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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

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)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning the General Assembly will, as decided yesterday, continue to hear statements by representatives who have views to put forward.

2. Mr. NACO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The work of this special session of the General Assembly has undeniably shown the important and urgent nature of the problem of raw materials and development. It has been very amply demonstrated that this session has met the needs of the international situation and has been in line with the desires and concerns of sovereign countries and, first and foremost, with those of the developing countries.

3. This session of the General Assembly, as could have been expected, has been characterized by the efforts and determination of the developing countries to safeguard their sovereign rights to become the masters of their natural resources and to put an end to imperialist interference, control and exploitation.

4. The present international situation, the great changes which have taken place in the world, and other events, as has been stressed in the course of the work of this session, have amply demonstrated that the developing countries have taken a just stand on the question of the need for a fundamental change in international economic relations, on the basis of principles of equality and sovereignty, bearing in mind, first and foremost, the interests of the developing countries.

5. The just demands and proposals of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are reflected in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions*

3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] adopted by this session of the General Assembly. These documents are an expression of the opposition of those countries to the policies of exploitation and plundering of the imperialist Powers and foreign monopolies, of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and of the policy of hegemony and aggression of the two super-Powers.

6. The Albanian delegation, as was stressed in the general debate at this session by the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Albania [*2216th meeting*], firmly supports the just demands of the developing countries and is in favour of those two documents.

7. The work of this session of the General Assembly has clearly shown that the two super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as the other imperialist Powers, in fact are opposed to the legitimate demands of the developing countries and have attempted to prevent the adoption of these demands. One of the super-Powers, using sometimes threats, sometimes demagoguery, and indulging in deceit through the use of dollars, has tried to deny those countries their fundamental sovereign rights and has tried to sow discord. The other super-Power has tried to impose its social-imperialist policies on so-called disarmament measures, détente, peaceful coexistence, and so on, thereby imposing conditions on the development and the strengthening of the developing countries.

8. The Albanian delegation, guided by the policy of principle of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, and by its desire to support and stand together with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, admires the contents of the documents in question in so far as they concern relations between the industrialized countries and the developing countries. We believe that it is precisely the industrialized countries which depend upon developing countries producers of raw materials. And interdependence in the present case subjects the latter to the exploitation of the industrialized countries, which have become rich at their expense.

9. The People's Republic of Albania fully supports the sovereign right of every country to keep its own natural resources within its own exclusive possession and to nationalize them. Those countries undeniably have the right to take whatever action is necessary, in order fully and effectively to exercise their sovereign rights as a State. As regards the United Nations, in view of the way that it is at present manipulated by the two super-Powers, it must, in order to play its role in international relations and in international economic co-operation, embark on the course defined by the Charter in accordance with the demands and interests of the developing countries.

10. As regards the international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund [IMF], the World Bank, and so on, we would stress that those bodies, as long as they stay in the hands of the United States and other Powers, will serve neo-colonialist interests to the detriment of the developing countries. On this occasion, how can we fail to stress that the illegal continuation of Chiang Kai-shek's clique in their midst represents a flagrant violation of the decisions of the General Assembly of the United Nations and that an end must be put to this situation as soon as possible.

11. The Albanian delegation wishes to stress that the efforts of the major industrialized countries, and especially the two super-Powers, are designed to keep the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as sources of raw materials and as markets. Our view is that the defence and consolidation of the national independence of the developing countries require that those countries develop completely economically and culturally, that they industrialize and that they oppose all neo-colonialist policies aimed at preventing such development.

12. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, expressing once again its determined support for the just fight of the developing countries, is convinced that those countries will, by strengthening their unity and common efforts and enjoying the support of all the countries and peoples of the world, pursue their struggle and will achieve their noble objectives.

13. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Spain has stated its position on this question in the debate at the special session of the General Assembly [2218th meeting]. We welcome the conclusions and accept them, by and large.

14. The Declaration and the Programme of Action containing special emergency measures are, to our way of thinking, an important basis for this new international economic order, as the text which we adopted last night says.

15. My delegation cannot fail to state that, for my country, acceptance of paragraph 4 (e) of the Declaration presupposes due respect for the rules of international law and recognition of jurisdiction under international law.

16. With regard to paragraph 4 (t), we would like due account to be taken of the position of the countries which are consumers of raw materials, especially considering the efforts of those countries to develop and their need to ensure supplies in the future. This is based on a spirit of economic interdependence which has been stressed in the course of this session.

17. I also wish to state that we would have preferred different language for paragraph 1 (e) of section VII of the Programme of Action. In our opinion, respect for existing agreements or agreements being negotiated is not made sufficiently clear. We are referring to agreements including countries which, like mine, are not yet fully developed.

18. We are particularly pleased to support urgent action to help the most needy countries and we made an appeal along these lines in the general debate.

19. Mr. PLAJA (Italy): The special session of the General Assembly has been convened to face a critical economic situation affecting all members of the international community and especially many among the developing countries. My delegation believes that the session has proved to be a remarkable effort of the world community to indicate ways and means to cope with the global problems with which it is confronted and to encourage co-operation among Member States with a view to creating a more just, equitable and stable international economic order, taking into full account the new realities of today's world.

