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THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT ON THE
MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE GROUPE OF 77
HELD IN ARUSHA, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
FROM 6 TO 12 FEBRUARY, 1979
(GENEVA OFFICE)



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THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT ON THE
MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE GROUP OF 77
HOLD IN ARUSHA UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
FROM 16 TO 22 FEBRUARY, 1979 (Geneva Office)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Arusha Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 was held in preparation for the Conference on UNCTAD V which will be held in May, 1979, in Manila, Philippines.

2. It will be recalled that UNCTAD IV was held in Nairobi, Kenya in June, 1976, following a similar Ministerial preparatory meeting held in Manila in January, 1976.

3. The Manila Meeting of 1976 adopted a strategy for the Group of 77 which they used to negotiate with the developed countries of Groups B and D in Nairobi in June, 1976. After hard bargaining and compromises among the Groups, the Nairobi Conference adopted resolutions on various subjects ranging from the Integrated Programme for Commodities, Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Countries and Islands Developing Countries, Trade Relations Among Countries with Different Economic Systems, the Code of Conduct for the Transfer of Technology, Shipping, Economic Co-operation Among Developing Countries, Financial and Monetary Issues, etc. The Resolutions adopted in Nairobi in 1976 subsequently formed the basis for negotiations between the developing and developed countries at the various UNCTAD Meetings of the Trade and Development Board, Committee Meetings of Inter-Governmental Groups of Experts and other Meetings organized to negotiate agreements in order to attain the objectives of the new international economic order. Negotiations even culminated in the Conference on International Economic Co-operations (CIEC) in Paris in June, 1977, which was hailed as a success by the developed countries but left immense disappointment among the developing countries.

Needless to reiterate that the last two years after UNCTAD IV in Nairobi brought nothing but frustration among developing countries. Patient and assiduous negotiations at these UNCTAD Conferences never yielded the desired result except a little movement forward in the case of the

Common Fund under the IPC Resolution 93(IV) and on a few commodities. The OAU Secretariat has had the occasion to report on the progress or the lack of it to the Council of Ministers on the problems of negotiations at UNCTAD in Libreville in 1977, in Tripoli, February, 1978, and at Khartoum in July, 1978.

5. Clearly, UNCTAD V in Manila next May, 1979, comes when the developing countries have nothing but disappointing experience of the past two years.

PREPARATION FOR UNCTAD V

6. Preparation for UNCTAD V started with the 18th Session of Trade and Development Board which met from 29th August to 17th September, 1978, in Geneva.⁽¹⁾ This Board Meeting reviewed UNCTAD work during the past two years on the various resolutions adopted in Nairobi, 1976, and came up with disappointing conclusions. This clearly is apparent in the statements of the leaders of the developing countries who stated that their countries could not orient investment programmes designed to promote their export diversification and industrialization in an uncertain world economic environment characterized by a slow rate of growth of world trade and proliferation of trade barriers, the causes of which were traceable primarily to structural problems within the developed market-economy countries.

7. The 18th Session of the Board made a series of recommendations embracing co-operation in trade, industry, payments and credit arrangements, transfer of technology, integrated programme of commodities, etc. which, it was hoped, would create the maintenance of the steady growth of the mutual trade between the developing and developed countries of the Board. The 18th Session also adopted an agenda with 21 items for UNCTAD V in Manila.

(1) Sec. Report of the Trade and Development Board
18th Session Doc.TD/B/728 29th Sept. 1978.

WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE ON UNCTAD V

8. The Group of 77 in Geneva set up a Preparatory Committee with a view to prepare for Ministerial Meetings to be held in the three regions of the Third World Countries. The three regions had decided in the course of 1978 to hold Ministerial Meetings in the following capitals: Africa in Addis Ababa from 25th January to 1st February, 1979; Asia in Colombo from 8 to 17 January, 1979, and Latin America in Caracas from 15 to 19 January, 1979.

9. The Preparatory Committee issued an interim Progress Report. (2) The Report expressed concern at the poignant lack of progress in the previous two years and was not unduly optimistic about the forthcoming UNCTAD V in Manila. However, it set up guidelines on what could be the negotiating position of the Group of 77 in Manila. The Report was immeasurably useful to regional groups in framing the different positions which were subsequently negotiated at Arusha, Tanzania, by the three regions.

CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN TRADE MINISTERS IN
ADDIS ABABA FROM 30 JANUARY - 1 FEBRUARY, 1979

10. The African Trade Ministers met following the OAU/ECA/UNCTAD Seminar and the meeting of Experts (3) which had met two weeks before the 30th January to prepare for the Ministerial Meeting. The experts had prepared the African position on material which was liberally borrowed from the Report of the Geneva based Preparatory Committee. After three days of hard bargaining and compromises, the Ministers adopted an African position for the Arusha Meeting.

(2) Doc. 77/mm/IV/1 GE 78-72426
dated December, 1978.

(3) Dated 23 Jan-1 February/1979 OAU/ECA/MC/Exp/Draft.Rap.
Rpt/Plen./Rev.1
Sec. Document Draft Rapporteur's Report on the Meeting
of Experts in Preparation for the Joint OAU/ECA Con-
ference.

11. The Ministerial report was taken to Arusha and distributed to all African delegates. It is noteworthy, however, that at the preceding meeting of African experts, there had been differences on some aspects of the Common Fund, on the New Programme of Action for the 1980s and commercial policy measures, under item 15, on the Least Developed countries and co-operation between landlocked states and adjacent coastal states under item 14 on shipping. The items which brought differences were put under square brackets and referred to the Ministers who later expeditiously ironed out the differences between interested countries and adopted a united position for negotiating with the Group of 77.

THE ARUSHA CONFERENCE AND THE FINAL POSITION OF GROUP 77
CONFERENCE FROM 6 TO 16 FEBRUARY, 1979

Like the African regional meeting, this conference of the Group of 77 was preceded by a meeting of experts from 6 - 12 February, 1979. The Experts Meeting continued its work concurrently with the Plenary Session of the Ministers because they had not concluded their work by the 12th February when the Ministerial Conference was officially opened by an epoch making speech by H.E. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania. The speech analyzed the problems confronting the developing countries vis-a-vis their relations with the developed countries, stressed the importance of unity within the Group of 77 and boldly articulated the policies of the developing countries. The speech was well received by the Ministers who immediately decided that it should form part of the report for negotiation in Manila at UNCTAD V.

THE SPIRIT OF GIVE AND TAKE ON IMPORTANT ISSUES

12. National and regional interests sometimes transcended the spirit and principles of unity within the Group of 77. This was often triggered by the differences in the stages of economic development. In comparison with the developed market economies, all economies of the Group of 77 countries are developing, yet when specifics are analysed, the differences in the stages of economic development emerge.

(1)

Rapporteur's report on the Conference of African Trade

Ministers - Doc. OAU/ECA/MC/Rep. Rpt.

Both the Asian and Latin American regions are at one with the African region in making declarations but are hesitant in support that region on acute economic problems which genuinely and most acutely affect Africa. The fact that Africa has the largest number of least developed and land-locked countries is recognized and that even even performance of those outside these two categories cannot be compared to the countries in Asia and Latin America is equally recognized but when the African appeals to the entire Group of 77 to join her in finding the solution to these problems, then there is confrontation, resistance and obstruction from both the Asian and Latin American regions. Sometimes it creates an impression, in the African mind, that the other groups are both united against African interests. However, it must be emphasized that the African region has, among its sons, some of the most able experienced negotiations who often succeed in overcoming some of these obstacles.

13. In calm and friendly spirit the African negotiators were able to get most of their ideas carried without sacrificing principles. The African background documents on UNCTAD V annexed agenda item 10 (Integrated Programme for Commodities) item 15 (on Least Developed Among Developing Countries) item 16 (on Landlocked and Island Developing Countries) item 18 (on Economic Co-Operation Among Developing Countries and Monetary and Financial Issues) were adopted as the basic and working documents for the Conference. The reason was that the ideas in these documents had been thoughtfully worked out in Addis Ababa so that amendment on them was based on minor details. In the spirit of give and take, the African region gave in on some of the ideas put forward, yet the region was prepared to fight to the bitter end where the region believed that issues involved were of vital importance to the continent.

