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Statement on behalf of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity

On behalf of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity, I have the honour to present the following general principles, which govern our position on the multinational trade negotiations. But before going any further, may I, on behalf of the African countries represented here, thank the Government and people of Japan for playing host to this Conference. We also thank the Prime Minister of Japan, H.E. Mr. Tanaka, for his comprehensive statement. May we also be permitted to congratulate you Sir, for your election to the Chairmanship of this important Ministerial meeting on multilateral trade negotiations. The African countries on whose behalf I speak, are confident that your wise and able leadership of the deliberations of this Conference, will result in the successful launching of the trade negotiations.

We are all aware of the origins of the desire and will to enter into these multilateral and comprehensive negotiations in GATT, and the fact that enormous preparations have been undertaken, and that in the process, a very wide spectrum of the international community has been drawn into this major effort at trade liberalization.

We will all recall, that within the past twenty-five years, since the GATT was founded, it had witnessed two major rounds of trade negotiations but none of these can match the magnitude or be compared with the one we are about to launch, if only in terms of its coverage, complexity and above all, the active interest displayed by the developing countries, contracting parties or not, in its preparation. Notwithstanding this unique character of the forthcoming negotiations, we cannot but be wary that despite our active participation in the preparation for them, we might at the end be left to pick the crumbs from the master's table as we did after the Kennedy Round. We count on the wisdom and foresight of the industrial countries to see the need to make appropriate adjustments in order to prevent a repetition of that performance. We cannot see how the developed countries would now want to let another historical occasion go without ensuring that real accelerated opportunities are created for remunerative trading on the part of the developing countries as a whole and in particular the least developed among them, most of which are in Africa.

There is urgent need to dispel the historical impression in the third world that the GATT is the club for the rich. The negotiations offer a golden opportunity for disproving this and any other like notions. The developing countries of Africa need to be assured through concrete results that the main intent and purpose of our institution are to increase the participation of the developing countries in the ever-expanding international trade.
Whereas we are aware that the draft declaration drawn up by the Preparatory Committee for this Conference, is a compromise of the various opinions currently obtaining in the world, we nevertheless feel that it is a starting point for the present negotiations.

The position of OAU Member States in the present trade negotiations, will be governed by the general principles and guidelines, adopted last May in Addis Ababa by the tenth ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU. These were submitted by the African Representatives to the Preparatory Committee, during the latter's recent meetings in Geneva. Consequently at this juncture, we would like only to emphasize some of those principles which we consider require stressing. These include the following:

(i) The principle of non-reciprocity should govern trade negotiations between developed and developing countries.

(ii) Preferential treatment should be accorded to products from developing countries.

(iii) All products of export interest to Africa should be covered by the negotiations. Priority attention should be accorded to raw, semi-processed and processed agricultural and mineral products, particularly tropical products and including industrial products of actual or potential interest to any African country.

(iv) For these negotiations to be successful, the African countries consider that complementary economic objectives have to be pursued simultaneously with the multilateral trade negotiations.

(v) African countries support and attach very great importance to the principle and objectives contained in paragraph 6 of the draft declaration, calling for special treatment to be given to the least developed of the developing countries.

(vi) Participation by non-contracting parties in trade negotiations will not oblige them to accede to the General Agreement in order to fully enjoy the benefits accruing from the negotiations.

(vii) Consideration shall be given to improvements in the international framework for the conduct of world trade which might be desirable in the light of progress achieved in the negotiations. It must be ensured that any measures introduced as a result of any reform are consistent with the overall objectives and principles of the trade negotiations. Any change in the international framework for the conduct of international
trade shall take full account of preferential treatment accorded to African countries, taking into account their lower stage in economic development.

(viii) The negotiations should not preclude the exercise of the right of African countries to negotiate individually or collectively.

(ix) We would like to reiterate the fact that trade and monetary problems are inter-connected, and therefore a solution to one is incomplete without a solution to the other.

(x) We must also emphasize that the coming trade negotiations must also take into account the special needs of the land-locked countries.

(xi) The results of the multilateral trade negotiations should not be prejudicial to any African countries. If the preferential advantages which are of benefit to African countries are influenced adversely by such negotiations then additional measures should be provided in order to compensate for the losses incurred.

Returning to the point mentioned above on the connexion between trade and monetary matters, several industrialized countries have made references to that inter-relationship between trade matters and monetary matters, almost for the first time. We, the African countries, victims of persistent deterioration in terms of trade, would like to express our deep concern that industrialized countries as yet do not see the total inter-relationship between trade, monetary matters and the whole development process. We would like to recall that developing countries were obliged to point this out at the third UNCTAD last year. We stated very clearly that it was futile, indeed impossible, to deal with trade, monetary and development requirements of the developing societies in isolation of one another. The faster the rate of capital formation within the rich societies, the lower seems to be the prospects of having net capital formation in the developing societies. This is because of the total inter-dependence of the economies of the world - a process which leads to a quantum of net global capital formation within a given period of time. It is this total net additional wealth in the world as a whole, which, on the basis of established trends and built-in processes, inevitably leads to accumulation of wealth in the hands of the already rich at the expense of the poor. It is for this reason that it is imperative that the aims of the impending round of multilateral trade negotiations should clearly spell out that it is now the intention to reverse the trend. It should be clear to all that even after taking such a historical decision we would have a most complex technical preparation to bring a new trend into force so as to establish, before it is too late, a just equilibrium in the world economic order.
This is a fundamental issue which needs to be accepted without reservation otherwise there will be one day, one international conference too many. We very sincerely hope that the Tokyo Conference will not be associated with such a historical assessment of it in retrospection. The Japanese are a people of great discipline, deeply rooted in culture and civilization, and certainly deserve to receive credit for having hosted a historic Conference which will be looked back upon as having been a turning point in world's economic affairs, in the direction of a just world order. We have been most encouraged in this connexion, by firm and unequivocal voices of some of the developed countries whose contribution to this Conference we applaud most sincerely.

GATT and UNCTAD should co-ordinate their activities in assisting the developing countries in the multilateral trade negotiations. To this end, UNCTAD should have access to the meetings of the Trade Negotiations Committee and to its documents. We hope that long before the Conference on trade negotiations is convened, appropriate arrangements should be concluded by the two Secretariats in this respect.