20. The Italian delegation has participated in this special session in a spirit of full and open-minded co-operation. It has been guided by an awareness of the close interdependence existing among all members of the world community, by the feeling that the interests of all countries are interrelated and that the well-being of one country cannot be dissociated from that of all the others. In this conception the Italian delegation has attached paramount importance to the necessity for the world community to take into due consideration the needs and the expectations of the developing countries. The Italian Government is convinced that one of the historic tasks of our time is to try to close the gap between the rich and the poor, the "haves" and the "have nots". Not only economic and social progress is at stake here, but so also are peace and security themselves.

21. My delegation was also guided by the sincere desire to see urgent, concrete decisions reached in favour of those countries which have been most gravely affected by the present economic situation and which can be helped only by a major effort of the world community, as was so impressively underlined to us by the Secretary-General [2207th meeting] and several heads of delegations in the general debate.

22. The results we have achieved have required the strenuous efforts and the best skills of all those who have been engaged in our difficult negotiations. Special gratitude is due in this respect to you, Mr. President, for presiding so capably over our debates, and my delegation wishes to express particular praise of, and thanks to, the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Ambassador Hoveyda. It is no exaggeration to say that without his most brilliant performance and untiring efforts these results would not have been possible.

23. In the tremendous task with which the special session has been confronted, it is understandable that specific aspects of the documents that we have been called upon to decide call for different interpretations and reservations. Like other delegations, the Italian delegation has its own. They are based in general, firstly, on our belief that provisions contained in resolutions and declarations adopted by the Assembly have to be in accordance with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter and with international law; secondly, on our opinion that action of the Assembly should encourage, and not prejudice, activities which, on the matters dealt with by this Assembly, are already under way in or fall within the competence of other institutions of the United Nations system or other multi-lateral forums; and, thirdly, on the conviction that the best way to serve the purposes that have prompted the

convening of this session is to be inspired by some spirit of realism and by the necessity of taking full account of the institutional orders and the economic and social systems on which the States Members of this Organization are based.

24. The representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, in his capacity as representative of the country that is currently occupying the presidency of the European Economic Community, has indicated [2229th meeting] the points in the documents I have mentioned which call for reservation on the part of the Community as such. My delegation has considerations it wants to express on some other points also.

25. First, I shall comment on the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

26. With regard to paragraph 4 (e), relating to sovereignty over natural resources and economic activities, the Italian Government has constantly asserted the right of each State to exercise permanent sovereignty over its resources and economic activities. At the same time, with reference to nationalization, it has constantly maintained that this right must be exercised in accordance with the rules of international law. I should also like to recall the views expressed by the Italian delegation in the Working Group on the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States, a Group to whose activities we attach particular importance. I therefore confirm that the Italian delegation interprets this point in the light of these views.

27. With regard to paragraph 4 (t) of the Declaration, relating to raw-materials producers' associations, the Italian delegation approves the concept of co-operation as appearing in the text and therefore interprets this subparagraph as implying that co-operation will be a basic aim of these associations.

28. Secondly, with regard to the Programme of Action, the Italian delegation believes that a programme was certainly due and desirable at this time. But many points of the text before us required, in my delegation's opinion, more careful consideration. As a matter of fact, the Italian delegation has been able to concur in the procedures of adopting it in the conviction that the formula adopted means that the elements the programme contains are going to be discussed and developed in future in the appropriate international forums, being but an indication on which to work in order to define the best action to establish the new, more equitable and stable economic order we are striving for.

29. My delegation's comments on specific points of the Programme of Action are as follows.

30. Regarding section I, paragraph 1 (d), we wonder whether a link between prices such as the one mentioned in the last sentence of this paragraph is really feasible in practice.

31. Regarding section I, paragraph 3 in general, this provision, in my delegation's opinion, does not take into sufficient consideration the particular situation of free-market-economy countries or the fact that in a democratic country limitations on the economic activity of its citizens

can be imposed only by law. This applies particularly to paragraph 3 (a) (xii) and paragraph 4 (b) and (d). With regard to the latter, I should like to recall that Italy had to abstain in the vote on the convention for a code of conduct for liner conferences.

32. Regarding section II, paragraph 1 (c), relating to the guarantee of the real value of the currency reserves of the developing countries, my delegation believes that this is a worthy aim which is very difficult to attain; it has been and still is, especially today, pursued by all countries in the world without finding until now any really effective remedy.

33. Regarding section II, paragraph 2 (a), relating to the implementation of the Second United Nations Development Decade, I interpret it of course having in mind the three reservations formulated by the Italian delegation at the moment of the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade.¹

34. Section II, paragraph 2 (d) presents some difficulties for my delegation in its present form owing to the well-known world situation regarding capital movements.

35. With regard to section III, subparagraph (a), the Italian delegation feels that the response to the request for financing of industrial projects in developing countries should be given by all countries within their respective contributing capacity.

