

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



**2229th
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 1 May 1974,
at 4 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 3: Appointment of the Credentials Committee (<i>concluded</i>) . . .	Page 1
Agenda item 7: Study of the problems of raw materials and development (<i>continued</i>) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee of the Sixth Special Session	1

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Appointment of the Credentials Committee (*concluded*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Consultations have been held with the representatives of Saudi Arabia, who has informed us that, in the light of the decision taken at the 2228th meeting, held yesterday, on draft resolution A/L.726 submitted by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, he will not press for a vote on his draft resolution/A/L. 727/.
2. During the consultations the representative of Saudi Arabia pointed out that he reserved his right to submit a draft resolution of the same nature in the future should that be necessary.
3. I wish personally to thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for the co-operation and understanding he has extended to us at this time.
4. That concludes our consideration of agenda item 3.

AGENDA ITEM 7

**Study of the problems of raw materials and development:
(*continued*)**

**REPORT OF THE *AD HOC* COMMITTEE
OF THE SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION (A/9556)**

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have to inform the General Assembly that it has not yet been possible to circulate the documents resulting from the final meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Sixth Special Session. The Secretariat is working very hard to distribute those documents to representatives and I am told that they are expected to be ready at 7 p.m. Accordingly, it will not be possible to resume consideration of the item before that hour.
6. In the circumstances, if I hear no objection, I propose, with apologies to representatives for the unavoidable delay

in making this announcement, to suspend this meeting until these documents are available.

The meeting was suspended at 5.5 p.m. and resumed at 8.5 p.m.

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before proceeding to the consideration of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report on agenda item 7, I should like to ask representatives to accept my apologies for the delay, which was totally beyond our control, and to thank them for their patience.

8. I now invite Mr. Diallo of Upper Volta, the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Sixth Special Session, to present the report.

9. Mr. DIALLO (Upper Volta), Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Sixth Special Session (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report on the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Sixth Special Session/A/9556/.

10. I should like to stress the very special importance of the fact that all Member States have spared no effort to attain general agreement on the very specific problems whose importance escapes no one. I think we should be very gratified by the seriousness which all have shown in the search for ways and means of ensuring the urgent establishment of a new international economic order. It is now up to the Member States, individually and collectively, to ensure, on the basis of the permanent machinery, the urgent and specific implementation of the political decisions adopted by the General Assembly.

11. The report which I am now submitting for the consideration of the General Assembly contains many mistakes of translation and also many typing errors, which will be corrected on the basis of the original text in English. Therefore, I should like to request delegations to be so kind as to accept the texts they have before them, which are not as perfect as they should be because of the situation of which everyone is aware.

12. Paragraph 19 of the report contains the two draft resolutions which the *Ad Hoc* Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption.

13. Following informal consultations held this afternoon, a modification has been made in draft resolution II in paragraph 19 of the report. Operative paragraph 6 of section X of that draft resolution, which relates to the Special Programme, would read as follows:

"Establishes an Ad Hoc Committee on the Special Programme, composed of thirty-six Member States

appointed by the President of the General Assembly, after appropriate consultations, bearing in mind the purposes of the Special Fund and its terms of reference”.

It is my understanding that it is your intention, Mr. President, to start the necessary consultations as early as possible.

14. That is the report I submit to the Assembly for its consideration, and in so doing I express the hope that the Assembly will adopt it in the same spirit in which the *Ad Hoc* Committee adopted its decision this morning.

15. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am informed that during consultations held prior to this meeting on the procedure to be followed at the plenary meeting, it was considered appropriate that representatives wishing to make statements should have the opportunity to do so after the adoption of the draft resolutions recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to follow that procedure.

It was so decided.

16. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I invite the General Assembly to consider document A/9556. First we shall take a decision on draft resolutions I and II in paragraph 19, and then on the draft decision in paragraph 20. Draft resolutions I and II, to which I have just referred, also appear in documents A/AC.166/L.50 and A/AC.166/L.51.

17. The administrative and financial implications of draft resolution II are set forth in document A/9557. I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly particularly to paragraph 7 of that document.

18. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees to adopt resolutions I and II recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

Draft resolution I and draft resolution II as amended, were adopted (resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)).

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt also the draft decision recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee in paragraph 20 of document A/9556.

The draft decision was adopted.

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Several representatives have expressed the wish to make comments on the decisions just taken by the General Assembly. I shall now call on them in turn.

21. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, now in its closing stages, which was convened on the initiative of the developing countries to consider the problems of raw materials and economic development.

22. The Soviet Union supports the decisions taken at the session designed to eliminate inequities in international economic relations which harm the developing countries. These inequities are the legacy of colonialism, the result of the domination of the capitalist monopolies which for many years plundered those countries and even today continue to pursue that course.

23. The position of the Soviet Union on some of the specific proposals submitted at this session which do not fully meet the aims of ensuring equitable international co-operation and the protection of the legitimate interests of States, above all of the developing countries, has been set forth during the debate in the General Assembly and in consultations among delegations. The Soviet Union will proceed accordingly.

24. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): The delegation of Sudan, a member of the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the Group of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, has fully supported the Algerian initiative for holding the sixth special session of the General Assembly on raw materials and development. Indeed, as early as the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held in Guyana in August 1972 the Sudan delegation impressed on the Conference the importance of the active and positive participation of the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 in an international effort to construct a new world of peace and co-operation in place of military pacts and axes of concentration of power and wealth on one side and poverty and the denial of basic human rights in the rest of the world.

25. It was obvious to the countries in rapid expansion, with high gross national product, rising productivity and massive reserves, on the one hand, and the poor third world, on the other, that such a state of affairs could not continue and that, if a totally new international conception and a radical change in the whole machinery of international co-operation were not to be seriously and sincerely undertaken by the international community, a crisis—or even collapse—would not be impossible. The Sudan delegation, however, draws great comfort from the fact that in April 1974 high-powered ministers have demonstrated the will and the determination of their countries to undertake what was overdue long before this special session.

26. The interest of my country and its determination to make this session a success have been sufficiently and enthusiastically pointed out by my Foreign Minister in his address to this Assembly on 18 April [2221st meeting].

27. We in the Sudan are enthusiastic for both the Declaration and the Programme of Action, not so much for what we might get from others as for what we can afford to give to the economy of the world through our enormous natural resources, namely, land and water, in a world of free and equitable system of exchange of commodities and related services.

28. We therefore support:

“... a just and equitable relationship between prices of raw materials, primary commodities, semi-manufactured

goods exported by developing countries and the raw materials, primary commodities, food, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and capital equipment imported by them and to work for a link between the prices of exports of developing countries and the prices of their imports from developed countries." [Resolution 3202 (S-VI), Sect. I, para. 1 (d).]

29. As to the capacity of my country to contribute to the total well-being of the world, my Foreign Minister has in two successive sessions drawn the attention of this Assembly to the only one of the many fields where Sudan can and should play a fruitful role in a food-hungry world, namely, in food. He rightly claimed that the food problem is an "artificial one" [2221st meeting, para. 150] and suggested that:

"The arable land in the Sudan is estimated at about 50 million hectares,"—that is equivalent to 125 million acres—"but only 6 million hectares"—that is 15 million acres—"have been developed." [Ibid.]

I should add that only 15 million acres of land are developed or semi-developed and, with intensification of growth and mechanization, the yield of those 15 million acres alone can easily be more than doubled. With all this potentiality, ironically enough, the Sudan is still categorized as a least developed country.

30. What is true for the Sudan is also true for all of Africa, with the exception of South Africa, where foreign capital has been profusely invested.

31. In Africa, reference is made to drought as if it were only a phenomenon of 1973. Drought has for years been taking its heavy toll from the millions who live in the belt extending from Senegal on the Atlantic Ocean, across my own country, to Ethiopia, Somalia, and beyond them, to Yemen, across the water. The word "drought" also fails to convey an idea of the strain it has placed on the already weak economies of those countries, forcing them to the point of immobility. Indeed, the word "drought" does not convey any idea of the extent of the encroaching desert, which moves towards the southern savannah belt at the rate of 30 miles in certain years. It is idle to talk in terms of relief and emergency only, where whole countries, their people, their cattle, their economy, indeed their very existence, are subject to the mercy of a brutal, creeping desert.

32. I am in duty bound here to commend the assistance given to some of the most stricken areas as well as the attention given to long-range remedies by the Secretary-General and competent units of the United Nations system and certain Governments and institutions.

33. How can we talk of an international economic order based on equity and equitable relationships when the *apartheid* régimes in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe enslave millions of Africans in southern Africa; where Portugal has not yet rallied to the international demand as well as to the demand of the African Liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique for self-determination and independence—I repeat, for self-determination and independence as they are understood in the United Nations—where

the Zionist State in Palestine has not yet even acknowledged the right of return of the Palestinian Arabs to their homeland and has not yet actually withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories? How could the vital Suez Canal be assured as a waterway for free passage of trade necessary for three continents?