To conclude, we representatives of OAU Member States wish to place in the records of this important Conference, the African position that I have just described with a view to focussing the Conference's attention on the various elements hereby exposed, and so as to enable us to participate effectively in, and benefit from these multilateral trade negotiations.
CARLOS LECHUGA, CUBA, AMBASSADOR,
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AT GENEVA

(Translation from Spanish)

The Cuban delegation believes that the principles and objectives of the negotiations now being initiated should be expressed in clear and unequivocal form, implying an undertaking by the developed countries vis-à-vis the international community to give effect to the just requests of the developing countries that aspire to increasing participation in world trade, substantially increased access for their products to the markets of industrialized countries, and equitable, stable and remunerative prices for their exports. For the 70 per cent of the world population that has to live on only 30 per cent of aggregate world earnings, these requests are certainly not exaggerated; it may be recalled, in order to illustrate the dramatic situation of the developing countries, that of the 2,600 million human beings in those countries, 800 million are illiterate, 1,000 million are undernourished and hungry and 900 million have a daily income of less than 30 cents. These approximate figures, which are pathetic in themselves, are further highlighted in comparison with the situation of the peoples of the developed countries. For this reason, the dilemma to which these negotiations gives rise can be seen very clearly: either there must be a substantial change in the structure of international trade, or the tremendous gap that separates the countries which obtain all the benefits under the existing system from those which are victims of the economic strength of those countries will become still deeper, with all the disastrous consequences implicit therein.

As the present structure of world trade does not correspond to the interests of most of the peoples of the world, so it is essential to create conditions leading to a rational and equitable international division of labour, implying a new world economic system. In furtherance of this objective it is necessary that, at the least, preferential or differentiated treatment be applied to the developing countries and that the principle of non-reciprocity and non-discrimination be applied unreservedly. The bitter experience acquired in relations between developing countries and developed capitalist countries has shown us that mere promises and vague statements in formal declarations are no substitute for a clear and irreversible undertaking to take concrete action to diminish the growing distance between the enrichment of some countries and the consequent impoverishment of others.

Our delegation considers that the document we are discussing should specifically affirm the political will of the developed capitalist countries to give effect to the requests of the developing countries; we should remind ourselves that those requests are based not on any passing whim but on the historical conviction that much is owed to them because they have endured centuries of exploitation and are today the victims of an economic and commercial system which places them in a situation of dependency and inferiority, in flagrant contradiction with all the pronouncements that supposedly reflect the principles of international co-operation.

We can state, taking the case of Cuba, that the injustices of the existing world economic order are clearly reflected in our trade balance with the developed capitalist countries.
This is not the appropriate occasion for presenting detailed information for we shall have the opportunity later on to do this with indisputable figures. May we merely mention that our traditional trade deficits with the EEC now amount to several hundreds of millions of dollars. Furthermore, our country encounters not only tariff and non-tariff barriers but also measures that constitute overt economic and commercial aggression. It is well-known that the United States Government applies a blockade policy vis-à-vis Cuba, flouting all the principles of the General Agreement and of the United Nations; evidence of the failure of this strategy of aggression can be seen every day in the growing number of governments that are taking a line of independence and sovereignty, reflecting the change in the relationship of strength prevailing in the world, but this fact does not eliminate either the heavy responsibility implied in implementation of that policy, or its significance as a disruptive factor in international trade.

Much has been said about the requests of the developing countries. There has been a great deal of consideration and discussion on the subject in international meetings, but until now the determination of the great majority of the developed capitalist countries to perpetuate an economic order that is beneficial to them alone has precluded any possibility of achieving a structure that takes account of the interests of everyone. Today, once more, it is necessary to reiterate the main outlines of some of these requests which we consider important and would set forth as follows:

- Total elimination, or substantial reduction, of high customs tariffs in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

- Advanced implementation of such tariff elimination or reductions on a preferential basis in respect of products of particular export interest for the developing countries.

- Elimination of the application of higher duties depending on the degree of manufacture or processing of products of interest to developing countries, because quite clearly in practice this policy cancels out the industrialization efforts of those countries.

- Elimination of all quantitative restrictions, including export restraints, maintained by the industrialized capitalist countries.

- Removal of non-tariff barriers affecting exports in general in order to eliminate their restrictive or disruptive effects on international trade.

- Non-application to developing countries of the safeguard clause and other like provisions of the General Agreement, so that lasting economic security may thus be achieved.

In the monetary field, all the arrangements adopted should meet the needs of the developing countries and all the other countries in a truly universal and equitable way, so as to offset fluctuations in the exchange market and safeguard external purchasing power which has been greatly impaired by inequitable trade.
As is logical these requests must be based on the principle of non-reciprocity and non-discrimination; indeed, the reverse would be a mockery of the concept of equity since it is well-known it is not equitable to treat alike countries whose economies are not equal.

We do not, of course, exclude the need for complementary negotiations on matters that can increase the export potential of the developing countries so that in this way the maximum advantage can be derived from the negotiations within the framework of GATT.

Our delegation considers that if the political will exists that the negotiations should bring an expansion of world trade in favour of development, the adoption of the points we have just enumerated would create an adequate climate for true international co-operation beneficial to all.

To illustrate our position, we wish to state that because of the fact that in the commodity composition of Cuba's exports, sugar represents more than 70 per cent in terms of value, any tariff or non-tariff advantage that might be granted to Cuba on export products other than sugar would be of only limited importance in the serious situation that we have just mentioned.

In regard to sugar, moreover, it is our hope that in the course of the negotiations effective contractual commitments may be agreed to which would avoid the continuation of policies that tend to diminish the share of developing countries in the free market for this product, and on the contrary, guarantee them an increasing share in accordance with the principles and objectives set forth in Part IV of the General Agreement. We also hope that within the framework of UNCTAD the developed contracting parties, and in particular the European Economic Community, will co-operate with a view to concluding a new International Sugar Agreement.

As we said at the meeting of the Council on 7 March 1972 when the announcement of these negotiations was being discussed, the prevailing climate is one of suspicion and reserve. To date, none of the negotiations already carried out have been either universal or equitable. They have been limited to undertakings among the rich capitalist countries without any major practical benefits for the rest of the peoples of the world.

This experience enjoins us to be somewhat cautious with regard to the negotiations now being initiated, above all because very little was done in the preparatory work to dispel this atmosphere of uncertainty.

