fund drawn from a general consumer tax or an income tax or other similar source, would ensure an increase in official aid to debtor developing countries in order to strengthen their productive base.



The representatives of the Latin-American Parliament reiterated that the problems raised by them at the Conference could be understood and practically solved only on the basis of two important advances in international economic cooperation:

- The Declaration and Programme of Action on a New International Economic Order; and
- The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

The Committee gave its unanimous support to this declaration.

PROPOSAL SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION FROM THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

Having listened with interest to the discussions in this Committee, we should like to propose that, in the Final Act of this Conference, the European Parliament be requested to publish an annual report on the progress of relations between the European Economic Community and the Latin-American Parliament.

This information (which would, naturally, be sent to the Commission and the Council of the European Community) is necessary, as it would make it quite clear to public opinion how limited the tangible results are.

The report would record the political reactions manifested during the European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conferences. It would also note results obtained in the following fields:

- Trade cooperation - preferential treatment
- Special trade agreements (Mexico, Uruguay, Brazil)
- Other preferences
- Food aid
- Cultural cooperation (scholarships granted, training courses)
- Financial and technical cooperation
- Aid in regional cooperation (Andean Pact)
- Restoration of democratic regimes and respect for human rights.

The report should also note the results of other action of the European Parliament on behalf of Latin America, through written questions or parliamentary reports and statements which are of great importance to Latin America.

The European Parliament should likewise be requested to provide an annual report on relations between the Commission of the European Economic Community and Latin America.

An annual report of similar type is, in fact, already submitted to the Lomé Convention countries by the Council of Ministers of the Lomé Association.

THE SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND LEGAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE  
MET ON TWO OCCASIONS TO DISCUSS DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY,  
THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME FOR  
YOUNG LATIN-AMERICANS, AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

---

Demographic Policy

The Committee drew attention to the worrying increase in world population, and the inadequate distribution of resources to combat the poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy due to uncontrolled population growth. It endorsed the fundamental right of couples to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children, and to have the information, education and the means to do so. It agreed that population control policies must be applied in conjunction with complementary development, educational and social policies. It recognized that such policies should be given high priority by governments the world over, and that the family planning work of governmental and non-governmental organizations, such as the UNFPA and the IPPF, should be encouraged. It felt that education for family life should become an integral part of education systems throughout the world, and the implications of population growth for both Europe and Latin America should be studied further. It recommended that information should be exchanged on these issues at the next European Community/Latin America Interparliamentary Conference.

Technological and Cultural Cooperation

While warmly welcoming the European Parliament's scholarship programme for young Latin Americans, the Committee decided to recommend that the appropriate authorities be asked to review current procedures, to study the possibilities of enlarging the programme and to extend the programme to European visitors to Latin America.

International Terrorism

The Committee discussed the subject on the basis of three reports, one from a Mexican delegate, one from a Nicaraguan delegate and one from a Member of the European Parliament.



ANNEX

LIST OF DELEGATES

NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

1. SENATOR AMOS NITA  
President of the Parliament of Netherlands Antilles and  
Chairman of the Delegation
2. SENATOR RICARDO ELHAGE  
Vice-President of the Latin-American Parliament
3. SENATOR MARCO BISLIP
4. SENATOR OSBALDO CROES
5. SENATOR FRANS FIGAROA\*
6. SENATOR VICTOR MIGUEL
7. SENATOR FRANZ PIJPERS
8. SENATOR ANDRES SCHOOP
9. SENATOR GEORGE BAKER\*

ADVISERS

10. RUDY BERNARDINA
11. FRED VANGRIEKEN\*

---

\* Accompanied

## BRAZIL

1. Mr ANTONIO GERALDO DE AZEVEDO GUEDES\*  
Chairman of the Brazilian Group and Head of the Delegation
2. SENATOR WILSON GONCALVES\*  
Vice-President of the Latin-American Parliament
3. Mr ULYSSES SILVEIRA GUIMARAES\*  
Member of the Joint Committee
4. SENATOR DIRCEU CARDOSO\*
5. SENATOR EURICO VIEIRA DE REZENDE\*
6. SENATOR ANTONIO MENDES CANALE\*
7. SENATOR NELSON DE SOUZA CARNEIRO
8. SENATOR OTTO LEHMANN\*
9. Mr ALBERTO DE SILVA LAVINAS
10. Mr ANTONIO MARQUES DA SILVA MARIZ\*
11. Mr CARLOS OCTAVIO FLEXA RIBEIRO
12. Mr HOMERO SANTOS\*
13. Mr JOSIAS LEITE\*
14. Mr JUAREZ BATISTA
15. Mr JUTAHY MAGALHAES\*
16. Mr LAURO RODRIGUES\*
17. Mr PAULINO CICERO DE VASCONCELOS\*
18. Mr ERASMO MARTINS PEDRO\*
19. Mr JOSE PINTO ALVES\*
20. Mr MAURO SAMPAIO\*