POLITICS OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL INTERESTS

14. The Latin American region being the most advanced of the three developing areas of the world is sometimes constrained to adopt the same tactics, within the Group of 77, employed by the developed countries in negotiating with the Group of 77. On the other hand, the Asian Continent goes along with the African region on Financial and Monetary.....

questions but differs radically with the African region on matters affecting the transfer of resources and on the problem of removal of tariffs and non-tariffs barriers.

Integrated Programme of Commodities

15. Although the African document formed the basis for negotiation, the other regions did not necessarily co-operate. Asia and Latin America questioned the provision for \$1 million by the African region as contributions by governments on a minimum equal amount basis to be paid by each country on the Common Fund. The two Groups thought that it was better not to mention it at all until the March 1979 Conference in Geneva on the negotiating for a Common Fund. The two Groups further insisted that the autonomy of the international commodity agreements (ICA) and other commodity organisations should be respected. They argued that the ICA should be left to decide whether or not they would like to join the Common Fund.

16. The Latin American Group objected to the minimum equal amount of \$1 million and also to the idea of convening the March meeting on the Common Fund at Ministerial level. On the question of the ICA, the Latin American Group said that they did not support the idea of urging governments to include IPC measures in association with the ICA. They expressed concern at the thought that the decision to include the ICA into the Common Fund was made by countries which themselves were not members of the ICA. It is, however, noteworthy that this point is not consistent with facts because a number of African countries, belong to ICA such as coffee, cocoa, sugar agreements, etc.

17. On marketing and distribution of commodities, the Latin American region stated that they did not accept the implied control and management of markets. They argued that it amounted to dictating to people how they should control their affairs. The only accepted features, in their opinion, was the provision that developing countries must control the marketing and distribution of their commodities. After over-flogging their objections to the African position, the unity within their region was strained. Some countries came out in the open in support of the African position especially on the question of the ICA. One of the delegates emphatically stated that he did not agree with arguments put forward by his region (Latin America) because the autonomies of the ICA had not been infringed upon. The actual reason which impelled the Latin American region to adopt obstructive tendencies on the Common Fund was that their interest on this subject was nearer to the Group B position than to the African or Asian positions. Yet, they feared to be accused if they were to come out openly and state their differences with the rest of the developing countries. Their unity was often threatened by the presence of the ACP countries within the Latin American region whose interests within the Group of 77 are nearer to the African region than to the Latin American region.

15. The African spokesman allayed some of the fears of both the Asian and Latin American Groups by demonstrating that some of the ideas had already been adopted as part of the negotiating strategy of the Group of 77 in the negotiations that took place on a Common Fund from 1970 to 1972. For example, the minimum equal amount figure of \$1 billion had been used in the negotiations of November 1970. It had been put forward by the Group of 77 to reduce confusion.

On the question of the level of participating in the forthcoming negotiations on a Common Fund, the African spokesman pointed out that the highest possible officers should attend. Ministers could come if they wish in order to facilitate expeditious political decisions. On the question of the ICAS, the African spokesman stated that paragraph on ICAS was simply an appeal to member countries with the ICAS to take necessary steps for the ICAS to be associated with the Common Fund.

16. The African Group stressed that as far as they were concerned commodities should embrace all raw materials and processed raw materials and that there should be representatives of producers and importers of the commodities exchange controls in Paris and London. A draft text with predominating African ideas was adopted by the Group of 77 as their negotiating position on the Common Fund in Manila.

Complementary facility for Commodity Shortfalls

17. On the question of the preparation of a study for the operation of a complementary facility to compensate shortfalls in the earnings of each commodity, the Latin American and the Asian Groups insisted that there was a necessity for joint study between the ITC and UNCTAD. The two groups stated that they would not accept any study that did not include the ITC. The African reaction objected to the inclusion of the ITC. Instead, they preferred that UNCTAD should do the study in consultation with the ITC since there was no precedent whereby the two organizations conducted a joint study. The Africans were in fact, suspicious of the ITC because of the way it is dominated by the developed countries.