We do not doubt that the negotiations will mark an important step forward if they succeed in reversing the unfavourable trend of trade for the developing countries. Our delegation, for its part, will continue to strive toward that objective in close solidarity with all the other countries that aspire to a new world economic order.
On behalf of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, I would like to express our gratitude to the Government and people of Japan, for their hospitality and excellent arrangements for this important meeting.

My delegation would also like to thank Mr. Long and the GATT secretariat for all the arrangements that have been carried out to bring this meeting to success.

No doubt that the opening of the multilateral trade negotiations represent a milestone in the shaping of world trade and development which will have far-reaching effects on developed as well as developing countries for the coming decades. It is our feeling of the extreme importance of the Tokyo Round that prompted us, though we are a developing small country and a large part of its land and people continue to be occupied by Israel, to wish to share with the distinguished delegates some of our thoughts and ideas. Moreover, as we are launching a Three Year Development Plan, we believe that it can best be carried out in an atmosphere of co-operation.

We would like to express our general satisfaction with the Draft Declaration and specifically with its reference to the objectives related to developing countries. The principles of non-reciprocity, non-discrimination and preferential treatment are laudable means to secure additional benefits to the developing countries but certainly more is needed.

Developing countries have suffered from the recent international monetary crises either through imported inflation or through worsening of their terms of trade or through uncertainty in their trade flows and export earnings. Therefore, developing countries do have a stake in the reform of the international monetary system equal in importance, if not more, to the improvement in international trade relations.

Furthermore, we would like to see international trade as a vehicle to the transfer of technology which is a vital element in development of developing countries. Concrete mechanisms should be devised to speed up this process as the prevailing international division of labour is in favour of the developed countries. It is almost a by-word that the world is shrinking every day and becoming ever interdependent and therefore it is to the interest of all countries to bridge the widening gap between the developed and developing nations. The necessity of bridging this gap must go far beyond and must exceed the negotiations of the liberalization of international trade and even the reform of international
monetary system. The drama, rather the tragedy, of economic under-development must be looked upon in the broader context of the great interdependence of world peoples and economies. The trade negotiations, about to commence, must not focus on the economic factors and the benefits that may accrue alone, they also must take note of the vast masses of humanity hitherto unnoticed. How, concretely their situation can be ameliorated and quickly? Otherwise, this chance, perhaps the last one this century, will be lost and the gap will continue widening.

The dismantling of tariff and non-tariff trade barriers is a needed and a very helpful means for expanding international trade. Though foreign trade of developing countries represent only a small percentage of world total trade, it counts for a large share of economic activity in these countries. For example, foreign trade counts for 45 per cent of gross national product in Jordan. Any improvement in export earnings and access to markets of developed countries would be relatively important and helpful to developing countries.

In concluding, I wish every success to the lengthy trade negotiations and I hope that concrete and real advantages will result to developing as well as to developed countries out of these negotiations.
HUSHANG ANSARY, IRAN,
MINISTER OF ECONOMY

It is with great pleasure that I express the gratitude of the Iranian delegation to the Government of Japan for hosting the Ministerial Meeting on Multilateral Trade Negotiations. We are gratified by the decision to invite non-member countries to participate in this historic meeting. This gesture manifests a world outlook on the part of GATT which is highly commendable.

This important meeting is taking place at a time when the international community finds itself beset by serious economic problems. The tensions and disturbances generated by these problems have, in the past year, taken a turn for gravity.

Before us now we have a Draft Declaration which aims at setting in motion measures for the solution of some of these problems. The Declaration embodies many high objectives and sets forth procedures for the formidable task ahead. It provides an almost unlimited scope within which the international community can proceed to tackle prevailing issues.

Among the subjects raised in the Declaration, the question of the reduction or elimination of non-tariff barriers, monetary reform, and improvement of the international framework for the conduct of world trade deserve special mention. Non-tariff barriers comprising a wide variety of restrictive and trade-diverting measures are at times not easy to detect, often difficult to quantify and generally discriminatory in their effect. In the context of additional benefits for the international trade of the developing countries, which Iran stands ready to support, we believe that advance implementation of the reduction or elimination of these non-tariff barriers should be undertaken.

On the monetary question, which we feel must be taken up parallel with trade issues, the need for a far-reaching, forward-looking reform is indeed great. Failure to reach an early agreement on this crucial subject from which the developing countries have suffered considerably, will further disrupt international trade, intensify inflationary forces throughout the world, and place an even greater pressure on those who are the least able to afford it, namely the developing countries.

In seeking to improve the international framework for the conduct of world trade, we must be prepared to observe the principle of non-discrimination. If we are to pave the way for greater expansion of international trade, we must see to it that the existing discriminations are removed and the benefits of expansion are shared on a non-discriminatory basis by all.
Commendable as the objectives of the Declaration are, we must have no illusions that it is on their faithful translation into concrete measures that the success of the multilateral trade negotiations will ultimately depend. We should, therefore, bear in mind that any formula to be worked out for this purpose should take into account not only the more familiar economic ills of the last decade, but also the new problems which have affected the world during the past year.

Whereas less than three years ago many countries voiced fears of recession and unemployment, today there is serious preoccupation with inflation and overheating of economies.

Whereas the concern then was flooding of the markets with foreign goods, the problem now is the scarcity of agricultural products and the shortage of industrial raw materials.

It is thus imperative that we address ourselves to the root causes of the problems. The need in our opinion is for the developed nations to undertake, parallel with the conduct of the multilateral trade negotiations, certain structural changes in their respective economies. Without these changes, the ultimate objectives of the Declaration cannot be fulfilled. High cost of labour and manpower shortage, scarcity of raw materials, shortage of energy, and pollution, are among the limiting factors existing in varying degrees in the developed countries, which render these structural changes necessary, and, in the long run, unavoidable.

It is in the light of these considerations, that my August Sovereign, His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran, has often stressed the need for the developed countries to become more selective in the future development of their industries.

In this context, the time has come to view the long-neglected question of the international division of labour not merely as a means of accelerating the economic growth of the developing countries, but also as a way out of the pressing problems of the developed nations.

Let me now briefly mention the policies pursued by my Government in connexion with some of the issues to which I have already made a reference.