## ADVISERS

21. PAULO JOSE MAESTRALI\*
22. PATERSON GOMES DE FIGUEIREDO
23. STELLA PRATA DA SILVA LOPES\*

---

\* Accompanied

COLOMBIA

1. SENATOR ROBERTO GERLEIN ECHEVERRIA\*  
Chairman of the Delegation
2. Mr JUAN SLEBY SLEBY
3. SENATOR HUGO ESCOBAR SIERRA\*
4. SENATOR JOSE GUERRA TULENA\*
5. SENATOR GUILLERMO TORRES BARRERA\*
6. SENATOR FELIO ANDRADE MANRIQUE\*
7. SENATOR RAFAEL VERGARA TAMARA
8. SENATOR BENJAMIN MONTOYA\*
9. SENATOR RICARDO ROSALES ZAMBRANO\*
10. SENATOR RAMIRO ANDRADE TERAN\*
11. SENATOR LUCIO PABON NUNEZ
12. SENATOR DARIO MARIN VANEGAS\*
13. SENATOR JOSE G. GASTRO CASTRO\*
14. SENATOR JUSTO P. CASTELLANOS L.\*
15. SENATOR GILBERTO AVILA BOTIA
16. SENATOR ARMANDO HOLGUIN SARRIA
17. Mr PABLO RODRIGUEZ RUIZ\*
18. Mr HERNANDO BARJUCH\*
19. Mr JAIME MURGAS ARZUAGA\*
20. Mr ALFONSO HOYOS GIRALDO\*
21. Mr LUIS LORDUY LORDUY\*
22. Mr ALVARO EDMUNDO MENDOZA TORRES\*
23. Mr MANUEL IGNACIO COLLAZOS AYALA\*
24. Mr LUIS VICENTE SERRANO SILVA
25. Mr JUAN MANUEL GUTIERREZ LACOUTURE\*

---

\* Accompanied



COSTA RICA

1. Mrs JUANA ROSA VENEGAS SALAZAR
2. Mr GUILLERMO HERNANDEZ CORDERO

EL SALVADOR

1. Mr RUBEN ALFONSO RODRIGUEZ\*  
Vice-President of the Latin-American Parliament,  
President of the Legislative Assembly,  
Head of the Delegation
2. Mr JOSE FRANCISCO GUERRERO MUNGUIA
3. Mr ARNULFO OSMIN ROMERO MENA\*  
Parliamentary Technical Adviser
4. Mr ARMANDO DE PAZ
5. Mr PEDRO CARBALLO ALVAREZ
6. Mr AUGUSTO ABDALA FERRUFINO
7. Mr JOSE MAURICIO VELASQUEZ AREVALO
8. Mr OSCAR ALFREDO SANTAMARIA
9. Mr RAFAEL VILLAVICENCIO\*
10. Mr JOSE ERNESTO GARCIA JUAREZ
11. Mr LUIS HOMERO LOPEZ RIVERA
12. Mrs LYDIA TURCIOS DE SOSA
13. Mrs ROSALINA PINEDA DE GARAY PACHECO

---

\* Accompanied

GUATEMALA

1. Mr JOSE ADAN HERRERA LOPEZ  
Chairman of the Delegation
2. Mr JOSE NAPOLEON FLORES VALDEZ  
Deputy Chairman of the Delegation
3. Mr FRANCISCO JAVIER CASTILLO VILLATORO  
Alternate Secretary-General of the Latin-American Parliament
4. Mr GONZALO YURRITA CUESTA\*  
First Secretary of the Bureau of Congress
5. Mr ERNESTO CASTELLANOS MANZANERO\*
6. Mr JOSE ROQUELINO RECINOS MENDEZ
7. Mr LUIS ALFONSO ORELLANO CHACON
8. Mr OSCAR LINARES BARRIENTOS\*
9. Mr MANUEL BURMESTER CU\*
10. Mr JULIO CESAR PIVARAL Y PIVARAL\*
11. Mr VICENTE CANO PONCE\*
12. Mr CESAREO ELEODORO PEREIRA SOLIS
13. Mr JULIO HAMILTON NORIEGA NATARENO
14. Mr OSCAR HUMBERTO LEMUS ITERIANO\*
15. Mr RENE ARENAS GUTIERREZ
16. Mr EDGAR AULIO MERIDA LOPEZ

---

\* Accompanied

MEXICO

DELEGATES: SENATORS

1. SENATOR JOQUIN GAMBOA PASCOE\*
2. SENATOR JESUS CABRERA MUNOZ LEDO\*
3. SENATOR ALEJANDRO CERVANTES DELGADO\*
4. SENATOR HUMBERTO LUGO GIL\*
5. SENATOR IGNACIO CASTILLO MENA\*

ALTERNATE DELEGATES

6. SENATOR ALBERTO ALVARADO ARAMBURIO\*
7. SENATOR JORGE CRUICKSHANK GARCIA\*
8. SENATOR GUILLERMO MORFIN GARCIA\*
9. SENATOR ANGEL VENTURA VALLE\*