34. My delegation submits that a free and developed Africa is an essential link in the chain of a new international economic order in its own right and on its own merits as a rich source of vital natural resources.

35. Everything has been said during this arduous session. Sufficient good-will has been demonstrated and many good ideas have emerged, some have been adopted, others are identified and await their appropriate time. Hence I beg your indulgence, Mr. President, to summarize in only few words what my delegation considers should be studied here both now and later.

36. First, this session is unique in so far as its subject-matter is of direct importance to each and every country present here or which will be present in the future. It is perhaps the first time in the history of this Organization that each delegation is motivated by enlightened self-interest in a new economic order on the lines that have just been adopted. We only have to convince ourselves that our world will be definitely richer, more stable and peaceful if we can, in effect, increase international productivity by actually increasing the productivity and consumption of the developing countries along the lines drawn in the documents adopted today.

37. Second, we must give top priority to the implementation of the Special Programme in order to salvage the most hard-hit countries, in particular those on the verge of economic and human catastrophe and concurrently assist the development of the categorized developing countries. The emergency operation should not overlook assistance in kind, for example, fertilizers, pesticides and food.

38. Third, efforts to implement the Declaration and the Programme of Action should not cease to evolve. We hope that these decisions will not, whether deliberately or by default, meet the fate of many important resolutions of this Organization. We need not remind ourselves that the old *ad hoc* international economic order has reached the point of crisis by simply waving away certain vital issues instead of solving them. It is quite conceivable, and indeed horrid to think, that another shock may go beyond the stage of crisis.

39. Let me express our earnest hope that at the beginning of the twenty-ninth session we will find ourselves well on the road of the green part of the watershed.

40. Before terminating, let me pay a tribute to all those who devoted their time and energy to make our endeavours a success up to this point in time. You, Mr. President, the Secretary-General and Mr. Bradford Morse who sit at the podium, and the hundreds who assist you in the Organization, top that list.

41. From the floor, I wish to make a special reference to the Chairmen of the Group of 77 and of the Non-Aligned Countries, and those who collaborated with them in

conducting the work and the arduous negotiations on our behalf during this session. I beg to acknowledge the very personal attention that Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, has given to the work of the session during its last crucial days.

42. Last but not least I can only reiterate the words of thanks and gratitude expressed from this platform to President Houari Boumediène who initiated this session, and to all those countries and leaders who hastened to contribute or to pledge willingly and generously to what we officially adopted today as the Declaration and the Programme of Action.

43. I hope this intervention adequately explains the positive and unequivocal support of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Sudan to the documents which have just been adopted here.

44. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The special session of the General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development, convened on the proposal of President Houari Boumediène of Algeria, will soon be concluded. This is an unusual session. The convocation of the session and its proceedings fully reflect the profound changes in the international situation and demonstrate the tremendous power of the awakened and united third world. At various meetings of the current special session, the representatives of numerous third-world countries have exposed with indisputable facts the ruthless exploitation, plunder and oppression of the developing countries and peoples carried out by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly the super-Powers, through monopolization, control, the exchange of unequal values, the shifting of crises and other means. In categorical terms, they demanded a thorough change in the existing international economic relations based on inequality, control and exploitation and the immediate adoption of measures for the establishment of a just and reasonable new international economic order. They rightly pointed out that the widening gap existing between the poor and rich countries was the result of imperialist and hegemonic exploitation and plunder. In the world today, it is the poor countries which feed the rich countries, and the development and the prosperity of the latter depend on the exploitation and extortion of the former. It is the necessary prerequisite and top priority of the developing countries in safeguarding their political and economic independence and developing their independent national economies that they should terminate the economic monopoly and plunder by colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, sweep away these obstacles and take all necessary measures to protect their economic resources and other rights and interests. To this end, the developing countries have put forth a number of correct basic principles which must be observed. The Chinese delegation fully supports their just demands.

45. During the session the imperialists, and particularly the two super-Powers, have become most isolated and have found themselves in a position of being denounced. In order to extricate themselves from their predicament, they echoed each other in confounding the right and wrong and in calling black "white", and tried hard to obliterate the contradictions and the wide gap existing between the poor

and rich countries, between the developing and the developed countries and the facts about imperialist and social-imperialist exploitation and plunder of the developing countries. One super-Power used its traditional means of coercion and cajolery to divide the third-world countries, slacken their anti-imperialist struggle and negate the series of basic principles regarding "nationalization", etc. The other super-Power resorted to a most wicked means of exerting gross pressure on many third-world countries, trying time and again to impose on the session its worn-out stuff of sham disarmament and détente and the deceptive talk about using the resources released from the progress of disarmament for development in an attempt to divert the orientation of the session and cover up its own true imperialist features. In a word, the reason why they have worked so painstakingly to impede the progress of the session is that they wish to keep the old international economic relationships intact so as to continue to ensure their privileges of exploiting, plundering and controlling the third world. However, in going against the historical trend and acting perversely, they have played the role of a teacher by negative example, causing the further awakening and strengthened unity and struggle of the third-world countries. Their multifarious tricks have gone bankrupt one after another. Indeed, they are in a deplorable plight: "flowers fall off, do what one may".

46. The Chinese delegation supports the two documents, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action, because these documents basically reflect the earnest demands and just propositions of the third world. It has been rightly pointed out, particularly in the Declaration, that the widening gap between the developing and developed countries is caused by the old international economic order based on aggravating unequal relationships; that alien domination and occupation, colonialism, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and all forms of neo-colonialism are the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries; and that the inequalities shall be corrected and existing injustices shall be redressed. The Declaration also sets forth a series of correct principles guiding the establishment of a new international economic relationship, such as affirmation of the permanent sovereignty of every State over its natural resources and all its economic activities, including the exercise of control over transnational corporations, up to and including nationalization and the principle of establishing producers' associations by the developing countries in respect of raw materials and primary commodities and affirmation of the inalienable right of all countries to equal participation in the solving of world economic problems, transforming the existing international monetary system and changing the existing irrational relationship between the export commodities of the developing and developed countries, etc.

47. On the other hand, there exist some deficiencies in the two documents. Some formulations are not clear and forceful enough and the wording in some places is not quite appropriate. For instance, the term "interdependence" which appears in the documents might be distorted by the super-Powers to mean that the developing countries must depend on the latter and must obtain the latter's approval for any sovereign act they take to defend their economic rights and interests. Again take for instance the term

"international division of labour" which appears in the "Programme of Action". It might be used by the super-Powers to push under that name their self-seeking "economic division of labour" and "economic integration" and to maintain the most unjust and abnormal state of "industrial Europe and North America, but Asia, Africa and Latin America with their agricultural and mineral produce". For these reasons, we have reservations on the aforesaid formulations.

48. We have always sympathized with the difficulties of the developing countries most severely affected by economic crises. We are in favour of adopting the necessary emergency measures so as to help these countries overcome their difficulties and promote the independent development of their national economies through self-reliance. We fully support such positive propositions contained in the document as that regarding the giving of serious consideration to the cancellation, moratorium or rescheduling of the debts of the aforesaid countries in the light of their actual conditions and the provision of commodity-assistance on a grant basis or deferred payments. We are of the opinion that efforts should be made for their early realization. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, continue their efforts within their capabilities and through bilateral forms.

49. It must be pointed out, however, that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [IMF], under the direction of a super-Power, have pursued the most unjustified policy of exerting economic pressure on some third-world countries. What is more, refusing to comply with the General Assembly resolution, they have thus far kept intact the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique which has long been spurned by the Chinese people and the international community, and have openly pursued the policy of creating "two Chinas". This is absolutely impermissible. We sternly condemn these organizations for their policies of hostility towards the Chinese people and declare that we will not participate in the activities sponsored by these organizations.

50. In our opinion, the current special session is an Assembly of victory. The proceedings of the meetings reflect the new awakening of the third world and the deepening of its struggles against imperialism and colonialism, particularly against the two super-Powers. As far as the numerous third world countries are concerned, the successful conclusion of the session has once again borne out the truth that "unity means victory". It is a long process of arduous struggle to terminate imperialist and hegemonic control, exploitation and oppression, to bring about a complete change in the old international economic relations based on inequality and exploitation, and to establish a just and reasonable new international economic order based on respect for the sovereignty of all countries and the principle of equality among the poor and rich countries.