In Iran, we have gone a long way in the past four years in liberalizing imports, lowering or removing import charges, reducing or eliminating the protection for our fast growing domestic industry. We have done this unilaterally, without expectation of reciprocity, and have made sure that the benefits of these major efforts at liberalization are shared without discrimination by all of our trading partners, including, for the time being, those who have in effect long
discriminated against Iranian exports. Our imports are expected to grow from $2.8 billion in 1972 to over $7 billion by the end of 1977. We foresee our foreign trade, excluding oil, to exceed $30 billion a year by 1987.

As for oil, Iran's success in the difficult and delicate negotiations that took place with the international oil companies on the personal initiative of the Shahanshah, has placed us in a unique position of having full control of the oil industry. This commodity, vitally needed for the development of the world economy, now continues to flow to international markets under Iranian management.

Like other nations of the world, we have felt the impact of great inflationary pressures from which major developed countries are suffering. We have, however, been able to offset much of the effects of this inflation entering Iran through imports of capital goods, industrial raw materials and services by various domestic means including a major effort for raising productivity as well as a careful, constant supervision to prevent undue price rises. Thus in the first quarter of the current Iranian calendar year, which ended 21 June, although the cost of our imports increased by 12 per cent wholesale prices of manufactured goods rose by only 5 per cent. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that Iran's gross national product growth was 14.7 per cent at constant prices last year, which in turn increased per capita income at a fast rate, raising considerably the mass purchasing power.

Needless to say, Mr. Chairman, worldwide inflation can hardly be effectively controlled through domestic measures of individual countries alone. We feel very strongly, therefore, that international co-operation is called for to start a co-ordinated effort to harness inflationary forces around the world.

The world has recently suffered from the shortage of food and agricultural products. This was so serious at one time that countries who were normally depended upon for regular supplies to the world markets restricted or banned exports of their agricultural commodities. Although the situation has somewhat eased, and future improvements are foreseen, the lessons of the past months warrant adoption of measures as a precaution against future emergencies. This may be accomplished through internationally co-ordinated stockpiling arrangements by surplus countries or setting up special pools or food banks.

No nation on earth can gain from disruptions in international trade. Certainly, those who have had the lion's share of the world's prosperity in the past stand to lose more than others from such disruptions. It is only natural for nations to be motivated by their national self-interest. But, in the pursuit of our national interests in the forthcoming multilateral negotiations, we must equally be mindful of our common destiny in the community of nations. For her part, Iran has demonstrated on frequent occasions that she is fully conscious of her international responsibilities.
HAIM BAR-LEV, ISRAEL,
MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Permit me to use this opportunity to thank the Government of Japan for its initiative in taking upon itself the organization of this important conference, and to compliment it upon the quality and efficiency of its arrangements.

Let me now turn to the economy of Israel: Besides the ordinary economic requirements of other independent States, the Israel economy must meet two special challenges:

The first is that of immigration and immigrant absorption. Over a period of twenty-five years, we have undergone a metamorphosis from a State of 650,000 to one of more than 3 million inhabitants. Over 50 per cent of the population are new immigrants, most of whom came from developing countries.

The second challenge is that of the enormous outlays we must, to our sorrow, make on defence. Under existing circumstances, we have no choice in this matter.

These two problems are characteristic of Israel and create an additional burden upon her economy. Israel is very dependent on commodity imports from abroad. Moses brought the Children of Israel to a land of milk and honey, but unfortunately of few other raw materials.

Israel imports most of her basic foodstuffs, such as wheat, sugar, fats, rice, meat, etc. Most of our industrial raw materials likewise are imported from abroad. This applies to iron, wood, wool, rubber and the like. Since our domestic market is small, it is not economic to manufacture many kinds of industrial products, so that Israel is importing capital goods, certain types of vehicles and a large number of other industrial items.

The only way to compensate for these imports, which total over $2 billion per annum, is to expand our exports. We must do this in the hope of closing the gap on current balance in our balance of payments, if we are to get nearer to the goal of economic independence. In 1972, the current balance-of-payments deficit still totalled $300 million, though exports constituted approximately 20 per cent of our gross national product.

It is therefore natural for Israel to welcome any step contributing to the strengthening of international commercial ties or the removing of restrictions now governing them.
Within the framework of a policy based on this premise, we have virtually abolished import restrictions on industrial manufactures, import licence requirements have been confined to limited categories of goods, and we are gradually reducing tariffs on imports competing with our local products. This policy has proved itself. It has led to a process of rationalization in the Israel economy, a better allocation of available resources, improved production methods, and a healthy atmosphere in our economic relations with our trading partners.

So as to remove obstacles to international trade, Israel favours multilateral negotiations and agreements, which provide a valuable opportunity to each of the States concerned to put its own house in order as regards its import regulations, while obtaining advantages from the viewpoint of access to export markets for its goods. Consequently, Israel was among the first countries to support the "triangular initiative".

We regard the multilateral negotiations as important not only for the giants of industry and international commerce, but also for other States regardless of their economic resources. However, the small countries must be protected against any possible damage to their interests, and must be enabled to obtain substantial benefits through these negotiations, even when they are not main suppliers of the product under discussion.

It must be stressed that for these small States such products may be a major and essential source of foreign currency needed to assure their economic efficiency and the development of their economies. One way of assuring such interests is by close co-operation between countries sharing them in respect of specific products, and we hope that the framework of negotiations will further this kind of co-operation.

Israel welcomes the initiative to pay special attention to the problems of developing States within the framework of the negotiations. The special problems and status of Israel have been recognized by a large number of developed States, and we are pleased to have been included by them in the GSP framework. We regard the text of the Draft Declaration referring to the subject of reciprocity demanded from developing countries as appropriate. We believe that the negotiations must be elastic and take into consideration the problems, demands and specific possibilities of each country as well as the principle of reciprocity to the extent that developing countries are able to sustain it. Israel herself is ready to execute a policy providing reciprocal benefits in return for significant concessions made to us.

It is very important to assure that the liberalization of trade, when achieved, is not detrimentally affected by arrangements and pre-conditions that in effect nullify the value of the concessions obtained during the negotiations.
Such arrangements could take the form of "safeguard clauses" of a unilateral and arbitrary nature, or of other forms of barriers to trade unconnected with tariffs. In both cases, special care must be taken not to harm the interests of developing countries through steps intended to protect a certain industry from a danger the real source of which is remote from these States and their limited exports. Actual inquiry must be proven beyond reasonable doubt, and all remedial measures be considered temporary pending an extensive inquiry.