ADVISERS

10. SENATOR BLAS CHUMACERO SANCHEZ\*
11. SENATOR Mrs GRISELDA ALVAREZ PONCE DE LEON
12. SENATOR GUSTAVO BAZ PRADA
13. SENATOR Mrs MARTHA CHAVEZ PADRON
14. SENATOR SILVERIO ALVARADO ALVARADO\*
15. SENATOR HORACIO CASTELLANOS COUTINO\*
16. SENATOR VICENTE CORAL MARTINEZ\*
17. SENATOR LEONARDO RODRIGUEZ ALCALINE\*

DELEGATES: DEPUTIES

18. Mr AUGUSTO GOMEZ VILLANUEVA\*  
President of the Latin-American Parliament
19. Mr ENRIQUE RAMIREZ Y RAMIREZ\*
20. Mrs IFIGENIA MARTINEZ DE NAVARRETTE\*
21. Mr JESUS PUENTE LEYVA\*

---

\* Accompanied

.../...

ALTERNATE DELEGATES

- 22. Mr VICTOR MANZANILLA SCHAFER\*
- 23. Mr ANTONIO RIVA PALACIO LOPEZ\*
- 24. Mr MANUEL VILLAFUERTE MIJANGOS\*
- 25. Mr JORGE EFREN DOMINGUEZ
- 26. Mr RAUL GUILLEN VARGAS\*

ADVISERS

- 27. Mr GUILLERMO COSIO VIDAURRI\*
- 28. Mr JUAN JOSE OSORIO PALACIOS\*
- 29. Mr JOSE DE LAS FUENTES RODRIGUEZ\*
- 30. Mr RODOLFO GONZALEZ GUEVARA\*
- 31. Mr JAIME AGUILAR ALVAREZ\*
- 32. Mr ENRIQUE ALVAREZ DEL CASTILLO\*
- 33. Mr JULIO ZAMORA BATIZ\*
- 34. Mr ANTONIO TOLEDO CORRO\*

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

- 35. Mr PABLO MONZALVO PEREZ  
Senior Official of the Chamber of Deputies
- 36. Mr ALBERTO BRISENO RUIZ  
Senior Official of the Senate

---

\* Accompanied

NICARAGUA

1. Mr CORNELIO H. HUECK\*  
Chairman of the Nicaragua Delegation,  
President of the Chamber of Deputies,  
President of the National Congress
2. Mr MANUEL F. ZURITA VEGA\*
3. Mr VICTORINO SAENZ
4. Mr EDUARDO CHAMORRO CORONEL
5. Mr ULISES FONSECA TALAVERA
6. Mr FERNANDO ZELAYA ROJAS\*
7. SENATOR CONSTANTINO MENDIETA RODRIGUEZ\*
8. SENATOR EDMUNDO PAGUAGA IRIAS\*
9. SENATOR HUMBERTO CHAMORRO CHAMORRO\*
10. SENATOR ALCEO TABLADA SOLIS

---

\* Accompanied

PARAGUAY

1. SENATOR MANUEL FRUTOS PANE  
Assistant Secretary-General of the  
Latin-American Parliament
2. Mr JOSE A. MORENO RUFFINELLI\*

---

\* Accompanied

SURINAM

1. SENATOR EMILIO WYNTUIN  
President of the Senate
2. SENATOR LACHMIEPERSAD MUNGRA  
Vice-President of the Latin-American Parliament
3. SENATOR EDMUNDO BLEAU  
Secretary of the Parliament
4. SENATOR GREAVES WALTHER JOHANNES
5. SENATOR RAVELES ROBIN EWALD
6. SENATOR BOTTSE FEDOR RUDI
7. SENATOR KROMPOE REINTER HUGO
8. Mr NANNAN PAMDAY RADJMARAIN



VENEZUELA

1. Mr ARMANDO SANCHEZ BUENO\*  
Chairman of the Delegation
2. Mr DARIO RODRIGUEZ MENDEZ\*
3. Mr JUAN JOSE CALDERA\*
4. Mr FREDY DELGADO\*
5. Mr ENRIQUE BARRIOS\*
6. Mr SIUBERTO MARTINEZ\*
7. Mr OMAR HIGUERA ROMAN\*
8. Mr JULIO FUENTES SERRANO\*

o o o

Dr ANDRES TOWNSEND EZCURRA\*  
Secretary-General of the Latin-American Parliament

---

\* Accompanied

## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

1. Mr EMILIO COLOMBO  
President of the European Parliament  
Christian-Democratic Group  
Italy
2. Mr GEORGES SPENALE<sup>\*</sup>  
First Vice-President of the European Parliament  
Former President of the European Parliament  
Socialist Group  
France
3. Mr JAMES SCOTT-HOPKINS<sup>\*</sup>  
Vice-President of the European Parliament  
Vice-Chairman of the Committee on External Economic Relations  
Vice-Chairman of the European Conservative Group  
United Kingdom
4. Mr HANS-AUGUST LUCKER<sup>\*</sup>  
Vice-President of the European Parliament  
Member of the enlarged Bureau of the Christian-Democratic Group  
Federal Republic of Germany
5. Mr LUDWIG FELLERMAIER  
Chairman of the Socialist Group  
Federal Republic of Germany
6. Mr EGON ALFRED KLEPSCH<sup>\*</sup>  
Chairman of the Christian-Democratic Group  
Federal Republic of Germany
7. Mr ALFRED BERTRAND<sup>\*</sup>  
Chairman of the Political Affairs Committee  
Member of the enlarged Bureau of the Christian-Democratic Group  
Belgium
8. Miss COLETTE FLESCH  
Chairman of the Committee on Development and Cooperation  
Vice-Chairman of the Liberal and Democratic Group  
Luxembourg
9. Mr FRANKIE L. HANSEN  
Chairman of the European Parliament Delegation to the Joint  
Parliamentary Committee of the EEC-Turkey Association  
Member of the Bureau of the Socialist Group  
Luxembourg