Item 15: SPECIAL MEASURES IN FAVOUR OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

22. On the face values one gains the belief that since many countries including those among the developing countries are generally sympathetic to the problems of the least developed countries, the task of finding a solution to their problem would be easy. In fact the discussion of this subject started smoothly until the proceedings reached commercial policy measures, in particular paragraph 14 (3) which called for special treatment of imports from the least developed countries case of government procurement by the developed countries. The paragraph further declared that "In this context the Least Developed Countries should be given the benefits of the code being negotiated in the GATT without being required to make reciprocal concessions at the beginning of the conference the Latin American Region caused most problems by resisting the provisions in the Common Fund and the ICAS. It was the Asian region that gave most of the headaches to the African Group. The Asian Group objected strongly to the paragraph only because they believed that it would put at a disadvantage those Asian countries which have already a large manufacturing infrastructure. The African position was helped by the fact that the Asian spokesman came from a least developed country himself. He was soon persuaded to the African position. This forced one large Asian country to take over the responsibility on behalf of his country and acted as though he was the spokesman for Asia yet he was championing national interests. The new provision strongly opposed any concessionary measures accorded to the least developed countries by the developed countries especially if they were not reciprocated.

23. In opposing paragraph 14 (3) the particular delegate decided to combine it with paragraph 14(1) which stated that "Under GATT and projects to expand exports of the least developed countries, special consideration should be given by developed countries as part of the programme, to temporary removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers to market access for such products".

In trying to reach an agreement on this subject with consensus, the delegates on Group I which considered this matter, discussed the matter for three days producing various amendments designed to satisfy that country without success. On the third day when almost all members of Group I had lost patience, it was discovered that in fact the Asian delegate concerned spoke for his country only. All regional groups including most Asian countries were disappointed by unyielding behaviour of that particular country.

24. It was only the third day the real reasons behind his fears emerged. It transpired that his concern on paragraph 14 (g) was motivated by the fact that his country imported a lot of commodities from least developed countries. He could not countenance a situation where these commodities or manufactures could flood his country, markets unchained and without reciprocity to his own goods.

25. In the case of paragraph 14 (d) he was concerned that manufacturers from the least developed countries could easily displace those from his country in the markets of the developed countries. It so happens that there are a number of least developed countries neighbouring his own which produce the same products in leatherwork, handicrafts, jute, hand-made textiles etc. These export their products competitively with his own to the developed market. The fear, therefore, is that if their products are allowed into the developed countries under the programme which temporarily removes tariffs and non-tariff barriers then the nascent industry in his country would be crippled. This argument did not obtain anybody's sympathy in view of the fact that that country is involved in ambitious schemes of nuclear research and development.

26. On the day before the conference ended, members of Group I bulldozed their ideas and forced a surrender from the intransigent delegates. Significantly the Latin American Group co-operated on these two paragraphs even though they have only the country under the LDGS. The main reason is that the Latin American Countries are aware that their economies are too advanced to be affected by competition from the least developed countries. At the same time the Latin American Countries are keen to develop trade relations with Africa and would like to avoid antagonising that region especially on such insignificant matters as the temporary removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers.

THE SITUATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF DJIBOUTI

27. The Djibouti delegation informed the conference that their country was one of the least developed countries. They stated that it was unfortunate that their country had been excluded from the LDGS because of the distorted statistics from the former colonial regime. The conference adopted a resolution which appealed to the UN and the international community to give financial, technical and economic assistance to Djibouti as a least developed country.

A SPECIAL UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON LDCS

28. The conference adopted a proposal from Bangladesh which requested the General Assembly to convene a conference under the auspices of UNCTAD for the LDCS. The conference would finalize the New Programme of Action for the 1980s and provide an opportunity for pledging support for the least developed countries.

ITEM 16: PROBLEMS OF THE LANDLOCKED AND ISLAND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

29. In the spirit of co-operation among developing countries, one would have thought this was an easy problem since all developing countries must help each other to solve not only economic problems but sometimes also social and political problems. However, even in Addis Ababa among African countries only, there were serious difficulties between the coastal and the landlocked countries. This problem was compounded, in Arusha, by the alliance of coastal states in Africa and Asia.

30. The differences among the African states over this issue were somewhat toned down by the discussion in Addis Ababa. The Asian region appeared to have not successfully ironed their differences in Colombo because they poured salt into open wounds when they arrived in Arusha. The landlocked Asian countries called for the adoption of the measures contained in the African document which called on coastal states to continue according to landlocked countries with facilities for access to the sea in the interest of their seaborne trade. They reiterated that the special measures envisaged in UNCTAD Res.63(III) and implemented by the international community.