36. Notwithstanding the observations I have made, and some other doubts the Italian delegation had, my delegation joined in the procedure of adoption of the Declaration and of the Programme of Action. This is meant to be a sincere contribution to our joint efforts to proceed in the constructive dialogue to pave the way for the continuation of a positive process in which all of us will make substantial, speedy progress towards the new international economic order we hope for. I can assure the Assembly that my country will continue to base its participation in this process on the most open spirit of co-operation and on the earnest desire to attain our common objective.

37. Mr. SAITO (Japan): I wish to pay a tribute to the high degree of seriousness with which Member States have sought to find solutions for the problems confronting the world. Since the special session began three weeks ago, every delegation without exception has strenuously worked to devise effective answers to the problems of raw materials and development.

38. The direct responsibility for working out these answers was assigned to our *Ad Hoc* Committee, and we were extremely fortunate to have Mr. Hoveyda of Iran as its Chairman. Mr. Hoveyda worked untiringly not only as the Committee's presiding officer but also in private discussions to achieve solutions which would meet the needs of all our membership.

39. My delegation has done what it could to help solve these world problems through dialogue and co-operation.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 42, document A/8124/Add.1.*

40. My delegation would like to express satisfaction that the efforts made by all delegations culminated in the recommendations by the *Ad Hoc* Committee contained in document A/9556, which have now been adopted without a vote. The text is the outcome of a very serious debate in which a co-operative spirit was shown by all parties. My delegation welcomes the adoption of the Declaration. Here we wish to make the following statements.

41. My Government recognizes the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources. We believe that this right must be exercised in accordance with international law.

42. The Government of Japan fully recognizes the need to improve the terms of trade of developing countries. However, we consider that it is difficult to reach a workable and comprehensive solution of this question through an approach based on relationships between the prices of various products, which are most complex.

43. In order to promote the economic development of developing countries, Japan is determined to make sincere efforts to provide special and more favourable treatment to the developing countries in economic co-operation, where this is feasible and appropriate.

44. With regard to the Programme of Action—except section X—my delegation would have abstained if a vote had been taken on it. For the reasons already stated in the *Ad Hoc* Committee and in the Working Party meetings, my delegation has difficulties, particularly with the following paragraphs and subparagraphs. Please allow me to mention only the paragraph numbers without explanation: section I, paragraph 1 (c), (d) and (f), paragraph 3 (a) and (b), and paragraph 4 (b) and (d); section II, paragraph 1 (a), (e), (f) and (g) and paragraph 2 (c), (d), (f) and (g); section IV, subparagraphs (a) and (d); section VII, paragraph 1 (a); section VIII; and section IX, paragraph 5.

45. With regard to section X of the Programme of Action, namely, the Special Programme, my delegation supports it fully, and has the following observations to make on it.

46. With regard to paragraph 1, it is the view of my delegation that the Special Programme should be devoted to immediate relief measures for the most seriously affected developing countries and, accordingly, that it should be operative only for the period of time necessary to provide such immediate relief.

47. My delegation wishes to state that the Special Fund, which is a part of the Special Programme, should aim at providing immediate relief for the most seriously affected developing countries.

48. As to paragraph 3, my delegation wishes to repeat our understanding, based on informal consultations with delegations from developing countries, that it will be at the discretion of each Member State to select the measures it will implement and the extent to which it will implement them.

49. As for the specific formulation of some of the measures, my delegation has particular views in the light of the position it has maintained and of the circumstances in which my country finds itself.

50. As regards subparagraph (f) of the first preambular paragraph and paragraph 3 of the Special Programme, my delegation considers that a careful examination should be made by the developed countries of the extent to which each of them will be able to provide assistance, taking into consideration that the effects of the recent economic crisis on the economies of developed countries differ from one country to another.

51. My delegation also entertains difficulties with regard to paragraph 8.

52. The spirit of co-operation, as well as concepts embodied in the Tokyo Declaration on multilateral trade relations,² should be maintained. In all examinations of these questions, both multilaterally and bilaterally, the Government of Japan will neglect no opportunity to help solve problems which involve the welfare and prosperity of the world. It will also continue to implement the policy measures contained in the International Development Strategy as accepted by it.

53. I wish to conclude by stating the fundamental position of the Government of Japan with regard to action to mitigate the difficulties of those developing countries most seriously affected by the current crisis.

54. The recent economic changes have had enormous impact on the world economy, and it is the belief of my Government that this problem can be solved only through international solidarity and co-operation in these days of interdependency.

55. Japan, which is heavily dependent upon other countries for raw materials, has been harder hit than any other developed country. However, my Government has fully recognized the necessity for emergency relief measures for the most seriously affected developing countries, and hopes that a concrete plan for a fund, to be operated effectively in a very practical international framework, can be formulated. To this end, my Government is ready to participate in the examination of a plan in co-operation with other countries concerned and with the related international organizations. When an internationally acceptable plan has been formulated, the Government of Japan intends to make the greatest possible contribution, taking into full account the urgent character of such a fund, provided that other countries possessing the capability also do so.