---

<sup>\*</sup> Accompanied

10. Mr CORNELIS LABAN  
Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture  
Socialist Group  
Netherlands
11. Mr KAI NYBORG<sup>\*</sup>  
Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Regional Policy,  
Regional Planning and Transport  
Vice-Chairman of the Group of European Progressive Democrats  
Denmark
12. Mr RUSSELL JOHNSTON  
Vice-Chairman of the Political Affairs Committee  
Vice-Chairman of the Liberal and Democratic Group  
United Kingdom
13. Mr GIOSUE LIGIOS<sup>\*</sup>  
Vice-chairman of the Committee on Agriculture  
Christian-Democratic Group  
Italy
14. Mr RENATO SANDRI  
Vice-chairman of the Committee on Development and Cooperation  
Communist and Allies Group  
Italy
15. Mr WILLEM J. SCHUIJT<sup>\*</sup>  
Vice-Chairman of the Christian-Democratic Group  
Netherlands
16. Mr HECTOR-JOSEPH RIVIEREZ<sup>\*</sup>  
Group of European Progressive Democrats  
France
17. Mr MICHELE CIFARELLI<sup>\*</sup>  
Vice-Chairman of the Liberal and Democratic Group  
Italy
18. Mr MARCEL LEMOINE  
Communist and Allies Group  
France
19. Mr GIUSEPPE AMADEI<sup>\*</sup>  
Socialist Group  
Italy

---

<sup>\*</sup> Accompanied

20. Mr FERNAND-L. DELMOTTE  
Socialist Group  
Belgium
21. Mr RALPH F. HOWELL\*  
European Conservative Group  
United Kingdom
22. Mr JEAN-FRANCOIS PINTAT\*  
Liberal and Democratic Group  
France
23. Mr AART GEURTSSEN\*  
Liberal and Democratic Group  
Netherlands
24. Mr KNUD NIELSEN\*  
Socialist Group  
Denmark
25. Mr LUIGI GRANELLI\*  
Member of the restricted Bureau of the Christian-Democratic  
Group  
Italy
26. Mr JEAN-MARIE CARO  
Christian-Democratic Group  
France
27. Mr TAM DALYELL  
Socialist Group  
United Kingdom

---

\* Accompanied

COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Mr Robert URBAIN, Secretary of State for Walloon Regional  
economy (Belgium)

President-in-Office of the Council

Mr Jean MEUNIER, Adviser to Mr Urbain

Mr André DUBOIS, Deputy Director-General for External Relations

Mr Jean MESTDAGH, Head of Division of Parliamentary Affairs

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Mr Wolfgang RENNER, Head of the Delegation of the Commission of  
the European Communities for Latin America

Mr William FORWOOD, In charge of information at the Delegation of  
the Commission of the European Communities  
to Latin America

ATTENDING BY SPECIAL INVITATION

ARGENTINA

1. SENATOR LUIS A. LEON  
Former President of the Latin American Parliament
2. SENATOR HIPOLITO SOLARI IRIGOYEN  
Unión Civica Radical

AFRICAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

3. Mrs GLADYS ANOMA  
Vice-President of the Parliament of the Ivory Coast
4. Mr LAMINE LO  
Vice-President of the National Assembly of Senegal
5. Miss ANNETTE AKE
6. Miss YACE

## OBSERVERS

### O.A.S.

1. Mr XAVIER CORTINA Y CORTINA\*  
Director of the Oficina de la Organización de  
Estados Americanos

### I.D.B.

2. Dr HUGO A. FARIA  
Representative of the Inter-American Development Bank  
In Mexico
3. Mr ALVARO BECA  
I.D.B. financial expert in Mexico (Adviser)

### C.E.P.A.L.

4. Mr GERARD FICHET  
Representative of the Economic Commission for Latin  
America in Mexico

### O.R.I.T.

5. Mr JUAN JOSE DEL PINO  
Representative of the Regional Inter-American Workers'  
Organization

### S.I.E.C.A.

6. Mr RODOLFO TREJOS DONALDSON\*  
Assistant Secretary-General  
Regional Latin American Research Centre for the Conservation  
and Restoration of Cultural Property
7. Mr JOSE ANTONIO TERAN BONILLA (Architect)  
Representative

### I.I.C.A.

8. Mr LUIS FLORES QUIROZ  
Head of the Department of Anthropological Research  
Representative of the Inter-American Agricultural  
Science Institute

---

\* Accompanied

I.L.C.E.