31. The conflict between the Asian and the African countries was soon solved but it was the Latin American text that caused serious difficulties. The Latin Americans did not want anymore action to be taken on landlocked countries before Res.63(III) and 98(IV) were fully implemented. This attitude stunned most African and Asian delegates. It also suited those African and Asian coastal countries which did not want to accord transit facilities to the landlocked countries as of a right. Although this suited the ideas of coastal states, the Latin Americans were not doing so for similar reasons. The Latin Americans resented the provision of Special Fund for the landlocked countries and also the New Programme of Action for the least developed countries.

The Latin

Americans disapproved of any special measures designed by the United Nations which exclude them.

32. As the struggle continued, the Latin American spokesman in Group I pointed out that his region was prepared to risk even the unity of the Group of 77 to stop these special measures, adding that if the problem was not solved in Arusha the Group B countries would take advantage of the discontents and split the Group of 77 in Kariakoo. The Latin Americans said they were shocked that the other regions were resisting their demand for the implementation of the UNCTAD Resolutions which were adopted in Nairobi with consensus. There was no need for new resolutions at all before the full implementation of the previous ones.

33. The African and the Asian Groups argued that the reasons advanced were not convincing in view of the fact that decisions had already been taken on a number of issues despite the fact that past resolutions on them had not been fully implemented. They stated that they had always believed that the Group of 77 was united in defending the interests of the weak. They resented intensely the threat to break up the unity of the Group of 77 from the Latin American Group. The claim by the Latin American Group that the failure to implement Res. 63 (VII) and 93 (IV) was due to lack of political will by the developed countries would apply to all resolutions not only to these two. The African and Asian Groups discovered, in fact, that the reason why the Latin Americans insisted on Res. 63 (III) was that it was weak. It stated that whenever some measures are taken on behalf of the least developed countries and landlocked countries, the United Nations must ensure that interests of other developing countries are taken into account. This was unacceptable in view of the differences in the stages of economic development. The majority of the Latin American countries benefit immensely from their affinity with the United States. This is why most of their economies have reached a "take-off" stage.

34. The matter was resolved when the Latin Americans withdrew their resistance. The African position supported by the Asian Group was adopted. It is, however, noteworthy that the Latin Americans are likely to revive the idea at other fora. They withdrew to appease the host government and also because there had been pressure from the ACP members of the Latin American Group as was the case on other resolutions. There was no evidence whatsoever that they changed their position out of conviction.

ITEM 11: MANUFACTURES AND SEMI-MANUFACTURES

35. It is the Asian Group which was uncomfortable on measures proposed for all the developing countries on this subject because the Asian manufactures are nearer to those of the African than to those of the Latin American countries. This is why there was a tussle on the question of tariffs and non-tariff barriers when the problems of the least developed countries were considered.

36. Latin America is way ahead in manufactures. They are least concerned with competition from other developing countries. The big manufacturers in Latin America were rather cozy when it came to the question of curtailing excessive advertising and dumping in developing countries because this affects their exports since they are keen to export to Africa and Asia such goods as textiles, shoes, wires etc. Manufactures are more important to the Latin American region than commodities which form only 10% of their exports. This explains their strenuous support for the issues of Economic Co-operation among Developing countries.

RESTRICTIVE BUSINESS PRACTICES

37. It was generally agreed that in cases where the developed countries continued to employ protectionism as a weapon against the developing countries retaliatory action should be taken against them. The Latin American region preferred a vague terminology like "appropriate action" instead of using the stronger term like "retaliatory action".

COOPERATION UNDER GENERAL

SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES (GSP)

38. The African, Pacific and Caribbean members of the ACP countries demanded compensation for the privileges they were now enjoying under the Lomé Convention to be extended to all their trade relations with the developed countries. These were accepted after protracted negotiations with the Latin American and Asian Groups.

CODE OF CONDUCT FOR TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY

39. The African and Asian Groups pressed for a legally binding and universally applicable code. Latin America was opposed to this. After some difficult negotiations, the Latin American Group accepted a legally binding and universally applicable code during the negotiations with Groups B and D in March 1979 and probably during UNCTAD V in Manila.