56. Mr. KAUFMANN (Netherlands): The Netherlands delegation has whole-heartedly joined the consensus on the two principal documents of this special session of the General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development: the Declaration and the Programme of Action.

57. My delegation is particularly gratified that, despite the limited time available, it has been possible, through the strenuous efforts of all concerned, to come to this consensus. I should like to pay a tribute in particular to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Ambassador Hoveyda,

² 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.

whose untiring activities have contributed so much to the results achieved.

58. The consensus reflects the importance of the special session as a momentous step forward towards the establishment of a new international economic order, based on interdependence and equity. This new international economic order cannot be established in a single special session. The Programme of Action, in particular, contains a large number of actions which will require efforts by all concerned. My delegation recognizes that the statement, repeatedly found in the Programme of Action, that "all efforts should be made" is an important element of the consensus we have achieved. My delegation wishes to emphasize that this statement is not applicable in all respects. My Government sincerely hopes that the consensus now reached will form the solid basis for our future efforts; and as we see it, these efforts should culminate in and converge towards the special session of the General Assembly in 1975. As the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. van der Stoep, stated during the general debate at this special session:

"Between today and September 1975 we have the historic opportunity to lay the foundations of a new system of international economic co-operation." [2212th meeting, para. 20.]

59. I shall now address myself to a number of specific points in the Declaration and the Programme of Action.

60. First, with respect to paragraph 4 (f) of the Declaration, the Netherlands Government is of the opinion that the application of that paragraph should be considered on a case-by-case basis.

61. Second, with respect to the Programme of Action, section I, paragraph 1 (b), the Netherlands delegation has to reserve its position on the inclusion of the word "recovery".

62. Third, with respect to paragraph 1 (d) of the same section, the Netherlands can accept the principle contained therein, but wishes to express the view that the relationship between the prices of exports of developing countries and the prices of their imports should relate to imports from any source.

63. Fourthly, regarding section I, paragraph 4 (d), on the implementation of the code of conduct for liner conferences, my delegation wishes to recall the Netherlands abstention in the vote that took place on this matter on 6 April 1974, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on a Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences. At that Conference the Netherlands delegation stated that we consider the outcome of that Conference as contrary to its main purpose, namely, the creation of improved conditions for developing countries both with regard to development of their liner shipping and with regard to the transport of their trade. However, the Netherlands Government remains convinced of the desirability of unilateral preferences for developing countries in the field of liner shipping; this conviction will be reflected in the Netherlands shipping policy with regard to developing countries.

64. Fifth, as regards section VIII, subparagraph (b), the Netherlands Government considers that the assistance referred to in that subparagraph does not imply financing of compensation in cases of nationalization.

65. Of course, my delegation wishes to associate itself fully with the remarks made, on behalf of the European Community, by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany [2229th meeting].

66. To conclude, my delegation wishes to stress that the Netherlands Government is ready to consider contributing to the proposed Special Programme as contained in section X of the Programme of Action. The Netherlands Government, moreover, has already initiated certain re-arrangements in its development co-operation programme in order to make funds available for immediate relief to the most seriously affected developing countries.

67. Mr. ELIASHIV (Israel): I should like to state, in respect of the documents which were adopted in this Assembly last night, that they contain a number of points on which my delegation has reservations.

68. Mr. TEMPLETON (New Zealand): New Zealand has from the outset recognized the need for positive and constructive action on the urgent problems which led to the summoning of this special session. Therefore my delegation welcomes the very wide measure of agreement that has been reached in regard to the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action, including the Special Programme of emergency measures. The spirit of compromise which enabled a consensus to be achieved on the two principal documents before us augurs well for their effective implementation.

69. We regard these documents in their present form as essentially hortatory in character. We should have liked in particular to see a more detailed examination of the terms of the Programme of Action. We regard the documents also as subject to accepted norms of international law, wherever these may be applicable. It has been our concern throughout the Assembly to help prepare the ground for a more effective co-operation in international economic affairs. It is our hope and belief that these documents will achieve that purpose.

70. At the same time, my delegation must record its keen disappointment that the proposal it sponsored together with Sri Lanka for the establishment of a fertilizer pool [see A/9556, para. 10] was not immediately adopted at this session. This proposal was especially designed as a quick-acting emergency measure to help those developing countries which are short of fertilizer and short of food and which are also short of money to pay for the fertilizer they must import. I understand that the proposal has been welcomed by the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] and that he stands ready to call an emergency session of the FAO Council to put into effect a plan for the operation of the pool. My Government has indicated willingness to make a substantial cash contribution, and we have every reason to believe that other Governments are prepared to consider contributing to the scheme, either in money or in fertilizer.

71. My delegation is, therefore, very concerned at the possibility that the time-table for giving effect to the proposal may be subject to delay. I scarcely need to emphasize that it is not New Zealand, but the peoples of those countries hardest hit by shortages of food and fertilizer, that will suffer from every day's delay in putting the scheme into operation.