9. Mr SANTIAGO SANCHEZ HERRERO  
Director-General of the Latin American Educational  
Communications Institute
10. Mr FERNANDO URDANIVIA CORIA  
I.L.C.E. Deputy Managing Director

U.N.E.S.C.O.

11. Mr ARTURO DE LA GUARDIA  
Representative of the United Nations Education, Scientific  
and Cultural Organization

I.I.L.A.

12. H.E. Dr NORBERTO TREVINO ZAPATA\*  
Ambassador  
Representative of the Italo-Latin American Institute

F.A.O.

13. Mr ANGELO DE TUDDO\*  
Representative of the United Nations Food and Agriculture  
Organization in Mexico

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN UNITY ORGANIZATION

14. Mr CARLOS BORSCHÉ

LATIN AMERICAN JOURNALISTS' FEDERATION

15. Mr GENARO CARNERO CHECA
16. Mr HERNAN URIBE ORTEGA

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

17. Mr EDUARDO MARINO, responsible for the region
18. Mrs BERTHA PALACIOS
19. Mrs BERTHA FERNANDES
20. Mrs HERMINIA ROSSHANDLER
21. Mrs ALICIA ZAMA

---

\* Accompanied



## OBSERVERS

### ARGENTINA

1. Mr HECTOR RAUL SANDLER
2. Mr DANIEL ARMANDO CROATTO\*
3. Mr JULIO EVERTO SUAREZ\*  
Secrétaire
4. Mr JUAN CARLOS CERRUTI  
Secretary

### URUGUAY

5. SENATOR ENRIQUE RODRIGUEZ
6. SENATOR ENRIQUE ERRO\*
7. Mr DANIEL BARRIOS\*  
Secretary

### BOLIVIA

8. Mr MARCELO QUIROGA SANTA CRUZ
9. Mr RENE ZAVALA MERCADO

### CHILE

10. SENATOR HUGO RAMIREZ MIRANDA\*
11. SENATOR ALEJANDRO TORO HERRERA\*
12. Mr LUIS MARIA AGUIRRE
13. Mr VICTOR BARBERIS\*
14. Mr OSCAR MOYA MUNOZ\*

---

\* Accompanied







# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Third European Community/Latin America

Inter-Parliamentary Conference

MEXICO

24-27 July 1977

Working Document

on

THE REASONS FOR AND BASIS OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

ECONOMIC ORDER

Original: Spanish

---

4.7.1977



REASONS FOR AND BASIS OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL  
ECONOMIC ORDER

Nowadays there is a clear awareness of the need for a radical and profound change in the international economic system. This awareness is felt in the poorer countries, but the rich countries still resist this essential change in international economic relations.

The establishment of a new international economic order is necessary and desirable for the whole of humanity, in order to achieve a stable peace, which would otherwise be increasingly threatened, jeopardizing the world political balance.

Tangible proof of this international awareness can be found in the efforts of the last three years within and without the United Nations to seek formulas which will be acceptable to all parties and contain the seeds of the new international economic order.

The crises which were denounced by the United Nations are growing increasingly acute, and the repercussions are now becoming startlingly evident.

Inflation in energy, food and raw materials; currency fluctuations and above all unemployment, are the main areas where world disorder is at present at its most acute. There are a number of reasons for this, imbalances in the terms of trade between the major geo-economic areas of the world, the grave internal problems of the major industrial regions, and also of the smaller raw material producing areas. In short, the most disastrous aspects of the prevailing international economic disorder are coming to a head.

Venezuela and the other OPEC countries have throughout this process continued to defend firmly the interests of Latin America and all the countries of the Third World. It is by this attitude that this major organization has, without a doubt, been responsible for giving a decisive impetus to the cohesion of the Third World, for placing in its hands an important bargaining counter, creating the necessary awareness in all quarters to ensure that this process of dialogue and understanding can be begun. Although this process has at times been frustrating for our peoples, it must be maintained and strengthened, as the only way to establish a new international economic order and to maintain world peace is through dialogue and not confrontation.

We ask, now more than ever, for mutual understanding, particularly on the part of the industrialized countries for they have been and still are the beneficiaries, at our expense, of the economic and political expansion of the last quarter of a century.

The present crisis in the world economy has profoundly affected international economic relations and brought out in particular three important points:

1. Firstly, the system of international payments and the system of trade, both established after the second world war by the victorious powers for their own benefit, are no longer able to cope with a situation in which the international protagonists are no longer, as in the past, just a small number of countries which impose their own aims and objectives. This is why both systems have broken down.
2. Secondly, there is a conviction nowadays of the need to seek a more rational use of the natural resources of the planet, particularly those which are not renewable.
3. Thirdly, this crisis has brought about an awareness at world level of the possibility of change in favour of a system of international relations which is more just and equitable, which, on the basis of sovereign equality, in the common interest and in cooperation between all states, will bring about a fair and permanent balance in the international economy in which the countries of the Third World can accelerate their process of development and enjoy the prosperity which their peoples rightly seek. In other words, there is a clear awareness of the need to establish a new international economic order.