51. However, the really powerful are the third-world countries and peoples who dare to struggle and dare to win. By applying the principle of individual and collective self-reliance and expanding our equal and mutually beneficial economic co-operation in the light of our specific features and conditions, overcoming temporary difficulties,

maintaining vigilance against and frustrating the divisive schemes and pressures of imperialism, particularly of the super-Powers, strengthening unity and persevering in unremitting efforts, we, the third-world countries, will certainly be able to terminate imperialist and super-Power control, monopoly and exploitation and attain gradually a level of development never reached by previous generations in the modernization of industry and agriculture. Our fighting tasks are arduous, and the road ahead is not smooth, but the future is bright. The Chinese Government and people will unswervingly stand on the side of the third-world countries and peoples and work together with them to win new victories.

52. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The German Democratic Republic has endeavoured both during the preparatory stage and during the course of the current sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to make its contribution in a spirit of constructive co-operation to the successful discussion of the international problems of raw materials and questions relating to economic development.

53. Pursuing the consistent policy of the German Democratic Republic aimed at support for the developing countries in their struggle to preserve their political independence and attain economic independence and to eliminate any colonial and neo-colonial oppression, exploitation and discrimination, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic has supported the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

54. This document, which is of great political significance, calls for radical changes in international economic relations between States with different social systems, taking particular account of the interests of the developing countries, in order to overcome the unequal situation of the States of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the system of capitalist world economic relations. Our delegation is confident that during this session the developing countries have once again ascertained who is their friend and ally.

55. There is no doubt that fruitful international co-operation between States with different social systems can be ensured only on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, on the basis of the application of those principles as practical standards of international life. The Declaration represents a further step in this direction towards the development of international economic relations.

56. In principle we agree with the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. Some measures require still more careful consideration.

57. My delegation considers that the results of the sixth special session are closely related to the important decisions taken at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations aimed at the strengthening of peace and international security and at the halting of the arms race and the use of the resources thus saved in the interests of social and economic progress.

58. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When he spoke at the inaugural meeting of

the sixth special session of the General Assembly [2208th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, Mr. Alberto J. Vignes, stated our position in the face of the historic situation confronted by the United Nations and ratified the Argentine decision to work intensely to contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order which would be more just and equitable.

59. Our objectives, which are clear and specific, did not reflect the isolated yearnings of a single country struggling to meet its aspirations. They were associated with, and they continue to be associated with, the vital interests of a Latin America which fits in the third world.

60. We maintained at that time that, as an essential starting-point, it was necessary for all Governments without exception to accept the need for new relations based on profound changes in the rules of the game so far existing whose main characteristic has been that of promoting the progress and well-being of a few privileged nations at the expense and to the detriment of the immense majority of the peoples which make up the international community.

61. A little more than three weeks have elapsed since we started our deliberations, harbouring many hopes but also firmly determined not to become passive accomplices in yet another failure in the long series of sterile meetings which have been held during the past 30 years. It is heartening to observe that, thanks to the tireless work and the tenacious dedication of many delegations—sometimes in extremely difficult and uncomfortable conditions—the efforts made have borne fruit.

62. The development of our work and the results achieved have confirmed the wisdom of our approach; and, although it is true that expectations have not been totally satisfied, we note that we have programmed concrete progress in the appropriate direction.

63. We are certain that the Governments which have participated in this special session of the Assembly are facing the future with the right view, not only of what our present situation requires, but also with a clear view of the road still to be followed.

64. We feel that several conclusions should be highlighted as we are coming to the end of our work.

65. The first and basic one is the excellent and responsible joint action of the Group of 77. Only the unbreakable trust and solidarity placed in its representatives and negotiators made it possible for them successfully to carry out their mandate. The clear approach to reality and the possibilities it offered made it possible to arrive at compromises which, without renouncing the long-range objectives, made possible a general consensus, the one which was most compatible with the positions of other countries and groups, and, at the same time, it has made possible the adoption of agreements relating to special situations which require immediate action. The Group of 77 leaves this session of the General Assembly stronger and consolidated.

66. The second conclusion emanates from the content itself of the documents that we have adopted. We asked for

a new international economic order which our delegation called “a new relationship”. The Declaration and the Programme of Action have that meaning and that scope. They contain new rules of the game which are now becoming, rightly, that new international order. They are not exceptions to orthodox rules of general application, but they will become permanent and stable rules. Their gradual delimitation in relevant forums, assuming that they will be enlarged in future, are steps which the international community should already take now and steps to which others will be added as new advances in international co-operation make this possible.

67. The third conclusion is that this result, despite the subtleties in interpretation which might emerge from statements made by other delegations this evening, has been the joint effort of all Member States. That is why it is our hope that all of us will leave this special session filled with a new spirit and a new determination to build a structural relationship between countries that will consolidate international peace and justice.

68. And to that end we want to state very clearly that my Government does not consider this is the end of the stage; quite the contrary, we have now started a process based on the Declaration that we have adopted and which is starting to take shape in our Programme of Action. The new international economic order most certainly will not only be built with declarations; it should be carried out through action.

69. The decade of the 1970s began in a very suspicious political climate. The grave dangers which threatened world peace and which stemmed from mutual mistrust and the tendencies to hegemony of the great Powers are gradually disappearing. The spirit of understanding and co-operation which inspires all peoples is now relegating to the past the alarming series of crises and confrontations which were an outcome of the cold war. This positive state of affairs which prevails today on the international scene should continue and should become firmly rooted so that all mankind may benefit from it.

70. In order to achieve that, it is necessary to bear in mind at all times that the political element is inseparable from the economic and social one. It is not possible to conceive of political détente without parallel achievements or, perhaps, of greater scope in that essential aspect relating to economic and social claims of the more backward countries.

71. It is our conviction that the major achievement of this Assembly has been in fact re-establishing that ineluctable parity.

72. Mr. KULAGA (Poland): The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and other documents just adopted by the General Assembly focus the attention of the international community on the necessity of reconstructing international economic relations with the aim of changing the present unjust international division of labour. The delegation of Poland supports the progressive principles embodied in the Declaration, which should govern international co-operation of which one of

the main purposes is the acceleration of the economic growth of the developing countries.

73. Our views on the difficult and complex problems which have been considered by the sixth special session of the General Assembly were presented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the delegation of Poland, Stefan Olszowski, during the general debate on 22 April [2224th meeting]. Our activities during the special session have also been motivated by our desire to add to the notion of international economic co-operation the proper political dimensions corresponding to the necessities of our times. Our practical steps towards the developing countries stem from our will to continue our constructive co-operation with these countries. In our programmes for the further development of economic co-operation we fully take into account these needs and aspirations. Those programmes of ours are an integral part of our own national economic plans.

74. We will continue this policy in the spirit of the recommendations that we have just adopted and in full accordance with the principles of international economic co-operation promoted by us.

75. Mr. HANEKOM (South Africa): There are certain passages in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action which are unacceptable to my delegation. The Assembly will know which they are, so I need not identify them.

76. Because of this, I wish formally to place on record that my delegation is obliged to dissociate itself from the Declaration and the Programme of Action. We regret this, as we support, and are ready to contribute to, the over-all objective of securing a new economic order which would correct the economic imbalances of today and of rendering aid to the disadvantaged countries. However, we have been left with no other alternative.

77. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): As this session of the Assembly draws to a close it is time to take stock. Much good has been done. The world community, represented by its leading statesmen, has devoted several weeks of intensive attention to the critical situation which has arisen in the international economic area. We believe that this was right, proper and useful. Many constructive suggestions were made on how to cope with the range of problems in this field.

78. We are—I must confess—disappointed that it was not possible to emerge from our deliberations with unanimous agreement on how these problems can best be solved. Over the years we have negotiated our differences on complicated economic and development questions in various other appropriate forums. We seriously question what value there is in adopting statements on difficult and controversial questions that represent the views of only one faction.

79. Some have referred to the procedure by which these documents have been formulated as that of “consensus”. My delegation believes that the word “consensus” cannot be applied in this case. The document which will be printed as the written product of this special session of the General

Assembly does not in fact—whatever it is called—represent a consensus in the accepted meaning of that term. My delegation did not choose to voice objection to the resolution presented to us this evening even though, at the last moment, it was presented without mention of the word “consensus”.

80. The intent, however, was clear. This was intended as a consensus procedure, but our objecting at the last second would only have served to exacerbate the divisions that we have worked to the best of our ability to bridge during the past weeks.

81. The document in question contains elements supported by all United Nations Members. It also contains elements which many Members of the United Nations—large and small, and on every continent—do not endorse. The United States delegation, like many others, strongly disapproves of some provisions in the document and has in no sense endorsed them. The document we have produced is a significant political document, but it does not represent unanimity of opinion in this Assembly. To label some of these highly controversial conclusions as “agreed” is not only idle; it is self-deceiving. In this house, the steamroller is not the vehicle for solving vital, complex problems.