72. It is our understanding, arising from the discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Committee of its recommendation to the Assembly on this matter, that the Economic and Social Council would be requested to give expeditious consideration to the proposal of New Zealand and Sri Lanka at its current session. Should it do so, this would permit the emergency session of the FAO Council to be called in accordance with the time-table envisaged by the Director-General.

73. My delegation has heard no objection of substance to the proposal of New Zealand and Sri Lanka as set out in its revised form in paragraph 10 of document A/9556. We believe that, in fact, there exists a consensus in favour of the proposal. It is in the hope and expectation that the Economic and Social Council will give prompt effect to it now that we have decided to refer it to that body.

74. Mr. KENNEDY (Ireland): Mr. President, as this special session of the General Assembly moves today towards its successful conclusion, I should like, on behalf of the Irish delegation, to congratulate you on the most able manner in which you have guided our deliberations. It has been an arduous task, in which your wise and influential counsel, reflecting the important role of your country and of Latin America in the United Nations, has been of the greatest significance for the success of our common task.

75. We in the Irish delegation have been greatly encouraged by the substantial progress that has been achieved. In a spirit of consensus, we have all tried here not only to reach a rapid understanding of the urgent needs of the developing world in the present crisis but also to map out a course of longer-term work and study for the achievement of a new international economic order, which the mutually interdependent interests of all our countries demand. Here—since we were unable to do so in the *Ad Hoc* Committee—my delegation would also like to pay a special tribute to its Chairman, Ambassador Hoveyda, whose patience, sense of humour and readiness to search at all hours for the acceptable compromise were so boundless that he has aroused our envious admiration.

76. These efforts and the good-will of the negotiating parties have given us the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. Its historic importance would alone have justified the initiative of President Boumediène of Algeria in convening this special session, and the Declaration is rightly described in its concluding paragraph as “one of the most important bases of economic relations between all peoples and all nations”.

77. The spirit of co-operation of this special session has also led to our dealing, in the positive and concrete manner set out in the Special Programme in section X of the Programme of Action, with the grave problems of those developing countries which are the most seriously affected

by the current economic crisis. My Government will take an active part in the efforts of the European Economic Community to alleviate, in a practical way, those urgent and pressing problems now facing so many Member States. As you are aware, Mr. President, the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany has already repeated, last evening, on behalf of the other eight States members of the Community, including, of course, Ireland, that the Community is prepared to make a substantial contribution to assist those developing countries most seriously affected by the current economic crisis, provided, of course, that the other members of the community of nations were also willing to play their part.

78. Of course, we all realize, developing and developed countries alike, the many complex and difficult issues that have to be dealt with in planning our future action in order to implement the Declaration of Principles. Perhaps it was too much to hope that we could have achieved more than we did in the relatively short period of time available to this special session. Nevertheless, significant and encouraging progress was made. That progress was assisted in no small measure by the constructive contribution of the Group of 77 developing countries to the drafting of the final text of the Programme of Action, which was accepted by consensus. It is clear that the work must continue in other bodies, especially in the agencies within our United Nations system. We welcome the progress which has been made but at the same time we must make it clear that there still remain, in the Programme of Action, elements which, in their present form, need some further negotiation before they can become fully acceptable to my delegation. Our position on these issues was made clear during the negotiation meetings of the current session. I should also like, of course, to recall in this connexion that the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany, speaking on behalf of the nine member States of the Community last evening, has already made a concise statement on behalf of all of us in the Community in this regard.

79. May I say, in conclusion, that the consensus which has been achieved in this special session constitutes a very real encouragement for the future. For it has given us reason to hope that we can achieve here in the United Nations a genuine international solidarity on those fundamental problems with which this General Assembly has had to deal. This, of course, is only the beginning—we are only commencing to create a new international economic order. The hard work must continue long after the speeches are over. But I can assure you, Mr. President, that my Government will co-operate fully in the work which this special session has set in motion and which has been well described in paragraph 6 of the Declaration of principles itself as the “creation of better conditions for all peoples to reach a life worthy of human dignity”.

80. Mr. ARVESEN (Norway): My Government had great hopes for this General Assembly and was determined, in constructive and positive co-operation with all other countries, to work for concrete progress and a meaningful break-through towards the establishment of a new and improved economic order in the world.

81. We are therefore pleased to note that it has been possible to elaborate a Declaration on the Establishment of

a New International Economic Order, a Declaration which my Government accepts.

82. Furthermore, we support fully the Special Programme of emergency measures which has been agreed upon. With regard to the rest of the Programme of Action, my delegation endorses its main objectives. However, the Programme of Action is a very comprehensive document which, it must be admitted, we have not had sufficient time to discuss fully. There are a few paragraphs in the Programme of Action that contain concepts and formulations which cause some difficulties for my delegation. My Government is, consequently, not in a position to commit itself at this point with regard to these concepts and formulations. I am referring *inter alia*, as an example, to section I, paragraph 3 (a) (vi) under the heading "General trade".

83. As regards the provisions of section I, paragraph 4 under the heading "Transportation and insurance", we are *inter alia*, asked to ensure the implementation of the code of conduct for liner conferences. At the recently concluded United Nations Conference in Geneva on this matter, Norway submitted proposals, which, while preserving the multilateral character of international shipping, would have given preferences to developing countries. These proposals were not accepted and the code which emerged from that Conference introduces, in our opinion, the unfortunate principle of bilateralism. My Government's position with regard to these issues remains unchanged.