Like the other countries, Israel has suffered severely from the instability in the monetary sphere, and we agree that any agreement reached in the sphere of commerce should be accompanied by appropriate measures in the monetary sphere, so that this agreement is given a chance to be of long-lasting real significance.

I welcome the appointment of the Trade Negotiations Committee, and feel certain that still during this year we shall witness real progress in practical negotiations, all parties doing everything in their power to assure the success of the important enterprise for which they are now assuming responsibility.
AHMET TURKEL, TURKEY,
MINISTER OF COMMERCE
(Translation from French)

The Turkish Government believes that the coming negotiations will be of
inestimable value for improving the climate prevailing in the trade field and
at the same time for establishing a freer, more coherent and more equitable
international economic system.

Indeed, the Turkish Government, which is striving to attain the accelerated
development of its people, believes that a climate of stability in international
trade is, if not the only, at least the most important condition for achieving
that objective from the point of view of exogenous factors.

In this respect the Turkish Government cannot but welcome the encouraging
prospects which the draft Declaration offers.

We are glad that GATT, which has proved to be a steadfast legal framework,
will once more serve as the background for trade negotiations on which are
focused the countless hopes of a world that has experienced far-reaching changes
in the twenty-five years that have elapsed since the conclusion of the General
Agreement.

One of the most important changes, no doubt, has been the arrival on the
international scene of the countries which, despite their diversity as to levels,
possibilities and methods of development, are generally called "developing
countries". We believe that the coming trade negotiations will make it possible
for these countries to alleviate the grave difficulties that they are encountering
in the external trade field, and to improve trade relations in their favour.

In this context, we note with satisfaction the objective that the
CONTRACTING PARTIES have set themselves for the coming negotiations with a view
to securing additional benefits for the international trade of developing
countries.

In this connexion, the Turkish Government considers that, notwithstanding
any theoretical similarities between the problems of these countries from the
general aspect, any global and general approach that failed to take account
of the specific problems of each of them might prove inadequate in trade
negotiations conducted within the framework of GATT and according to the
principles and traditions established by the GATT for these matters.

We continue to believe that in trade negotiations, each country is the
sole and the best judge for appreciating and promoting its national trade
interests.

This fundamental consideration brings me to speak of the scope of the
coming negotiations.
In our view, no sector should be excluded from the negotiations ab initio. At the same time, we recognize that it would be unjust not to take into consideration the specific problems arising in certain sectors, more particularly in agriculture.

We accept that the CONTRACTING PARTIES have chosen the traditional principles of the GATT for the conduct of the negotiations. No doubt, taking due account of these principles, the developed countries will have to apply them with the necessary flexibility in order to meet certain legitimate requests of the developing countries. In this connexion we wish to underline that any deviation from the traditional principles of GATT should be the subject of a formal decision by its competent organs, in accordance with adequate procedural machinery, so that the interests of everyone may be duly safeguarded vis-à-vis the General Agreement.

I should like now to give some indications regarding Turkey’s position in regard to the negotiations.

First of all, I wish to state that Turkey, as an active contracting party to the GATT since its inception and with the buoyance that its foreign trade has experienced in recent years, cannot fail to be interested in the negotiations. The Turkish Government has decided to participate in the negotiations. A formal communication to that effect will be forthcoming very shortly.

In recent years, in the context of its liberalization policy, the Turkish Government has taken substantial action to dismantle tariff and non-tariff obstacles.

To the extent that Turkey’s balance-of-payments situation allows, restrictions on international trade are being progressively eliminated and Turkey is thus contributing to the liberalization and expansion of world trade.

I should like to make clear that these liberalization measures applied by Turkey are applicable in principle to all countries.

Furthermore, within the context of the customs union agreement which Turkey had concluded with the European Economic Community, the Turkish tariff will be aligned by stages with the Common Customs Tariff. This alignment, which falls within the process of formation of a customs union, will allow all the trading countries to enjoy a substantial reduction in the Turkish tariff.

Another point to which I should like to draw attention concerns the temporary suspensions and reductions of duty which Turkey has applied unilaterally on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause and within the context of its investment incentive policy. I should like to underline that these unilateral measures affect a significant percentage of Turkey’s imports.
My Government considers that these points I have just mentioned should be considered in the course of the coming negotiations as contributions by Turkey, a developing country, which are consistent with its development, financial and trade needs.

We have noted with satisfaction that in the draft Declaration the importance of maintaining and improving the Generalized System of Preferences has been recognized. In the view of the Turkish Government this system, which was implemented with a view to increasing the export earnings of the developing countries and augmenting possibilities for participation by those countries in the expansion of world trade, must be maintained and improved in accordance with the principle of non-discrimination so that all the developing countries, and consistently with objective social and economic criteria, may benefit therefrom without distinction.

Lastly, I wish to state that the Turkish Government supports the draft Declaration and agrees to the elimination of the square brackets in paragraph 6 concerning the least developed countries.

In this connexion, I wish to express the keen desire of the Turkish Government to see an enlargement of the trade Protocol among developing countries within the framework of these negotiations, in respect of both its geographical scope and the range of products covered.

In conclusion, I wish in the name of the Turkish Government to express my sincere wishes for the success of the coming negotiations and the hope that they will contribute to the expansion and ever-greater liberalization of world trade.
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HUSSEIN KHALLAF, EGYPT
AMBASSADOR, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AT GENEVA

(Translation from French)

I should like first, like other speakers, to express the pleasure that my
delegation experiences in coming to your beautiful country to participate in the
work of this historically significant conference. We hope that the negotiations
that we shall be initiating shortly will be crowned with success, and that a new
era of international relations more consistent with the needs of our times will
thus be opened. If such a hope materializes one day, it will be to the advantage
of all of us because we are all interested in the expansion, development and
diversification of international trade. The developing countries, such as mine,
have a still greater interest than the others, having regard to the capital and
even decisive importance of being able to export their products, particularly
towards the major markets of world consumption that the developed countries con­
stitute. That is the reason why so many of them are participating in this
conference which has truly become a world conference.