82. The major concern of my own Government has been to assure some immediate and effective relief to those developing countries which have been most adversely affected by the recent changes in the world economy. While a Programme of Action has been adopted, we are frankly not convinced that it will respond to these immediate needs. I would draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that just yesterday my own delegation advanced a number of ideas in the *Ad Hoc* Committee which were addressed primarily to this area of most critical need. We regret that the shortage of time made it impossible to obtain agreement. I wish to assure the Assembly, however, that my own Government is examining carefully what additional measures it can take to provide assistance to those countries which have suffered most.

83. The United States remains deeply concerned about the need for a co-operative effort to resolve the difficulties which face the international community on a whole range of issues, including commodity prices, aid, trade, energy, food and monetary stability. We remain committed to seeking solutions to these issues on a co-operative basis and through true consensus rather than through confrontation.

84. The sixth special session has acknowledged mankind's common destiny. Our nations met in a global forum to come to grips with what once were considered national problems: inflation, economic growth, feeding the hungry and uplifting the impoverished.

85. The challenge has been to accept our mutual dependence and to agree on an agenda for common action to improve the quality of life across the globe. Success cannot be determined by one nation or by one group of nations seeking to impose its will. Nor will it result from one session of the General Assembly.

86. Too often in the past this Organization has been the forum for unrealistic promises and unfulfilled commit-

ments. The ideal has been substituted too often for the attainable, and the results have been often no more than increased frustration and disappointment. Historically, the United States has not made commitments that we did not intend to fulfil. Thus, as Secretary of State Kissinger recently told the Foreign Ministers of Latin America and the Caribbean, the United States will promise only what it can deliver. And we will make what we can deliver count.

87. In this spirit, on behalf of President Nixon, Secretary Kissinger, in his address to this Assembly two weeks ago [2214th meeting], pledged the United States to a major effort in support of development. He stated that the United States would make a substantial contribution to the special needs of the poorest nations.

88. We have set forth our specific proposals and commitments to help assure an abundant supply of energy at an equitable price, to achieve a more stable balance between raw materials supply and demand, to narrow the gap between food and population growth, to build a trade, monetary and investment system that encourages economic growth rather than economic warfare, and to bring the best minds of all nations to apply science to meet the problems that science has helped to create.

89. It is easy to agree to yet another set of principles, to another programme of action, to more steps that other nations should take. But each nation must ask itself what it can do, what contribution it can make. The needs of the poor will not be met by empty promises; the needs of an expanding global economy will not be met by new restrictions on supply and demand; the growing interdependence of all nations cannot be managed on the basis of confrontation.

90. There are provisions in the Declaration and the Programme of Action to which the United States Government cannot lend its support. I will deal here only with our most important reservations.

91. Perhaps the most difficult subject which the Declaration addresses is that of permanent sovereignty over natural resources. It will be recalled that this problem was successfully dealt with by the General Assembly in 1962, when, in a meeting of minds of developing and developed countries, widespread agreement was achieved on the terms of resolution 1803 (XVII). The United States delegation regrets that the compromise solution which resolution 1803 (XVII) embodies was not reproduced in this Declaration. If it had been, on this count the United States would gladly have lent its support. Resolution 1803 (XVII) provides, among other things, that, where foreign property is nationalized, appropriate compensation shall be paid in accordance with national and international law; it also provides that foreign-investment agreements by and between States shall be observed in good faith. By way of contrast, the present Declaration does not couple the assertion of the right to nationalize with the duty to pay compensation in accordance with international law. For this reason, we do not find this formulation complete or acceptable. The governing international law cannot be, and is not, prejudiced by the passage of this resolution.

92. The United States does not support the provisions of the Declaration which refer only to the exertion of economic pressure for some ends, but which do not condemn generally the exercise of economic pressure. In this respect, the Declaration contrasts unfavourably with the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)]. Nor does the United States support the provisions of the resolution that refer to restitution and full compensation for exploitation of, and damage to, certain resources and peoples.

93. Neither can the United States accept the idea of producer associations as a viable means of promoting development, or of fixing a relationship between import and export prices. Artificial attempts to manage markets which ignore economic realities and the legitimate interests of consumers as well as producers run the risk of political confrontation on the one hand and economic failure on the other.

94. I also wish to make mention of that part of the Declaration dealing with the regulation and supervision of the activities of multinational corporations. The United States is of the view that multinational corporations must act as good corporate citizens of the States in which they operate, and that multinational corporations are subject to the regulation and supervision of the countries in which they operate, but such regulation and supervision must be non-discriminatory and otherwise conform to the norms of international law.

95. The Programme of Action has too many objectionable features, from our point of view, to permit a detailed listing and explanation in a brief statement. Among these features are the emphasis on marketing arrangements for primary products which exclude the interests of consumers and the impractical proposals to establish artificial and fixed price relationships between prices of exports and imports of developing countries. Our scepticism about commodity agreements is well known, but we are prepared to consider them on a case-by-case basis. The current negotiations within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] and other actions we support can increase the trade of developing countries, but it is out of the question for us to allocate a specified share of our market for the developing countries. We object to the Assembly's making recommendations now on the provisions related to the link between special drawing rights and development finance, the provisions to reform the international financial institutions, and subsidization of interest payments and other involved questions that should be left to the IMF.

96. As this special session of the General Assembly nears its close, there is one central concern in the minds of all of us. Many of the less developed nations of the world are afflicted with the most serious and debilitating economic ills of their lifetime. There are parallel economic dislocations in the industrialized world, but it is better prepared to recover.

97. Before the special session began, the United States delegation said it would negotiate in a spirit of compromise

and conciliation. This is still our attitude. It will continue to be, as the United Nations and its individual States seek ways to lighten the burdens of the less developed countries.

98. Unfortunately, the time to consider programmes for the neediest countries has been short. We nevertheless regret that ways were not found, even though the hour was late, to explore varying proposals of substance.

99. I wish to point out an obvious truth. Despite scores of public speeches, hundreds of hours of detailed discussion and thousands of hours of consultations, we have not yet agreed on the kind of co-ordinated action which will provide the immediate emergency relief that is indispensable in the present crisis.

100. Words cannot feed the starving nor help the impoverished. The sudden increased cost of life is still being borne by the poor. This moment demands more of us than words—more of us than promises, which may materialize many months from now, if ever. Have we measured up to the challenge?

101. While this Assembly has not been without accomplishment, we must not go home in the belief that we have already met the central task before us.

102. Let us go home, each nation determined to do its part to meet the immediate crisis that challenges our interdependent world community.

103. I can assure this Assembly that the United States will do its share.

104. Mr. GEHLHOFF (Federal Republic of Germany): For the first time in the history of the United Nations a special session of the General Assembly has been convened for the exclusive purpose of discussing economic and development questions. The United Nations thus is making a new and determined effort to promote, as set forth in the Charter, "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" and to employ international machinery in furthering the economic and social advancement of all peoples. My Government strongly endorses these efforts. It has been the policy of my Government in the past to foster economic co-operation with the developing countries and their integration into the world economy. My Government is determined to support all measures and actions which lead to an improvement of the international economic order.

105. This special session had to face difficult tasks, but, thanks to the work of all delegations and to the prevailing spirit of co-operation, it has been possible to make important progress. I particularly want to express my delegation's gratitude for the enlightened leadership shown by the President of the General Assembly and for the untiring efforts of the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee in bringing about a compromise.

106. Permit me to refer in some detail to the documents we have adopted. My delegation welcomes the adoption of the declaration of principles [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*], which, we are convinced, will pave the way for a new economic order. My Government recognizes the right of

permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources, including the right of nationalization. This right is vested in the rules of international law. It should, in our view, be exercised in accordance with these rules. My Government considers it necessary to secure fair and equitable prices for exported and imported goods. Fixed price relationships, however, are liable to suspend the market mechanism, which is indispensable for the orderly functioning of the world economy.

107. My Government has also certain apprehensions regarding producer associations. This does not apply to their existence as such. My Government is concerned, however, lest the policy of such associations might lead to new dependencies and might be detrimental to an unhampered exchange of goods.

108. With regard to the Programme of Action, considerable progress has been made during the past few days in approximating positions which were originally far apart. The Programme now at hand contains a number of proposals to which my delegation fully subscribes. On the other hand, a number of measures are suggested which do not seem to us feasible or appropriate for achieving the envisaged aim of closer international economic co-operation. It is no lack of political will which prompts me to state this view. On the contrary, it is our conviction that political determination is best applied when based on reality.

109. I do not want to expound here the reservations of my delegation on the Programme of Action. They will have to be dealt with when the relevant items are discussed in the competent United Nations bodies. I should like, however, to refer briefly to some important points.