ITEM 14 - SHIPPINGCode of Conduct for Liner Conferences

40. The African and Asian Groups requested all developed and developing countries to ratify and sign the code of conduct for liner conferences. This one is in favour of developing countries but Latin American Group felt it should be revised before it is signed, ratified and implemented. After some difficult negotiations, American Group accepted that all countries should sign and ratify the code first. But before it is put into action, a conference for reviewing and amending it should be convened. Members of the ACP countries demanded compensation for the privileges they were now enjoying under the Lome Convention to be extended to all their trade relations with the developed countries. This was accepted after protracted negotiations with the Latin American and Asian Groups.

41. The code of conduct for the Liner Conference of 1974 which the Africans called for its ratification stipulates that it would come into being only after member countries with a total of 25% tonnage have signed and ratified the code. The code is designed to restructure the shipping system in order to cater for the interest of the developing countries. So far very few countries have signed it let alone ratify it. Several countries, including the Scandinavian ones, find it difficult to adopt the code because it cuts across their privileged position which has brought economic dividend to their nations at the expense of the developing countries. Some signed the code but have not ratified it. Consequently the target of 25% has not been reached. Even some of the developing countries have not yet signed the code. Yet the developing countries have not relaxed pressure on the developed countries demanding that they should sign the code.

42. The developed countries have since discovered that there are some imperfections in the code. (The code does not cover bulk trade, instead it covers only dry cargo). The developed countries are supported by the Latin American countries which are equally interested in shipping on the same basis as countries of Group B and D. The majority of the Asian countries support the African Group which admits that in fact the imperfections exist but insists that corrections could only be effected after the 1974 code on shipping has been ratified by all. Those Asian countries which own large oil tankers adopt the same attitude as the Latin American and Group B countries. During the negotiations, there was polarisation along these lines. Again, like in other subjects, a compromise solution was arrived at the way the African and some Asian countries suggested. But this does not imply that all regions were united. It should not surprise anyone if the Latin American and some Asian countries should defect in future and join the developed countries who call for the revision of the code.

ITEM 11. ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
(ECDC)

43. This item did not cause much controversy except where measures were provided for LDC and the landlocked countries. The reason is that decisions were made on ECDC in Mexico City in September, 1976 and are in the process of being implemented.

ITEM 12. MONETARY AND FINANCIAL ISSUES

44. Like in the case of the ECDC, monetary and financial matters were solved amicably. The African paper was accepted as the working document. Opposition was voiced where the African document advocated for preferential treatment for the LDC, landlocked and island developing countries. At the end of the debate the African position was adopted.

ITEM 8. EVALUATION OF THE WORLD TRADE AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

45. The conference adopted a 45 point declaration to be included in the final report which will be taken to Manila.

ITEM 19. INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

46. The conference adopted a draft decision which called for the strengthening of UNCTAD in its effort to harmonize and co-ordinate effectively its activities on behalf of developing countries.

ITEM 12. FUTURE ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZATION OF THE GROUP OF 77

47. The conference decided to appoint 21 persons, seven from each region, to study ways and means of how the Group of 77 can be effectively co-ordinated. The study group will be based in Geneva but the result of its studies will be submitted to the Group of 77 Ministers during the General Assembly in New York in 1979.

ANY OTHER BUSINESS

48. The Cuban delegation informed the Conference that their country wished to host UNCTAD VI in the next two years. The Ministers noted the Cuban request but preferred to refer the matter to their governments before they could offer a definitive response to the request.

CONCLUSION

1. The African Group stood firmly by its identified priorities and stood by them firmly sometimes at the risk of the Unity of the Group of 77.
2. It should be recognized that the support for the cause of the Group of 77 by other regions is determined by economic interests. The economics of Latin America and Asia are more advanced, so those regions need Africa almost for the same reasons as Group B and D countries.
3. The compromises reached at Arusha were by no means indicative of the general unity among the groups. The African positions were sometimes adopted to appease the host continent. It should not be a surprise if the same "compromised" positions should be renegotiated in Manila, especially on the \$1 million minimum equal amount and other problems affecting the LDCS and preferential treatment.



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