It must be recognized that the experience of similar meetings in the past,
and in particular the Kennedy Round, might have given rise to more reserve on their
part. As we know, not only was the Kennedy Round restricted from the aspect of
coverage, participation and the products negotiated, but it concerned itself only
in a marginal way with the interests of the developing countries. In general, the
results obtained by those countries were slim, and even negative.

Let us look rather toward the future, however, and place our confidence in
the solemn, reiterated and unanimous statements recently made by responsible persons
in the developed countries, expressing their firm resolve to take into considera­
tion the interests of the developing countries and thus to grant them special
treatment during the forthcoming trade negotiations. We believe that this is a
welcome trend which, once confirmed by the facts, would be full of promise and
possibilities. The rich countries are thus recognizing the specific nature of the
economic and social problems of the poor countries, which requires solutions suited
to them and appropriate to their stage of development.

In other words, this new trend would thus herald new relations linking the
two categories of countries, and based on their inter-dependence and the spirit
of solidarity and co-operation that inspires them to strive to attain common
interests, in the long as well as the short term. To this end, we are glad to see
that the draft Declaration now under examination states that one of the principal
aims of the negotiations will be "to secure additional benefits for the interna­
tional trade of developing countries" and adds some extremely useful details on
this point. That is an important declaration for we believe, its scope is not
limited to inspiring the coming negotiations: once it has been unanimously approved
as we hope, it will very probably have, the value of a joint commitment as Mr. Jolles, the Head of the Swiss delegation has rightly pointed out.

If the text is drafted in general and flexible terms, it will always have to be interpreted in the light of the unanimous will, expressed in particular by the developed countries, to try in all cases to attain the legitimate interests of the developing countries and to take their particular situation into consideration. That is how one must understand the additional benefits mentioned in the draft Declaration, as referring to the just idea that the end result of the negotiations should be a clear and positive advantage for each of the developing countries participating in the negotiations, just as the expressions differential measures, and special and more favourable treatment, should be understood as constituting adoption by the draft of the concept of preferential treatment. This is a key concept or a dominant idea that should be applied in concrete terms in each of the fields covered by the negotiations, according to its own nature, and in particular it should be applied in the tariff and non-tariff fields, particularly in the field of quantitative barriers and likewise in the system of safeguards and in the techniques and modalities. We would add that besides the problems of trade as such, there are other related problems. In this connexion there are grounds for satisfaction at the compromise arrived at by the United States and EEC delegations in the monetary field and at the fact that the interests of the developing countries are mentioned therein. It must be recognized, however, that, besides the monetary problem there are other related and very important problems. We would just mention here the problem of financing and the heavy debts that these countries have to service, by drawing on an increasing part of their foreign exchange resources. That is certainly a problem that will have to be solved in parallel with the problem of trade.

In conclusion, we resolutely and fully support the African position as stated here this morning by one of our African colleagues.
It is my privilege to represent the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in this historic meeting for multilateral trade negotiations. Our sincere thanks are due to the Government of Japan for playing host to this distinguished assembly.

A great responsibility and trust have been reposed in this august body by the world community and I have no doubt that the multilateral trade negotiations will succeed in the efforts for expansion of world trade by progressive removal of trade barriers.

Disorder in the international currency and monetary system is one of the most debated subjects these days and it is rightly so. There is international awareness to the need for a stable monetary system for smooth flow of international trade. I think that it will be pertinent to mention that problems of a new-born developing country like ours were compounded by the monetary crisis that we had to face so soon after our independence. The floating and depreciation of sterling to which our currency is linked, devaluation of the dollar and readjustment of other currencies of the world had caused considerable losses to our foreign exchange earnings which we could ill afford.

Experience of the past decade has shown that when the rich nations get integrated into trade blocs, this tends to give rise to unforeseen difficulties for the poor in the field of trade and development. The poor finds itself faced with threat of erosion of its existing preferences without any commensurate compensation. This situation obtained because the GSP offers made in the past by the industrially advanced countries did not prove adequate to make up for the loss of preferences by the developing countries as a whole. However, I am happy to observe that some countries like Japan and Australia have in recent period unilaterally removed tariff barriers by a substantial margin, which I hope shall be followed by other developed countries.

Today food problems are aggravating the balance-of-payments and trade performance of many a poor nation. This is especially true of very poor countries like Bangladesh. My delegation feels that this forum should deliberate and seek a solution to the chronic problem of food shortage faced by the poorer nations. Since trade problems of the poorer nations are linked with the problem of food deficit, we hope that this point will receive priority treatment in the deliberations of the Trade Negotiations Committee and some institutional arrangements should be made urgently to cope with this compelling problem with which the poorer nations are now confronted.

I would like to draw attention to the distressing fact that in the two crucial fields of monetary reforms and primary commodities, the interest of the poorer countries has not yet been duly taken into account. As the greatest part of their
foreign exchange earning comes from the sale of primary products, it is necessary that urgent co-ordinated action be taken in this field by both the developed and developing nations, which is sure to bring about immediate and substantial results.

In the field of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade, adequate attention has been focussed in various international forums to the significance and effects of non-tariff barriers on the trade of particularly, developing countries in the markets of developed countries. It should, therefore, be stressed that adequate safeguards should be devised for the primary produce of the developing countries against the provision of domestic countervailing relief or subsidy policies, resorted to by the developed countries. I would further add that such countervails run contrary to the very concept of free trade because they are nothing but distortions in the economies of developed countries. This is also a classic case of the rich and the efficient seeking protection against competition from the poor and the less efficient. There must be greater response from the developed market economies, than has been the case in the past to give really favourable treatment to the exports from developing countries. This is the only way to remove the grievances of an overwhelming number of the poor countries that they are being discriminated against in this regard. To this end, there should be new types of international commodity agreements which should be inspired by enlightened visions that seem to have dawned on the world community.

The commodity agreements would provide for purchasing guarantees at fair price for the primary products and semi-processed natural products of the developing countries. Here we will make out a special case for the least developed among the developing countries, like Bangladesh. In the face of heavy odds, the economy of Bangladesh is on way to recovery. But we still need large amounts of commercial and economic aid to regenerate the economy of 75 million people. Being one of the least developed of the developing countries, we have to foot large import bills for essential items like food, cloth, medicine, fuel and construction material like cement, iron sheets, etc. and the essential industrial raw material. We appreciate the commodity assistance received from the developed countries including the socialist countries, since the liberation of Bangladesh. But like other less-developed countries we look for special treatment for our primary produce in the markets of both developed and developing countries. Our economy is dependent on raw jute and jute goods export. Hence, we need not only safeguards against erosion of preferences in our traditional jute market such as the EEC including the United Kingdom market, but also assurances of privileged entry into those markets and also in the markets of other developed countries of the world.