110. Concerning section I of resolution 3202 (S-VI), I am obliged to state that conditions in the commodity markets obviously vary so much that measures in respect to individual commodities can be taken only after examination on a case-by-case basis. We are in favour of structural adjustments which serve to integrate the developing countries more closely and equitably into the international division of labour. Structural measures must not lead, however, to sacrificing sound and competitive branches of the economy. The implementation of the code of conduct for liner conferences has, in the view of my Government, to be considered at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. With regard to freight and insurance, I wish to emphasize that my Government has no means of establishing or subsidizing freight rates or of influencing insurance costs.

111. With regard to section II, I have to state the following. First, the reform of the international monetary system was the subject of an intensive discussion at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the result of which was reflected in resolution 3084 (XXVIII). We consider the formulation arrived at, after thorough negotiations, to be a well-balanced compromise. We do not want to anticipate further decisions in the bodies of IMF entrusted with this reform. We believe in the necessity of world-wide measures to check inflation. Isolated measures to prevent a transfer of inflation are either impossible or unsuited to check inflation as a whole. My Government does not see

any possibility of devising means of guaranteeing the real value of currency reserves. The creation of special drawing rights as a whole should be based on criteria of a stability-oriented world-wide need for liquidity. Special drawing rights established without regard for these criteria would not be of use to the developing countries either.

112. Secondly, regarding the implementation of the International Development Strategy concerning transfer of resources, I wish to recall the reservations made by my delegation on its adoption. Moreover, nothing should be done here to anticipate the results of the examination in the World Bank regarding the improvement of its decision-making process. My delegation states that we cannot influence private credit contracts with the aim of reducing the external debt of developing countries.

113. The Federal Republic of Germany takes a positive view of the Special Programme. It will endeavour to increase further its total assistance to the developing countries in order to provide additional means for special measures beyond the scope of the assistance granted so far.

114. We cannot, of course, forestall the budget procedures applied in a democratic State like ours. In our view, not all the measures listed under paragraph 3 of the Special Programme in section X of the resolution are feasible. We shall concentrate on those items which we consider to be the most effective; these include the fertilizer and food assistance programme.

115. I will say a few words on behalf of the European Economic Community. The Community through the President of its Council stated right at the outset of this special session [*2209th meeting*] its awareness of the magnitude of the problems for which the session was convened and of the need to find urgent solutions to the present instabilities and disruptions of trade flows. The objective is to achieve an international economic system equitable to all nations and based on their increasing interdependence. The Community, as well as its member States, have, throughout this session, endeavoured to take an active and constructive part in the discussions. The Community and the member States have been doing so in a spirit of open-mindedness and wanted to underline their will to further develop a partnership with the developing countries.

Mr. Kinene (Uganda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

116. With regard to the texts the General Assembly has adopted, we would like to make the following reservations and interpretations.

117. First, the European Economic Community and its member States wish to increase their aid to the developing countries but cannot envisage the automatic transfer of revenues from their import policy or their tax systems.

118. Second, the European Economic Community has regularly improved and extended the generalized preferences scheme, which it applies. It considers, however, that the situation of commodities on the international markets requires other solutions.

119. The European Economic Community has always accepted the examination of the possibilities for compensatory financing within the competent international bodies; it considers, however, that this matter should continue to be dealt with in those bodies.

120. While recognizing that buffer stocks in the framework of commodity agreements can, in appropriate cases, be a useful factor, it is of the opinion that, since the aim of such stocks is to assist the stabilization of these markets, they are in themselves favourable to all countries, in particular to both producing and consuming developing countries.

121. With regard to multilateral trade negotiations, the Community subscribed to the Declaration of Tokyo,¹ under the terms of which these negotiations would be conducted on the basis of the principles of mutual advantage, mutual commitment and global reciprocity with respect for the most-favoured-nation clause, while not expecting reciprocity of commitments from the developing countries and recognizing the need to take differential measures in respect of such countries to ensure special and more favourable treatment for them.

122. With regard, finally, to the emergency measures, the European Economic Community and its member States are aware of the critical situation resulting from the latest developments in the prices of imported products which are, particularly for some developing countries, essential. They thus wish to express their determination, in conjunction with all interested States and international organizations, forthwith to examine the most effective procedures for an exceptional international aid project to overcome the difficulties of such developing countries. The Community and its member States would, for their part, be prepared to play an active part in these efforts and to make a substantial contribution provided the other members of the Community of nations were willing to join them.

123. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): The two documents adopted through the consensus decision taken tonight on the establishment of a new international economic order are of the highest importance. Through them the States Members of the United Nations have declared their intention to achieve a more equitable distribution of the world's resources and to narrow the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries. We pay our tribute to the untiring efforts of the representatives who have been active in the preparation of these documents, in particular to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

124. In our view this Assembly signifies a milestone in the history of the United Nations. Member States have demonstrated a spirit of co-operation that is greatly encouraging. They have, from sometimes strongly conflicting positions of interest, made sacrifices with the aim of creating a solid foundation for the forthcoming efforts to design a more just and equitable relationship between nations.

¹ Declaration of 14 September 1973 approved by the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held in Tokyo.

125. The results of this Assembly will carry with them the hope that future work in other spheres of United Nations activities will lead to similar accomplishments achieved through negotiation and co-operation for the benefit of Member States.

126. I want now to make just a few brief remarks regarding some specific points in the documents just adopted.

127. Our delegation certainly supports the aim of achieving a more just and equitable relationship between, on the one hand, prices of products exported by the developing countries and, on the other hand, prices of products imported by the same countries, but we do not believe that it would be technically and practically feasible to establish a specific link. We do share the belief that producers' co-operation among the developing countries should be facilitated within a broader international framework where the legitimate interests of all countries will be taken into account.

128. There are some points in the Programme of Action, and specifically in sections I, II and VIII, on which we would have wished for further improvements. I want specifically to mention those on the reimbursement of receipts from custom duties, taxes, on new investment for production of synthetic materials and also paragraph 3 (b) of section I under the title "general trade". We believe furthermore that it is important that the compromise wording achieved in the Tokyo Declaration should be adhered to and that we should avoid changes in the agreed objectives of these negotiations. As regards the paragraphs on transportation, our position on the code of conduct for a liner conference has been made clear at the Geneva conference,² where for reasons stated there we had to vote against the code.

129. We have accepted section II on monetary matters in the Programme of Action on the understanding that any reform should be based on the concept of global liquidity needs and on the availability of financial resources and that it should aim at the creation of monetary stability.

130. As regards the question of an increase in the official component of the net amount of financial resource transfers to developing countries, our Minister for Trade pointed out in the general debate [2219th meeting] that some additional \$8,000 million would be put at the disposal of the poorer countries if the developed countries fulfilled the target laid down in the International Development Strategy of official assistance equal to 0.7 per cent of the gross national product within the next year. That, in our view, is a real aid target.

131. A clear distinction must be made between flows of private capital and official investments in developing countries. The development effects of private investment could be ascertained only after a careful political and economic analysis on a case-by-case basis.

132. We regard the Programme of Action as an important general guideline for the efforts to be made by Member States and the United Nations family of organizations in the follow-up of the principles laid down in the Declaration. For our part, we will from now on, in co-operation with all States Members of the United Nations, do our best to respond to it.

133. We are indeed very happy that it proved possible, despite the short time available, to reach agreement on a special programme, including, in particular, emergency measures to mitigate the difficulties of the developing countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis. Without that accomplishment, the special session of the General Assembly could not have been said to have achieved the goals it had been convened to reach.

134. Mr. KARHILO (Finland): The Finnish Government was among the very first to support the Algerian initiative to convene the General Assembly in special session to try for the first time to tackle the problems of raw materials and development in an integrated and comprehensive manner. I am now authorized to state that the Government of Finland accepts, and indeed lends its full support to, the conclusion of our work as presented in the documents before the Assembly. My Government particularly welcomes the manifestation of a joint and determined political will by the world community to work together to solve the economic problems facing us; it welcomes the resolve to work urgently for the establishment of a new international economic order, which is expressed in the Declaration adopted by the Assembly and which has the unreserved support of my Government.

135. Similarly, Finland gives its support to the Programme of Action, which in our view is a prerequisite for making the principles of the Declaration truly meaningful. Some of the measures recommended in the Programme will present Finland, an industrialized, but none the less a capital-importing, country with obvious problems. However, my delegation sees the Programme as the start of an important process that will make the new economic order operational. In the course of that process within the United Nations system, we shall have an opportunity to elaborate the problems which arise out of our particular position.

136. In conclusion, I should like to refer to the Special Programme and the urgent measures contained in section X of the Programme of Action in favour of the developing countries most seriously affected by economic crisis. My Government welcomes the Special Programme as a recognition of the principle of the interdependence of all nations which must form the corner-stone of the new international economic order. It is in that spirit that the Finnish Government has already committed itself to that Programme and has undertaken urgent action to determine how best it could participate with additional measures in the implementation of the Special Programme.