The month of May 1974 was a date of particular importance for the member countries of the United Nations organization. At its 16th special session, the UN General Assembly met to study for the first time the problems of raw materials and development and to consider the fundamental economic questions which are facing the whole of the world community.

Faced with the enormous and growing disparity of levels of prosperity between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, the UN decided to begin work urgently on the establishment of a new international economic order. Priority for the common good, justice, sovereign equality, interdependence and cooperation between all states were the principles which the assembly adopted as a basis for its proposals. The express intention of the agreement freely entered into in this resolution was specifically to eliminate or at least reduce the gap between the two worlds separated by injustice and by enormous and unjustifiable differences in the quality of life.



When in 1974 the General Assembly was taking stock of the process of development, it noted that since the beginning of the 1970s, the international economy had been suffering from a series of profound crises which had demonstrated as never before the natural close links and interdependence between all the member countries of the world community.

The United Nations resolution raised hopes for the possibility of change. These hopes were justifiable in view of the free agreement between so many different parties who had bound themselves on the central point through joint proposals.

Nevertheless, with the passage of time not only has the gap between the developed world and the world which is still struggling to modernize itself, not narrowed, on the contrary, all the basic socio-economic indicators concur in demonstrating that it is growing to extraordinary proportions.

The creation of this new international economic order poses a challenge of immense proportions and profound potential consequences. It is certain that not since the conference of Bretton Woods in 1945, has the international community experienced a joint effort of such magnitude and such potential whose outcome will affect in equal measure the developed countries with market economies, the countries with central economic planning and consequently in a very fundamental way, the immense and underprivileged group of countries which constitute the Third World.

It was natural that it should be the developing countries which took the initiative of facing up to the need for profound and radical changes in North-South relations. This need arises from facts which are so spectacular that they are worth recalling, even at the risk of being repetitive. Up to the beginning of the 1970s, the prevailing economic order brought unprecedented growth to the developed countries of the western world. It was during this period that there was a phenomenal increase in the productive capacity of these countries, in their real income and their level of consumption. Nevertheless, the progress of the developing world in the quarter of a century since the second world war is in dramatic contrast.

To illustrate the alarming gap between these two groups of countries, some comparisons must be made: from 1952 to 1972 real per capita income in the industrialized countries increased by 2,000 dollars to reach almost 4,000 dollars; whereas real per capita income in the developing countries in 1972 was approximately 300 dollars which means that it had increased only by the derisory amount of 125 dollars since 1952. Consequently, during this period, the increase in real per capita income of the developed countries was 16 times greater than that of the developing countries.

As a result of these divergent and disparate developments, global imbalances in incomes have been constantly increasing and the growth of real per capita income has been fairly limited in a large number of developing countries and completely inadequate to have a significant effect on the urgent economic and social problems they are facing. In addition, for the most part, the benefits derived from this limited growth did not reach the mass of the population but gave rise to greater social inequality and the intensification of internal political tensions. Even if in this case these are matters where responsibility in many ways lies with the developing countries themselves, they cannot be entirely separated from the many ways in which the internal systems of these countries have been linked with the prevailing international economic order. There are figures which demonstrate clearly that we are living in a period of great inequalities, and that efforts in recent years could to some extent be described as vain, for instead of reducing the gap between the developed and the developing world, this gap has increased, entailing serious consequences for the dramatic situation in which the majority of the human race live. At the present time, the developed countries of the western world, with only 20% of the world population, enjoy almost 66 % of the total world income. On the other hand, the developing countries, with approximately 50% of the world population, do not even enjoy one eighth of that income. However, the most alarming point is that within this vast total, the poorest developing countries, with approximately 30% of the world population, receive only 3% of world income and their average per capita income, which is approximately 120 dollars, represents a fifth of that of all of the developing countries, and more or less 3% of the average per capita income of the industrialized countries.

The increase over the last 20 years or more in the disparities between developed and developing countries, illustrated by the above figures, can also be observed in a more concrete manner by considering consumption of basic foodstuffs, clothing, housing, and essential services such as health and education. Many of these which undoubtedly constitute a minimum requirement for an acceptable standard of living, appear to have progressed only slightly in a large number of developing countries. What is more, the fundamental problem of famine and malnutrition, which in many cases can be described as generalized famine, unemployment and underemployment, rural poverty and the degradation of the environment are now more acute than 25 years ago when the developed countries began, at the expense of others, their phase of rapid economic expansion. A clear illustration of the existence of basic and structural defects in the machinery binding the economies of these two groups of countries is the fact that the developing countries do not participate in a just and fair manner as is their right as a fundamental part of this process of expansion, in the prosperity

generated in the developed countries. This is simply a consequence of the historical relationship between both sides, a relationship in which the developing countries are essentially the providers of basic material in return for investment of capital, technology and manufacture products from developed countries.

Although the natural pattern of this relationship has been undergoing certain changes, as the result of a greater awareness among the developing countries which has led them to take into their own hands the direct control of their basic products and to share in the progress brought by industrialization, it is clear that the same structure in economic relations between both groups of countries still holds good.