84. However, as I stated at the outset of my intervention, Norway subscribes to the main objectives of the Programme of Action.

85. My Government for one, is particularly pleased to accept the results arrived at as the basis for further elaboration and implementation of a new international economic order, which will hopefully and eventually secure a more equitable distribution of income and wealth among the nations of the world, thus ensuring accelerated and sustained economic and social progress and development for the peoples of the third world.

86. Mr. ŠMÍD (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always supported the just demands of the developing countries in their efforts to achieve full political independence and economic and social progress, and to overcome their enormous difficulties caused by colonialism and neo-colonialism.

87. The Czechoslovak delegation came here with the same intention of principle: to lend its support to these just demands and to contribute to the positive results of the sixth special session of the General Assembly in this respect. We are glad and encouraged that the special session has constituted a remarkable step forward in our endeavours to solve the urgent economic problems of the developing countries.

88. In the course of the deliberations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, my delegation, too, presented its suggestions aimed at the strengthening of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and of the Programme of Action in favour of economic

international co-operation among all countries, irrespective of their socio-economic systems, and in favour of the developing countries.

89. We maintain that peaceful coexistence and co-operation and the strengthening of international security constitute the most important and, in fact, the fundamental prerequisite for development.

90. It is also our firm conviction that the implementation of the decision of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to reduce military budgets by 10 per cent and to use part of the funds thus saved to render assistance to developing countries [*resolution 3093 (XXVIII)*] would in a significant way contribute to the solving of the pressing problems and needs of the developing countries. It would also be of considerable help in the implementation of the very decisions of this special session of the General Assembly.

91. Having viewed the problems of economic development of developing countries in their entire complexity, as presented by my Foreign Minister during the general debate [*2211th meeting*], my delegation gave its full support to the adoption of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action adopted by this General Assembly.

92. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): My delegation welcomes the consensus which, after long and most difficult negotiations, has been reached on the main documents before this Assembly. In that connexion, may I address a special word of appreciation to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran, for his dedicated efforts during the many hours of intensive consultations?

93. Austria regards yesterday's decision of the General Assembly as an expression of the political will of the international community to work together for the establishment of a more balanced and just world economic order.

94. The Austrian Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs has in his statement in the general debate [*2224th meeting*] already outlined my Government's position on a number of basic issues which now form the subject of the Declaration and the Programme of Action. I can therefore limit my remarks on those documents to the following observations.

95. Concerning the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, my delegation interprets its provisions, particularly the principles enumerated in its paragraph 4, as applicable under the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

96. As to the Programme of Action, my delegation is pleased to see that agreement has been reached on a Special Programme in favour of the developing countries most seriously affected by recent economic events.

97. The Programme of Action, as its Introduction rightly states, is of "unprecedented scope". Its best hope of realization rests on maximum economic co-operation and understanding among States. In responding to this challenge and subscribing to the broad aims of the Programme, my

delegation has overcome a number of serious reservations on a number of its provisions. Some of those reservations were met in the course of our deliberations, while others still prevail.

98. In referring specifically to some of our reservations, I wish to make the following comments.

99. We hold the view that in pursuing the objectives set out in section I, paragraphs 1 (c) and (d), due account will have to be taken of the legitimate interests of both producers and consumers of raw materials and other goods. Only thus will there be a chance to maintain equitable and stable prices, on the one hand, and a continuous and orderly supply for consumers, on the other.

100. While fully subscribing to the necessity to explore all possible avenues to provide developing countries with additional resources to meet their development requirements, my delegation entertains considerable doubts as to the viability and practicability of the concept contained in paragraph 3 (a) (vi) of section I of the Programme of Action.

101. As to matters of general trade, and in particular the ongoing multilateral trade negotiations, my Government's position was outlined by the Austrian Federal Minister of Trade in his statement at the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in September 1973 in Tokyo, and is based upon the Declaration adopted at that meeting.

102. As far as paragraph 2 of section II is concerned, Austria, within the limits of its financial and budgetary possibilities, will continue to make every effort to increase its assistance to developing countries.

103. In making these observations I wish to stress, however, that they will in no way affect the willingness of my country to join in the common effort which has now been launched by this Assembly.

104. But our work has only begun. I am confident that whatever the forum it will be conducted in a spirit of understanding of new economic relationships as they emerged in the course of our debate. That awareness of a new phase of economic interdependence will prove to be indispensable if the documents adopted at this special session are to become, as we hope they will, the basis for a more stable economic and social order in peace and justice for all peoples of this world.

105. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The special session of the General Assembly, which is ending its work today, has been a forum for intense negotiation and debate the fruits of which are the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action.

106. Thanks to your efforts, Mr. President, thanks to the *Ad Hoc* Committee set up by the General Assembly and thanks to its excellent Chairman, Mr. Hoveyda of Iran, this special session is completing its work successfully and is beginning what can be a new and historic stage in international economic relations.