137. Mr. RAE (Canada): The Canadian delegation has joined in the decision which has marked the conclusion of this special session. We have done so in order to signify Canada's firm support for the basic objective of the session—namely, an acceleration in the rate of development

² United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on a Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences, held at Geneva from 12 November to 15 December 1973 (first part) and from 11 March to 6 April 1974 (second part).

of developing countries and a more equitable distribution of the world's economic resources.

138. It is, however, necessary for my delegation to comment on certain of the specific provisions of the documents. I turn first to the Declaration.

139. Our discussion of paragraph 4 (*e*), on permanent sovereignty and nationalization, revealed general agreement on the fundamental principle that each State enjoys permanent sovereignty over its natural resources and all economic activities within its territory. The problem we were unable to resolve relates to identifying those legal principles which are to apply when a State, in the exercise of its permanent sovereignty, adopts measures of nationalization. My delegation considers that a State's right to undertake nationalization must be exercised in accordance with the generally accepted rules of international law and practice governing such an act.

140. The Canadian delegation wishes to enter a reservation with respect to paragraph 4 (*f*), which, as worded, appears to be at variance with international practice.

141. With respect to paragraph 4 (*j*), the Canadian delegation supports the objective of just and equitable prices for goods traded by developing countries and understands that to be the intention of this paragraph.

142. My delegation is able to support paragraph 4 (*s*), but we would expect co-operation among developing countries to be consistent with their international obligations.

143. With respect to paragraph 4 (*t*), my delegation recognizes the right of countries which are exporters of raw materials to seek an equitable return for their resources, just as consumers may associate in order to protect their interests. But in the view of the Canadian delegation the principle which flows from recognition of the economic interdependence of States, which is the basis of this entire Declaration, is the need for mutually beneficial co-operation between producing and consuming States. This paragraph does not, in our view, accurately reflect that principle.

144. I turn now to the Programme of Action.

145. The Canadian delegation recognizes the need for urgent action to mitigate the immediate difficulties of the developing countries most seriously affected by economic crises. Canada considers such action to be vitally necessary, and it will be recalled that in this special session's general debate the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, announced a number of concrete measures Canada itself is taking in that direction [2211th meeting]. It is our expectation that other advantaged countries and the international community as a whole will take a similarly positive and forthcoming attitude.

146. We do have problems, however, with the Programme of Action contained in the documents we have just adopted. Had there been a separate vote on the Programme of Action, my delegation would have been constrained to

abstain. Our reservation stems from the fact that in the time available to this special session, it was not possible to refine in the text economic, trade and monetary issues which will have long-term implications for all members of the international community. Nor was it possible, again because of the lack of time, either to harmonize the text of the Programme of Action with that of the Declaration, or to reconcile the inconsistencies and contradictions within the Programme. I think it would be counter-productive to go into these problems in detail at this late stage.

147. It is my delegation's sincere hope and expectation that work on these important issues might continue in other appropriate organizations and bodies, both within and outside the United Nations. Indeed, we believe that the discussions begun here, the views we have exchanged, the hard work we have done, will enable Governments to address these questions more vigorously in more specialized bodies. It is our hope also that these discussions will give further impetus to bilateral and multilateral steps to bring immediate relief to those developing countries most seriously affected by recent economic disorders.

148. I should like to make certain additional comments, briefly, directed specifically to section X of the Programme of Action.

149. The Canadian delegation supports section X, the Special Programme, including in particular the emergency measures. We do so in the light of our perception of a need for urgent action to assist the developing countries most seriously affected by economic crisis.

150. Immediately prior to this special session, the Canadian Government decided to provide an additional \$100 million over and above originally projected development assistance programmes to meet the emergency needs of the hardest hit developing countries, particularly in the food and fertilizer areas. These funds are now being disbursed. We have stressed at this session that a renewed effort of international co-operation is called for in which full use should be made of those established and recognized international institutions which have experience and expertise in supporting development. The United Nations Development Programme, [UNDP], the World Food Programme, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the regional development banks are repositories of the technical skills now available to the international community. As such, they offer a ready means of securing early and effective action.

151. We support the call for an emergency effort to be launched by the Secretary-General—who has shown such concern for all these problems in the course of the past weeks—as outlined in paragraph 2 of the Special Programme. We consider that the scope of this Programme would have had more attraction had it concentrated on urgent measures for the emergency period rather than on more general problems of development. In this connexion we find less than satisfactory the formula in paragraph 1 linking the time-frame of the Special Fund to the remainder of the Second Development Decade. Regarding the Special Fund which is introduced in paragraph 5, some Governments, particularly those which have not traditionally

offered financial support to existing United Nations institutions, may find this Fund a more attractive channel for emergency and development assistance to developing countries most seriously affected by recent economic events. In our view maximum use should be made of the existing international development institutions. Canada for its part has agreed to a contribution of \$276 million to the fourth replenishment of the International Development Association.

152. The text of this section does go somewhat beyond the scope of the special measures which in our view were first contemplated. In paragraphs 3 and 8, a number of monetary issues are raised. We would not wish it to be thought that our positions on a series of ongoing consultations on monetary issues, under the auspices of IMF, are prejudged by acceptance of this Special Programme as a whole. We look forward to an early decision on the establishment and the operation of the proposed new special credit facility now under consideration in the IMF to alleviate the deteriorating balance-of-payments situation of the developing countries, especially those most seriously affected by recent economic events. Regarding paragraph 4, Canada will continue to give sympathetic consideration to the debt problems of developing countries.

153. Our support for section X as a whole should be seen as a reflection of our determination to make every effort to respond to the urgent and immediate needs of developing countries hardest hit by economic disasters.

154. Finally, may I conclude by observing that the extensive negotiations which have taken place on these documents throughout the special session have clearly shown the possibility for a higher degree of co-operation between developed and developing, producer and consumer countries, on the issues with which these documents deal than has ever been achieved in the past. It is our sincere hope and expectation that our work together, the progress made towards co-operation achieved at this special session, will be carried further into other bodies, both within and outside the family of the United Nations.

155. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): The spokesman for the European Economic Community has entered the reservations and expressed the comments of our group that we felt were necessary for inclusion in the record. It goes without saying that the delegation of Belgium and of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, on whose behalf I speak also, support the comments made.

156. With regard to the Declaration, the acceptance by the delegations of Belgium and Luxembourg of paragraph 4 (*e*), which speaks to the sovereignty of States over their natural resources, must be understood in accordance with the attitude that the States members of the European Economic Community adopted during the third session of the Working Group on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

157. Moreover, the intentions and principles mentioned in that Declaration deserve to be clarified within the context of the discussions on the Charter I mentioned before, since Belgium and Luxembourg adhere to all the principles and

since we voted in favour of them at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] in Santiago. It is thus that we read the terms of paragraph 6 which states that "the present Declaration will provide an additional source of inspiration" in the preparation of that Charter.

158. With regard to the Programme of Action, I should like to make the following comments. As far as we are concerned, section I, paragraph 1 (*c*), which speaks of producers' associations, must be understood within the framework of international co-operation explicitly as mentioned in paragraph 4 (*t*) of the Declaration.

159. With regard to paragraph 1 (*d*) of the Programme of Action, we continue to believe that the establishment of a direct link between import prices and export prices would create serious difficulties.

160. In the Programme of Action, we particularly support those provisions that are intended to assure a favourable evolution of the market in raw materials, which is the main subject of discussion of the present session of the Assembly.

161. However, in order to achieve a harmonious functioning of international markets, we must not lose sight of the fact that an important element in the stability of the markets lies in regular supply on equitable conditions, as Mr. Walter Scheel, President of the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community stated when he spoke on behalf of the Community [2209th meeting].

162. We understand, furthermore, that the provisions contained in section I, paragraph 4 (*f*), covering certain measures that the developed countries should abstain from imposing can in no way prejudice the commitments assumed by Belgium and Luxembourg in an international or European framework.

163. With reference to section II, efforts to reform the international monetary system and to finance development—as contained in paragraphs 1 and 2—should take fully into account the work under way in these fields in the appropriate international forums.

164. By the same token, the provisions covering the transfer of technology in section IV and the activities of transnational corporations in section V should also be carried out in harmony with the work and research now under way in, respectively, UNCTAD and the United Nations in these two fields.

165. With regard to section VIII, we understand that the preamble will be drafted in accordance with the terminology of most of the paragraphs, namely, "all efforts should be made . . .". We contend, furthermore, that the assistance required in subparagraph (*b*) cannot be greater than that which is normally given to the new industrial development projects.

166. And, finally, on section X, entitled "Special Programme", including emergency measures, the Belgian delegation would like to make the following comments

which, I believe, will make clear how and under what conditions we accept this part of the Programme of Action.