The defects of this structure and the inadequacy of the existing machinery through which the expansion of the developed regions is transmitted to the third world are also clear in each of the main sectors of international economic relations, trade in basic and manufactured products, the transfer of technology and the provision of financial aid through the international monetary and financial system.

In other words we are facing the threat that injustice in trade dealings, illogicalities, waste and lack of foresight will directly affect the interests, the economies, the production systems and above all the social and political stability of more than three-quarters of all the nations of the world, precisely those whose development potential, whose basic wealth lies in their supplies of raw materials, energy sources or reserves of natural resources, and on whose productive capacity, healthy non-alignment and political and social stability, will depend - paradoxically - the future food supplies of the world and its material prosperity.

Seen in this light, the new international economic order proposed in the resolution of the General Assembly of the UN which sets out clearly within a just framework the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States, approved by the UN on 12 December 1974, is not, as some would claim, a simple matter of good countries versus bad countries; nor is it in the final analysis a political problem. It is above all a question of world survival, an essential requirement of common sense to ensure for the almost 4000 million inhabitants of the earth a minimum level of subsistence and coexistence which we may describe, without embarrassment, as civilized.

The force of circumstances is now impelling us towards solidarity. Strictly speaking, within the framework of international interests, at present so complex, no problem affecting any individual country, particularly when its economy is based on primary products, can fail to involve all other nations. The serious economic domestic preoccupations of each country -

and this is particularly valid in the case of oil - are also the problems of the world as a whole. The realization of and the need for interdependence and for the justice on which it must be based are being imposed upon the world by the force of necessity and of history.

An important and fundamental characteristic of trade during the post-war period has been the constant deterioration of the terms of trade for exports from developing countries. This can be seen clearly if we bear in mind that exports from the third world as a proportion of the world total have fallen systematically at an annual rate of 2% over the last twenty-five years in relation to prices of the products they import from developed countries. International prices of primary products have in the past experienced major fluctuations with a characteristic downwards trend originating often not only in variations in demand but also in the productive structure and the rules governing international trade. The distortion of prices and of production structures, the control of transport, the marketing and distribution of primary products are frequently in the hands of multinational companies whose interest lies primarily in maximizing their profits and who take no account whatever in their calculations and policies of the socio-economic requirements of the countries which produce and export these primary products.

International organizations have calculated that the acquisition of foreign technology by the developing countries represents at the present time an annual cost in foreign exchange of between 3 and 5,000 million dollars, which undoubtedly represents a heavy burden on their foreign currency reserves. However, it is not only the cost involved in technology transfer but, more seriously still, the way in which this is carried out, basically through multinational companies which through their restrictive trade practices limit to a great extent these countries' development possibilities in the external sector and create at the same time a high degree of dependence. Moreover, the immense resources which at the present time are devoted in the industrialized world to technological research and development contribute only minimally to solving the growing problems of malnutrition, health, rational supplies of raw materials. In effect most of this research is directed towards the unflagging expansion of various military complexes or towards unbridled consumption in the over-affluent societies, in which absolutely unnecessary anxieties and desires and needs are created which go far beyond pointless luxury and come into the realms of irrational squandering of resources which should be placed at the service of all mankind. It has become clear that in this endless and unbridled development, the technology which is transferred to our countries is completely inappropriate to our characteristics and needs and that in general it is excessively burdensome for our early stage of industrial development. Science and technology must be universal in the way they are transmitted, applied and used. An instrument

wuch as this which is a vital implement for development must be freed from this exaggerated commercial, profit-making aspect so that it may lead to true social progress and form an essential element in achieving what is so necessary today, an improved and healthier quality of life.

It has been popular to talk about official aid to development provided, through international agreements, by the industrialized countries. However what is certain is that from 1964 to 1974 this official aid to development fell more or less by 3% which is in notable contrast with the expansion of over 50% in the real gross product of the developed areas during that decade. For this reason the President of Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez, stated in his speech at the XXXIst Session of the General Assembly that: 'International economic hypocrisy goes under a special name: aid'.

It is worth pointing out, by way of comparison and to demonstrate that there is room for increasing financial aid to developing countries, that in 1975 world military expenditure reached almost 300,000 million dollars and if this was reduced by 5% the resources thus freed would be equivalent to the present level of official aid from all sources to developing countries.

As a consequence of the inadequacy of official aid to development many countries of the Third World have been obliged to seek loans on commercial markets or to have recourse to credit institutions with very high rates of interest and relatively short repayment periods. For this reason the outstanding foreign public debt of the developing countries as a whole increased from 9,000 million dollars at the end of 1965 to 90,000 million dollars at the end of 1972. However, this situation has deteriorated as a result of the present world economic crisis and the already chronic structural difficulties in the balances of payment of the countries of the Third World have grown more severe, giving rise to grave and acute problems for these countries' foreign debts. During the period 1972 to 1974 the total foreign public debt reached the enormous figure of 160,000 million dollars. In other words the economies of the developing countries are bleeding to death. This without a doubt has extremely grave and extensive implications on the future servicing of the international debt of the developing countries and as a logical consequence this will be a limiting factor in their economic and social development plans. The President of Venezuela has justly described this whole international system as 'economic totalitarianism'.