Of the natural fibres, jute is especially in distress. And jute is in distress not due to any inherent disqualification of this fibre but to neglect in its research and development. I, therefore, urge on the technologically advanced
countries and United Nations bodies like GATT, UNCTAD, FAO and UNDP to formulate an integrated approach to the problems faced by jute, kenaf and other natural fibres owing to the competition from their synthetic substitutes.

In the overall context of trade expansion of developing countries the natural products will play a significant rôle. In other words, interest of the less-developed countries can be protected only through the complete re-orientation in the attitude of the developed market economies in this respect. Here, I may refer to the stand taken by "ASEAN" countries in their recent conference by urging postponement of disproportionate investment in the field of synthetic rubber at the expense of natural rubber. In the overall interest of natural products vis-à-vis their synthetic competitors, we endorse the stand of the "ASEAN" countries on natural rubber.

May I conclude by hoping which, I am sure, will be shared by all, that the developed market economies will take cognizance of the just and reasonable demand of developing countries to make a co-ordinated approach to the problems of trade expansion of developing countries, which will include tariff and non-tariff concessions, joint international efforts, technical assistance, commodity and programme assistance and lastly and not the least important, structural changes in the economy of the developed countries.

In the light of the above observations my delegation endorses the draft declaration which may be adopted by this august body in the present form and welcomes the formation of the Trade Negotiations Committee which I hope, will serve as an effective forum in which developing as well as developed nations will participate. In view of the special problems and needs of the least developed nations, my delegation proposes that:

(i) the trade and development problems of the developing nations should receive priority treatment in the deliberations of the Trade Negotiations Committee; and

(ii) due weightage be given to the representations of the least developing nations in the Trade Negotiations Committee.
WASHINGTON HERRERA, ECUADOR,
REPRESENTING THE MINISTRY FOR INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

(Translation from Spanish)

The Government of Ecuador participated in the preparatory stage for the multilateral trade negotiations because of its sincere conviction that they constitute an appropriate way of achieving just and equitable economic relations. It is with a similar hope that we have come to this great city to enjoy the cordial hospitality of the Japanese Government and people, for which we express our deep appreciation.

The preparatory work, carried out in an unsuspicious economic climate, was not as fruitful as was to be hoped and we now have before us the text of a Declaration which, while it mentions some aspects of the negotiations, does not include others that are likewise important, particularly for the developing countries. For the delegation of Ecuador, this document merely constitutes a basis for future decisions that will have to be made in the course and in the context of the trade negotiations, and outside them.

The report of the Preparatory Committee and the draft Declaration have been considered closely by the CECLA, and have been carefully examined by the Government of Ecuador with a view to reaching a decision on its possible participation in the negotiations. The draft Declaration does not clearly reflect the objectives and aims of the negotiations that have been proposed by the Latin American countries, and vigorously reiterated by the Andean Group - to which my country belongs - and it still does not allow us to make a determination concerning our participation in the negotiations.

Furthermore, in my country's opinion, the participation of non-member countries needs to be defined in greater depth than provisions of simple procedure. It is therefore essential that an adequate legal framework be established to guarantee that the concessions have a value and effectiveness that allow the non-member countries to enjoy the benefits without any uncertainties, risks or contingent conditions. This aspect has not been covered either by the Declaration or by the report, and my delegation believes that one of the first actions of the Negotiations Committee should be to solve this problem of principle, so that the non-member countries may be able to negotiate fully and effectively, in similar conditions to the member countries, and that the agreements or concessions that result may be legally safeguarded by rules guaranteeing their stability, establishing causes and conditions for any suspension, and determining compensation possibilities in respect of any withdrawal or nullification of concessions received by a non-member developing country. Prompt and appropriate agreement on this matter can smooth the way and prevent a situation where in the negotiations as such the countries that are not contracting parties to GATT might be considered in conditions of unequality. That will be important also for solving cases of joint negotiation by a group of developing countries that are linked together in an integration process, and comprising countries that are contracting parties to GATT and others that are not.
Having said this, allow me briefly to try to situate my country in the context of the multilateral trade negotiations. Ecuador is faced with some of the negative factors that are characteristic of a less-developed country: a small domestic market that reduces industrialization possibilities and limits diversification of its exports. Because of these inhibiting factors, the external sector of our economy is weak in both quantitative and qualitative terms, and as a result, for example, the Generalized System of Preferences has not been useful for my country. That being so, there is the well justified fear that the multilateral trade negotiations alone may not be effective unless special action is taken and measures are adopted that can really promote the formation of exportable surpluses not only of traditional export products but also of manufactures.

Action and measures of this kind are perfectly feasible through the inclusion in the negotiations of products of interest, and the creation of a margin of preference that can have a real incentive effect, by eliminating or easing the restrictive effects of non-tariff barriers and without these advantages becoming a burden for a country which, like Ecuador, would be receiving "export prospects" while the developed countries would be enjoying immediate and concrete realities.

It is our hope that the Trade Negotiations Committee will take full account of the situation of countries like Ecuador; we are convinced that in the course of the negotiations appropriate machinery and optimum techniques and modalities will be found to solve problems and situations like those I have mentioned; more important still, it is our hope that the principles and objectives of the developing countries will be affirmed in such a way that the welfare which today is reserved for the minority may also be accessible to the majority of mankind.
I wish to begin by thanking the Government of Japan and the GATT secretariat for organizing this meeting which has been in session for the last three days. I am fully conscious of the fact that a great deal of work is involved before a meeting of this nature could be successfully organized. The purpose of this meeting as I understand, is to find ways and means of reaching agreement between the various nations of the world so that the economic gains from world trade are spread over to as many countries and to as many people as it is reasonably possible. In my humble view, this is a desired objective and will not be an easy task to achieve in view of the conflicting interests.