107. My delegation believes that the two documents are based on compromise and provide a suitable framework for effective long-term action. The reservations entered to those documents will not weaken them. They will remain the corner-stone of a new, more just international economic order. They represent the end of a period of growing injustices in relations between the wealthy and the poor countries. My delegation does not believe that those documents contain just fine intentions. On the contrary, we believe that they are an important starting-point in our efforts to bring about a new international community based on justice and interdependence based on equality.

108. I say this in spite of certain disappointing statements we have heard here. Those statements express positions which can only serve to perpetuate present forms of dependence.

109. Furthermore, my delegation believes that none of the provisions of these documents can be interpreted as weakening the substance or limiting the scope of earlier resolutions adopted by the General Assembly or other organizations of the United Nations system on the subjects mentioned in these documents.

110. The utilization of the raw materials by developing countries on the basis of the effective exercise of their sovereign rights and control of the exploitation, processing and marketing of these raw materials will continue to be one of the strongest guarantees of success in bringing about just terms of trade and thus achieving the establishment of a new international economic order. Nationalization here constitutes one of the most effective means to achieve those objectives. For that reason, the delegation of Peru wishes to repeat the principle that whenever States decide to nationalize resources in order to recover control over them, the establishment of the form and the amount of the payment to be made are decisions which are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the nationalizing and the settlement of any disputes that may arise in this connexion should take place in national courts.

111. On the same subject, the delegation of Peru wishes to say that it feels that all developing countries are fully entitled to set up associations of producers of raw materials and actively to co-ordinate their action in order to defend the prices of raw materials, to improve access to markets, to stabilize markets, and to improve their terms of trade. In this way they can guarantee a fair relationship between the prices of the raw materials that the developing countries export and the manufactures and equipment that they import. A fair relationship of this kind can ensure that there will be a new international economic order, which both documents that have just been adopted are designed to set in motion.

112. Mr. PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The not-always-concordant statements that we have heard in these closing stages stress the great significance of the results that we have achieved at the special session of the General Assembly. In expressing our satisfaction with these results, the Venezuelan delegation would like to associate itself with those delegations which have expressed full support for the principles in the Declaration and in the Programme of Action.

113. In this connexion, we share the position of other delegations, particularly the Latin American delegations, on the subject of permanent sovereignty over natural resources. Venezuela will continue to exercise its sovereign and inalienable rights over its natural resources in a responsible way, in accordance with our laws. Venezuela is prepared, in accordance with the documents adopted at this session of the General Assembly, to make a contribution, both in the consideration and solution of the urgent problems confronting many developing countries and in efforts to make a reality of the new international economic order. That is a task in which all of us here and now, more than ever before, are involved.

114. The solution of the world's economic problems lies not only in giving our urgent attention to the problems which have recently arisen but also in setting up a new international economic order designed to remove the injustices rooted in the old order that we are now leaving behind. I am confident that we will achieve our common objective.

115. Mr. MEGALOKONOMOS (Greece): The Greek delegation has, from the very beginning, supported wholeheartedly the proposal of the developing countries to convene the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

116. Consequently, we welcome with great satisfaction the adoption by the General Assembly of both the Declaration of principles and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, which, we are sure, will mark a milestone on the road towards the betterment of human conditions and international relations.

117. Nevertheless, it is only natural that, in a text of such importance and extent, any country might have some remarks and reservations to make. The main reservations under which my delegation accepted the Declaration of Principles and the Programme of Action are the following.

118. Concerning the Declaration and particularly paragraph 4(e), the Greek delegation recognizes fully the permanent sovereignty of every country over its natural resources and economic activities. It believes, nevertheless, that the right to nationalize should be closely interlinked with the obligation to provide prompt, real and equitable compensation, especially when the nationalization aims at small or medium-sized enterprises, in order not to deprive their owners of their sole means of existence.

119. As far as the Programme of Action is concerned, the Greek delegation would like to express the following reservation on section I, paragraph 4(a). We consider that the objectives of that subparagraph, "to promote an increasing and equitable participation of developing countries in the world shipping tonnage", should be implemented through the adoption of such measures as may be appropriate to permit free competition in the international freight market. To be more specific, those measures must respect the principle of the freedom of transactions in the maritime trade, as well as the need to safeguard both legitimate and fair competition and the freedom for everyone to choose the means of transportation of his preference.

120. We would like also to state that, as far as the phrase in paragraph 4(b) is concerned, "to arrest and reduce . . . freight rates" is generally desirable for both developed and developing countries. But, in a free-market system, freight rates depend essentially on the law of supply and demand, and it would be unrealistic to consider possible that any international agreement could modify this basic truth. On the other hand, we should not forget that in times of declining economic activity, quite often shipping operates at a loss in the expectation that world trade will resume its upward trend.

121. With regard to paragraph 4(d), we feel that the code of conduct for liner conferences should be implemented in such a way as not to hamper the free flow of international trade and particularly the transportation of raw materials and food-stuffs. For this reason the code of conduct should take into account the availability and general conditions of shipping.