What has been the real and tangible result of this 'economic totalitarianism' which has acted exclusively to the benefit of the industrialized countries? Some will try to conceal it using deceptive statistics or theories of doubtful validity. The facts are more eloquent. We are in reality living in a world of backwardness and poverty. Large masses of people suffer from famine and all kinds of privation, deplorable sanitary

and educational conditions, millions of families are homeless and what is worse have no prospects. Our struggle is against this outdated order. This vision is shared by many respectable sections of public opinion and centres of decision-making in developed countries. It is not so much a question of morality or international justice - which from an ethical point of view would be sufficient - but for practical reasons and through attachment to the principles of common sense and survival that we must unite our efforts, in a spirit of mutual understanding, peace and harmony, to alter a state of affairs which besides being unjust and absurd has little chance of surviving.

Independently of what many might feel are minor ethical considerations, on a practical level certain fundamental questions must be put: how close is the developed world to that stage of its history when its economy will become decreasingly productive? In what way is the energy crisis, which is so seriously affecting the most powerful economy in the West, as its own leader has pointed out in a message, a clear warning of the end of an era of history which began with the industrial revolution almost 200 years ago? Are we not approaching a new horizon whose economic, social, technological and political features are only now beginning to appear? Is it true that unfortunately the world is not yet ready to face its own future with confidence?

Let there be no doubt that the proposals of the General Assembly of the UN for the establishment of a new international economic order and its principal instrument, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, constitute at least an initial approach and the expression of a decisive attitude on the part of the vast majority of the world Community to face up to the challenges and uncertainties of the near future. The combination of economic cooperation and international solidarity between the industrialized countries and the developing countries can be summed up in the following terms: what can they offer one another, on an equal footing? How can they both come together to ensure the survival of all?

On the one hand, capital and technology are the factors behind the major economic powers. These are the two 'relative advantages' as they were once called in the theory of international trade. Theoretically, with these two factors they will be able at least for a number of years to ensure supplies which are flexible, that is to say capable of growing to meet the demand for goods and services both for internal consumption and for export. However, in the long term, inevitably, this technical basis can only become an economic reality if the essential, indeed vital, prerequisite, the existence and supply of basic resources, food and above all energy needed for industrial production, is fulfilled.

On the other hand, basic products, primary resources and energy sources are in many cases in our small economies the counterpart of the relative advantages of the highly-developed world, the natural complement of a world ecosystem of supplies of resources which must operate effectively as such to satisfy the collective needs of mankind as a whole.

Nevertheless, leaving aside the disgraceful and intolerable processes of colonial plundering and exploitation, only through the establishment of new, fair and rational terms of trade between both economic worlds will it be possible to meet in the immediate future the growing requirements of the population of the planet. However, another fundamental consideration must be borne in mind: the traditional resources of the developing countries are also exhausted. Other, renewable, resources are gravely threatened with total extinction by the unbridled exploitation to which they are subject. Both kinds of resources, by their very nature - and this must not be overlooked - tend to be inflexible; whatever form they take, they all require capital and technology for their optimum use. Thus these new requirements of reason, justice and equity face us all with the compelling force of evidence and necessity.

A bold effort at achieving international understanding between different and distant countries has been made with the creation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) which has played a central role in the awareness and negotiating ability of the third world in raising the value and making maximum use of a resource which now has worldwide importance and at the same time providing an instrument to protect natural resources and to further negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The importance of OPEC's action resides not only in its determined policy to revalue artificially low petroleum prices but even more fundamentally in demonstrating the need to conserve and appreciate the true worth of non-renewable natural resources which are mankind's heritage, and the need to use them in a disciplined and rational manner. Its action also highlighted the fact that bargaining for natural wealth is possible in a spirit of peace and justice, friendship and dialogue.

We cannot omit a reference to the recent Conference on International Economic Cooperation, more commonly referred to as the North-South Dialogue, whose conclusions will have far-reaching implications for the future of international relations; however, this is not the time to speculate about those.

After talks lasting a little over a year between 27 countries, all that has been achieved is the setting-up of a common fund to finance buffer stocks of raw materials and a programme of a thousand million dollars in economic aid to the poorer countries. We do not wish to play down the importance of

the measures adopted in Paris but neither do we wish to exaggerate their impact on the structure of economic relations because what the developing countries were rightly seeking was a series of measures aimed at replacing, in the short term, the basis of an international economic system which has kept us in a state of permanent underdevelopment. Finally, what we expected from this special forum was the reconciliation of the interests of the developed and the developing worlds to facilitate the definitive establishment of the new international economic order.

We cannot hope for much more than this for history has taught us that when we achieve moderately satisfactory results from some negotiations they are soon forgotten and abandoned.

We have always believed that dialogue is the highest and most intelligent means at the disposal of humanity, but dialogue does not mean simply a perpetual exchange of ideas, it implies action sometimes in the interests of the parties concerned.