167. In the course of the debates, we have noted unanimously that the present economic situation in the world, flowing from the rise in the prices of certain raw materials, has seriously affected the fate of certain developing countries.

168. As far as Belgium is concerned, in the statement that we made in the plenary Assembly [2212th meeting], we said that emergency assistance to these countries is imperative and, therefore, a clear distinction should be made between the short-term and longer-term efforts. Naturally, this aid may be fitted into a more general context which is less temporary but still part of the development policies. However, Belgium and Luxembourg feel that priority should be granted today to the solution of problems that at present threaten the survival of entire populations.

169. Therefore, without underestimating the import of the Programme of Action which will inspire our long-term efforts, what is more necessary today is the adoption of urgent decisions, particularly in the field of essential raw materials, fertilizers and financial resources in favour of those countries most directly affected.

170. So far as Belgium and Luxembourg are concerned, we intend with our partners in the European Economic Community to participate in all this and we believe that all those who feel as we do will participate in such concentrated and speedy action, because this action will be all the more efficient if we do not dilute or uselessly delay it.

171. In conclusion, I regret that we have been unable to examine and, hence, to adopt concrete measures contained in a series of draft resolutions that we believe have been discussed too hastily. It is a shame, for example, that we have been unable to decide upon urgent action in the matter of fertilizers. We can only hope that the Economic and Social Council will be able to fill this gap.

172. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): My statement will contain specific explanations and a number of thoughts with regard to the events of which our Organization has been the theatre during the course of the last three weeks, and first of all, the event itself—the fact that this session has taken place. Surprising though it may seem, the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which is about to conclude, is the first one that has been devoted to international economic relations in the last 29 years. It was particularly important for us to succeed in a task as important and novel as this one. It was clear from the outset that we were about to create precedents for future special sessions of the Assembly of this nature—the one for the fall of 1975, for example—as well as for the work of the Second Committee at regular sessions of the General Assembly.

173. I cannot fail to hail the consensus that has marked the adoption of the basic documents that were discussed. The United Nations has committed itself to the right course by avoiding any final confrontation, which would not have failed to create a difficult atmosphere for future delibera-

tions on topics in the economic field. I whole-heartedly and most sincerely congratulate those who were responsible for this success, in particular the President of the General Assembly and the indefatigable Chairman of our *Ad Hoc* Committee, who was also chairman of many meetings, including restricted and confidential plenary meetings, which have been taking place here over the last four weeks, and our friend and conciliator the Ambassador of His Majesty the Emperor of Iran, without whom we would not have been able to maintain the serene and constructive atmosphere so necessary for the progress of our deliberations.

174. The consensus on which this session is about to conclude does not, however, mean that we have succeeded in reaching an understanding on all issues. Those who initiated our session proposed that we examine the first foundations of a new and more equitable international economic order. This programme naturally has the approval of a country such as France, which is not unaware of how history is made up of revolutions and often positive reforms, but which also assesses the danger which sterile confrontations might cause for the most legitimate causes. The idea of a new order has meaning only if we fully understand that we must all work at achieving it. And I say “all” without any exception and without ulterior motives because it is true that no arbiter is here to decide between us; there is no doctor for civilization, for we are all our own doctors, entrusted with the task of using reason and conciliation to contain the selfish inclinations of our very nature.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) resumed the Chair.

175. Two or three fundamental rules seem to have been on our mind in the last few days in certain conditions which, I hope, will not remain precarious. First of all, the countries that have numbers on their side finally decided not to use their automatic majority in their favour. Undoubtedly, they have understood that the very edifice of the United Nations would not resist this kind of exercise and that the importance of the problems on which there exist here differences of interest or of ideology made it necessary that the difficulties which arise should not be decided in an unrealistic manner. And I say “unrealistic” because it is all too clear that the structures that serve as the framework for trade among States and economic entities are only what they are—they cannot be changed by simple votes—and that the prestige of our Organization as well as its possibilities for action would be affected for a long time if an attempt was made here to force the acceptance of extreme claims against the will of a considerable minority.

176. That simple rule leads me to mention another, which, I hope, will continue to be observed—a rule in accordance with which there is nothing realistic except that which can be achieved. In other words, we must relentlessly distinguish between that which is possible and that which is not, so as to proceed in accordance with stages truly accepted by those that have the means to implement them. This simple appeal or, rather, reminder of the laws of genuine international progress does not, of course, imply that we can disregard the notion of that which is desirable. It is clearly necessary for the United Nations to continue to be a centre for active thought in determining those ideals

that are to guide Member States not only in the fields of peace, security and disarmament but also, and increasingly, in determining the conditions in which a more satisfactory economic order ought to be established.

177. That is the direction in which our Assembly, in our view, seems to have gone by having achieved this consensus today. Having hailed the skills of those who have so well hoped to achieve these results, I shall be all the more at ease mentioning some regret as to the state of mind which at times prevailed in our discussions with regard to procedure. What took place in the last few days, the manner in which at least six important draft resolutions were left out of the discussions, constitutes a disquieting sign. I should be very happy if authoritative voices would point out the fact that no one has tried to stifle the discussions that have time and again been requested by well-meaning delegations.

178. My delegation would like to stress the fact that the Declaration of principles and the Programme of Action seem to make a very important contribution to the definition of a new international economic order, which we hope to see most sincerely very soon. For example, the preamble of the Declaration includes a very clear statement as to the spirit which henceforth will have to prevail in international economic relations. But this is also the case of many more concrete sections such as, for instance, those dealing with the organization of markets or the international division of labour.

179. With regard to a number of points, however, my delegation wishes to express a number of reservations and believes it is useful to explain how it interprets certain given provisions.

180. First of all, I shall of course confirm the reservations and the statements of interpretation made by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany as the representative of a country which at present is exercising the presidency of the Council of the Community regarding, in particular, the paragraphs of the Programme of Action on general trade.

181. As to the Declaration of principles, the French delegation, with regard to paragraph 4 (*e*) on the exercise of the right of nationalization, maintains the position which was explained on behalf of our Government as well as the other eight Governments of the countries members of the European Economic Community in the work done on the preparation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

182. Furthermore, the French delegation cannot associate itself with paragraph 4 (*f*).

183. With regard to the Programme of Action, my delegation would like to say the following.

184. In section I, on "Fundamental problems of raw materials and primary commodities as related to trade and development", paragraph 1, "Raw materials", subparagraph (*b*), the French delegation has a reservation on the word "recovery".

185. In the same section, in connexion with paragraph 1 (*c*) and (*d*), we feel, like other States of the European Community, that equitable relations must be sought between the prices of exported goods and those of products imported by the developing countries. However, we believe that the establishment of a formal link between them would be difficult to achieve. We should also like to state that we feel that the role of producers' associations should be as it was defined in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

186. In paragraph 3, "General trade", the French delegation has a reservation on subparagraph (*a*) (*xii*), which, in our opinion, does not duly take into account the needs of economic development and it wishes to specify, with regard to subparagraph (*a*) (*v*), that we must take into account the social conditions flowing from the measures envisaged.

187. With regard to section II relating to the international monetary system and the financing of development, I wish to recall the fact that the French Government has always been in favour of a more active and wider participation of the developing countries in the international monetary system. We believe that, if most of the provisions envisaged in the Programme of Action go along the lines of this needed evolution, we must not prejudge the result of the work under way in the framework of the financial organizations. In the circumstances, my delegation has to make a general reservation on paragraph 1 of this section as a whole.

188. In section II, paragraph 2 (*a*), the French delegation interprets the phrase "and even to exceed it" as the expression of an objective to be achieved, in so far as possible.

189. For reasons already expressed with regard to the international financial institutions, my delegation has to note its reservation on paragraph 2 (*c*).

190. In connexion with paragraph 2 (*g*), if we are to accept the idea of a renegotiation of debts on a case-by-case basis, my delegation feels that such measures should only accrue to the benefit of countries that find themselves in a crisis, and should not turn into solutions that would tend to ensure the automatic refinancing of debts.

191. In section IV, "Transfer of technology", the French delegation would have preferred, in subparagraph (*a*), to see the word "directives" rather than the expression "code of conduct", an expression which prejudices the results of the work currently under way in other organs of the United Nations system.

192. The French delegation is unable to take a position on section V, "Regulation and control over the activities of transnational corporations", until the studies currently being carried out in the United Nations have been completed.

193. With reference to section VII, "Promotion of co-operation among developing countries", it goes without saying that the reference in subparagraph (*e*) to existing international agreements must be understood as applying to the whole paragraph.

194. In section VIII, "Assistance in the exercise of permanent sovereignty of States over natural resources", the French delegation wishes, with respect to subparagraph (a), to refer to the reservation it has made in connexion with paragraph 4 (e) of the Declaration.