Over the last three days I have had the advantage of listening to various speakers representing various sections of the economic world. We have heard speakers from developed countries such as the EEC group, the United States of America and Japan. We have also heard speakers from developing countries such as Nigeria, Jamaica, India and others. I represent a country which is population-wise considered to be very small and it is also situated in a remote part of the world. However, the economic interests of my country are very much in common with the other developing nations of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean countries. I fully endorse and associate myself with the remarks of the speakers from these countries and sincerely hope and pray that that part of the draft resolution tabled before this meeting which refers to the developed countries' willingness to assist the developing countries will be fully implemented in not too distant a future.

Basically I support the draft resolution but I would like to issue a word of caution to all of us present here and that is - that no amount of pious resolution adopted on paper in a meeting such as this will help to better the conditions of the under-privileged people until such time that the developed countries sincerely and seriously dedicate themselves to finding ways and means of bridging the gap between the haves and the have-nots -- not so much by giving out gifts but by creating conditions whereby because of hard work the have-nots will achieve what is rightfully due to them.

Finally, I wish to support the view expressed by a number of speakers that to enable arrangements amongst ourselves regarding trade, we will have to make serious efforts to bring about acceptable solutions to the monetary crisis which exists in the world today. For a smaller country such as mine, a ripple in a major industrial nation with whom we have substantial trade could amount to a tidal wave and thus have serious consequences on our life.
ERWIN ORTIZ GANDARILLAS, BOLIVIA,
REPRESENTING THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS
(Translation from Spanish)

Doctor Mario Gutiérrez Gutiérrez, Minister for External Relations of Bolivia, who was to have spoken at this historic and important meeting, was at the last moment prevented from attending. As a result, I have the honour to address you, Mr. Chairman, the Director-General of GATT and the distinguished delegations here present in the capacity of representative of the Minister for External Relations and representative of my country.

This is the first time that Bolivia is attending a meeting of this kind, and it is doing so with the intention of participating effectively in the trade negotiations with the hope of achieving a just and proportionate share of the benefits resulting from the negotiations. Those benefits will open the possibility of obtaining fully unencumbered resources of our own to complement the efforts we are making at national level to overcome the disadvantages of under-development that are afflicting our peoples.

This means that in the struggle in which the developing countries are engaged to overcome their state of economic prostration, as reflected in the statements recently made in the course of this meeting, it would seem that the necessary conditions are emerging that will allow the great battle against under-development to be launched once and for all.

In order to ensure an efficacious strategy in this fight which was commenced about two decades ago and in which, ironically, the developing countries themselves are losing ground, the appropriate conditions must be established in a co-ordinate and parallel manner at both national and international level.

At national level, the efforts of the developing countries have been, and are considerable. As far as Bolivia is concerned, a country with a wealth of natural resources that we hope can be used for the benefit of mankind, with a territorial area of more than 1 million square kilometres and barely 5 million inhabitants, the Government has for the past two years been engaged in activities without precedent in the last decade. At the policy level, a system of government has been established comprising the two majority parties of the country which had traditionally been rivals. This system has yielded greater political stability that has allowed the great task of development to be undertaken. In the economic field, a Five-Year Plan for development has been drawn up, designed to increase production by granting facilities to the fullest extent possible. Under the provisions of an Investment Law and a Hydrocarbons Law, the country has been opened to foreign investment. A major effort is being devoted to constructing a road network for improving communications both inside the country and across its frontiers; this will certainly facilitate both domestic and international trade flows. In the social field, education, services
and social security are priority aspects in the Government's programme. These measures will contribute to raising the standard of living of the Bolivian people and thereby also to improving the standard of living of mankind.

Thus, Bolivia is engaged in efforts to overcome under-development, and like many other countries is doing its part in the common task which the international community has taken on.

Because of the growing interdependence at international level, the great efforts being made at the domestic level are largely cancelled out by the adverse conditions currently prevailing in international economic relations.

The other condition in the fight to overcome under-development is therefore of an international character. Unfortunately, it is in this field that the effort has not so far been favourable to the objectives of the developing countries. The practices existing in international economic relations are in open contradiction with the principles, objectives, programmes and possibilities established by the member countries of the United Nations and of UNCTAD as bases for a new world economic order. We all know what has happened to those declarations and the consequent disappointments that our countries have suffered.

Despite this, the present meeting and the negotiations to be initiated, on whose results the nations of the whole world depend, offer a new and perhaps last opportunity for seeking adequate solutions to the problems of the developing countries. Such solutions must not only avoid the continuing impoverishment of our peoples, but also secure net additional benefits.

From the general aspect, Bolivia supports the position adopted by the CECLIA meeting at Brasilia last August, and concurs in the position of the Andean Group as expressed by its spokesman, the Peruvian representative.

From the individual aspect, determined by the fact of its being a relatively less-developed country and, more particularly, a landlocked one, my country must adopt on this occasion a position consistent with its special situation.

Accordingly, my delegation formally requests that consideration be given and due account taken of three aspects within the broad spirit in which this draft ministerial Declaration has been conceived; my delegation considers these aspects of fundamental significance for ensuring effective participation by my country in the benefits resulting from the trade negotiations.

These aspects are the following, in the view of my delegation:

1. The special treatment envisaged within the context of paragraph 6 of the draft Declaration should also be extended to landlocked developing countries.
2. To the fullest extent possible and in the appropriate fora, the necessary complementary measures should be adopted so that the developing countries, and in particular the landlocked and least developed among the developing countries, may obtain the benefits resulting from the trade concessions in order to achieve the overall objective of the negotiations, which is improvement in the standard of living of their peoples.

3. Legal provisions should be established to guarantee participation by the developing countries that are not contracting parties to the GATT in the benefits resulting from the negotiations.

The first and third points are self-explanatory.

As regards the second point, I should just like to explain why the adoption of such complementary measures is necessary.

For a country like Bolivia, faced with doubly negative factors by virtue of being a less-developed and a landlocked country, the grant of tariff advantages would in practice imply no benefit. Thus, the implementation of the Generalized System of Preferences has not represented any benefit because of Bolivia's limited export capacity which prevents it from making use of these advantages.

My delegation hopes, and trusts, nevertheless, that the techniques and modalities to be adopted in the Trade Negotiations Committee will take adequate account of the problems of the developing countries, and in particular of the specific problems of the landlocked developing countries and the least developed among the developing countries.