195. As to subparagraph (b), in the view of the French delegation, the role of the United Nations is to assist the developing countries in defining and implementing their own development programmes, in strict respect for the procedures and decisions of competent bodies, and in the framework of programmes established by the countries concerned themselves.

196. With regard to section IX, on institutional arrangements, the French delegation has serious misgivings, from the standpoint of both legality and effectiveness, as to the possibility mentioned in paragraph 3 (b) of the Economic and Social Council meeting on a permanent basis.

197. Paragraph 5 of the same section prompts the same reservation as the one we expressed in connexion with paragraphs 1 and 2 (c) of section II.

198. Finally, in connexion with emergency measures, section X, the French Government believes that the Special Programme included in the Programme of Action is a very constructive contribution to the search for and implementation of solutions to benefit the most seriously affected countries. If, in view of the wide number of provisions and commitments in this programme, we do not consider ourselves bound by all these proposals, my Government, however, obviously confirms its readiness to participate in the activities of the international community to benefit those countries in the spirit just recalled by my German colleague on behalf of the European Economic Community and its member States.

199. The reservations and comments I have just voiced on the documents on which we have reached our consensus today in no way interfere with the satisfaction which I have referred to earlier in my statement. The principles which we have adopted, the action which we have agreed to undertake to the best of our ability, the assistance which we envisage giving, to the extent possible and as our own problems permit, are three elements of a policy which France will be glad to endorse in the same way as its European partners. The European Economic Community does not ignore the responsibilities stemming from its position in the areas of industry, agriculture and world trade. France, which is a member of that Community, plays a role in it, and guides its own action towards as constructive an effort as possible, welcomes the conclusion of this session as a positive and essential contribution to the new spirit of agreement and solidarity which is to prevail among our States. The times make it necessary for this spirit to prevail, and it should exist as follows: first, a short-term concrete solidarity—that is to say, the implementation of emergency measures, in which, I repeat, France, as well as Europe, will participate, in spite of the fact that right now it is one of the countries most seriously affected by the present crisis—to be accompanied later by a more effective search for ways and means of preventing further crises and of controlling the present situation, while

achieving a more equitable economic order in the context of the principles adopted today.

200. May I in conclusion recall the fact that France was the first to suggest that our Organization should deal with one of the most burning problems in the serious difficulties that occurred last fall in the important sector of energy. That was the starting-point, the first idea; but it needs to be followed up. The French delegation, in this connexion, has suggested certain practical procedures which we would not want to be forgotten.

201. I hope no one will take my last few words as criticism: we have concluded the most general part of our work, and thus perhaps the easiest of the tasks called for by the present imperfect economic situation. This imposes other, more concrete, and thus perhaps even more difficult tasks, and it would be highly desirable for our Organization to deal with them as soon as possible, in the spirit of dialogue which my country has untiringly advocated and always will.

202. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): In his statement from this podium on 22 April [224th meeting], the Secretary of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs, speaking on behalf of my Government, welcomed the initiative of President Boumediène of Algeria in asking that this special session be convened, and promised the fullest possible co-operation of the Australian Government in working towards the purposes of that initiative.

203. It has been an arduous special session of the General Assembly, as we all know. In recognizing the essential part that you yourself, Mr. President, have played in the direction of our work, I must also pay a full tribute to the unflagging, patient and ultimately successful efforts of the Ambassador of Iran to encourage many among us to work night and day, as he has said, to narrow the differences that inevitably existed when we assembled here on 9 April and to bring this session to a generally satisfactory conclusion.

204. There is no point in disguising the difficulties that a number of delegations have had in reaching the present substantial measure of agreement. Their difficulty has arisen over important questions of principle and equally important matters of substance. There will still be disappointments. No delegation is going to be fully satisfied with the results of the session. But this, after all, is what the United Nations is all about. Compromises and concessions have to be made, if the purposes of this Organization are to prosper, and compromises have been made in the course of the numerous discussions and consultations that we have had over the past few weeks. There was, nevertheless, unity from the beginning in the conviction that the special problems of the developing countries most gravely affected by current trends in the world economic situation were a matter of urgent and direct concern to all of us, and it has been this unanimous conviction that has enabled us to reach decisions and to agree upon targets to which my Government is able to subscribe—and I have in mind, not least of all, the special programme of emergency measures for the relief of the hardest-hit countries.

205. Like other delegations that have spoken tonight, my delegation has certain reservations about one aspect or another of the Declaration and the Programme of Action that we have now accepted, and these reservations I should like to be allowed to state briefly.

206. Turning first of all to the Declaration contained in resolution 3201 (S-VI) let me first draw attention to its paragraph 4 (e), which refers to the right of any country to full permanent sovereignty over its natural resources and its right of nationalization. My Government does not question either of these rights, but it is bound to interpret that paragraph to mean that any act of nationalization should be accompanied by lawful measures for prompt, effective and adequate compensation, as envisaged in resolution 1803 (XVII). Similarly, my Government would interpret the right referred to in paragraph 4 (f) as a right to be exercised under law. With regard to paragraph 4 (s) of the Declaration, Australia fully supports efforts by the developing countries to strengthen economic co-operation among themselves. We take it that where such efforts are made on a preferential basis full regard will be paid to other principles in the Declaration and to international obligations.

207. As for the Programme of Action in resolution 3202 (S-VI), my Government will do all it can to help in bringing about those changes that are desirable and necessary in the existing international economic order, while fully cognizant of those features of it that have been of benefit to all countries. In short, Australia's aim will be to ensure that existing arrangements continue to contribute to international co-operation and that, where appropriate, they are improved to reflect the needs of changing circumstances.

208. Again, as a producer and exporter of raw materials and primary commodities, Australia is concerned to promote orderly marketing arrangements which take into account the interests of both producers and consumers. There is a place for improving and facilitating co-operation and consultation between producers of raw materials in their mutual and individual national interests, while taking into account the interests of consumers, particularly those of consumer developing countries. In making these remarks, I have in mind especially paragraph 1 (c) of section I, dealing with producers' associations, and paragraph 3 (a) (xi) of that section, dealing with buffer stocks.

209. As regards paragraphs 1 (d) and 3 (a) (viii), of section I, I must say that we have some doubts about the practicability or usefulness of seeking to establish prices for commodities either according to a general set of principles or through a link with the prices of manufactures. Similarly, we have doubts about the practical effectiveness of paragraph 3 (a) (vi), on the matter of reimbursement of duties and losses on imports from developing countries, and paragraph 3 (a) (xii) of section I, on investment in the manufacture of synthetics.

210. We interpret paragraph 3 (b) of section I of resolution 3202 (S-VI) and paragraph 4 (n) of resolution 3201 (S-VI), concerning preferences and non-reciprocity, in the context of the Tokyo Declaration on the multilateral

trade negotiations. IMF is at present reviewing the formula for calculation of fund quotas, which *inter alia* determine voting patterns. We should on the whole have preferred that this review be completed before the General Assembly made any pronouncement on this subject. Hence we have reservations about paragraph 1 (g) of section II of resolution 3202 (S-VI) and we also have reservations of a similar nature about paragraph 2 (c) of the same section.

211. Let me conclude by saying that, notwithstanding these individual points on which we are not entirely happy, my delegation has been able to accept both resolutions in the document before us, whose urgent purposes Australia supports and subscribes to and will do its utmost to translate into practical effect in full co-operation with the international community. I can assure this Assembly that the Australian response to the problems before us will be found, as in the past, to be forthcoming.

212. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Saudi Arabia wishes to speak on a point of order.

213. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I asked for permission to speak on a point of order because I have discovered that our minds have become numbed with fatigue. We are present here physically, but many of us are going to the cafeteria to take nourishment, others are walking into the corridors, and I believe it is high time that we took a decision to adjourn until tomorrow morning. There would be no financial implications, I am sure, if we extended this session for two hours between, let us say, 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. tomorrow.

214. We stand on our human rights. We do not belong to a union. But, Mr. President, in your wisdom, I hope you will not ask for two who oppose the adjournment. Adjournment is adjournment, and I hope that my colleagues will raise their hands so that we may come with fresh minds to listen to the pearls that are being strewn and be able to string them, as it were, and keep them in the records rather than just leave them on the floor without any benefit to us all.

215. If anybody objects to that and wants to leave, let him circulate his statement in explanation of vote. For my part I would rather have our good friend from Algeria talk to us when we have fresh minds. I believe he is to be the last speaker, and I would not want him to speak at two o'clock in the morning.

216. With your permission, Sir, I move that we adjourn until tomorrow morning.

217. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Saudi Arabia has submitted, in accordance with rule 76 of the rules of procedure, a motion for adjournment, which must be immediately put to a vote. If there is no objection, however, perhaps I may consider that the motion has been accepted, in the light of the applause that greeted it, and adjourn the meeting until tomorrow.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 10.55 p.m.