122. My delegation's last reservation refers to section VII, paragraph 1(e). The first sentence of this paragraph concerns the treatment accorded by developing countries to imports from developed and developing countries. My delegation's reservation consists in the need to condition this disposition to the obligations and rights resulting from already existing international agreements. It is therefore without prejudice to those international agreements that this provision will be applied by my country.

123. The Greek delegation would like to add that Greece welcomes warmly the Special Programme in section X, including emergency measures to mitigate the difficulties of the developing countries most seriously affected by economic crisis. Although now approaching the threshold of industrialization, Greece is to be considered among the European developing countries and it therefore attaches great importance to the system of preferences between developed and developing countries. Greece has had the experience of advancing during the last 30 years, step by step, from the stage of despair resulting from destruction to the stage of hope for reconstruction. This is why we fully realize how long the process of development is and how great the role of assistance from developed countries can prove to be. This is why we are today in a position to appreciate especially the new economic order adopted by this Assembly. The inauguration of a new era in the relations between developing and developed countries which, if implemented with goodwill, if based on the respect of mutual obligations and rights, and if covered with international credibility, will mark, we are sure, a new dawn for the United Nations and for mankind in general.

124. Mr. ISAKSEN (Denmark): Let me at the outset state that my delegation shares the sentiments that the adoption by consensus of a Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and a Programme of Action, including a Special Programme for the developing countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis, is an important event in the history of the United Nations. This is the first time that the United Nations has taken up in its General Assembly the whole spectrum of economic problems. Seen in this light, it is a great encouragement that this special session has demonstrated a common willingness to deal with the economic questions which are confronting the whole of mankind.

125. The deliberations on the questions raised in the documents now adopted do not end with the closing of this special session. We will certainly have to deal with these problems not only in coming sessions of the General Assembly and especially at the special session to be convened in September 1975 but also in other organs within the United Nations framework.

126. Having said that, permit me on behalf of the Danish Government to make some comments on the documents which we adopted by consensus.

127. With reference to the Declaration, the progress achieved during the very extensive negotiations under the able guidance of Ambassador Hoveyda has removed the necessity for my delegation to make specific reservations to the text. This does not mean that we can fully subscribe to the formulation of all paragraphs in the Declaration, and I should like in particular to explain the Danish position on three paragraphs.

128. First, with regard to paragraph 4(e) of the Declaration, my Government fully supports the principle of permanent sovereignty of every State over its natural resources. We also acknowledge the right of any State to nationalize such resources. We therefore have no objection to the wording of the subparagraph as it stands. As to the question of compensation, the basic criterion should, in our view, be the principle of prompt, complete and effective compensation. We recognize, however, that in practice a solution will often have to be found in a compromise between conflicting interests. Settlement of disputes in this regard which are not solved within national jurisdiction should in all cases be made through arbitration or international adjudication.

129. Secondly, we should have preferred a different wording in paragraph 4(j) concerning the relationship between the prices of the different categories of goods exported and imported by developing countries. Our preference would have been a text which made it clear that the prices should be profitable to producers and fair to consumers and that the aim should be to bring about satisfying terms of trade and the expansion of the world economy.

130. Thirdly, while recognizing that an improvement was made as regards the formulations concerning associations of producers, my delegation feels that the text would have been further improved by a reference to the equally important interests of producers and consumers.

131. The Programme of Action really falls into two separate parts: a first part which I might call the Programme of Action proper and another part containing the emergency measures to be taken to mitigate the difficulties of the developing countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis.

132. Concerning the Programme of Action proper, it would serve no purpose to conceal the fact that there are a number of paragraphs where it has not been possible to find a wording which is acceptable to my delegation. This is not surprising, however, when one realizes that the Programme of Action contains a catalogue of nearly all the economic

questions which the different United Nations bodies have dealt with for the last 10 years. The closing of the special session would definitely not be the right time to repeat all Danish positions on the questions raised in the Programme of Action proper which over the years have been stated in the General Assembly, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], in IMF, in the Working Group on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and so on. In the future work on the questions raised in the Programme of Action these positions will be our point of departure.

133. Some of the elements in the Declaration of principles which I touched upon earlier are repeated in the Programme of Action. That being so, my earlier comments also cover the Programme of Action.

134. Furthermore, last night the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany made a number of observations on behalf of the European Economic Community and thus also on behalf of Denmark.

135. Against this background, I shall limit myself to a reservation on paragraph 4 of section I, concerning transportation and insurance. My Government is in complete sympathy with the wishes of the developing countries to minimize their freight expenditures. We cannot, however, comply with a request to ensure an early implementation of the code of conduct for liner conferences. We feel that this convention will not lead to lower costs but on the contrary will involve higher freight rates, less efficient service and, in general, create increased inconvenience to all.

136. Finally, I should like to turn to the last part of the Programme of Action concerning the Special Programme in favour of the most affected countries. My delegation realizes that many of the developing countries need immediate assistance to overcome their present situation. In recognition of this, the Community and its member States, including Denmark, have declared that they are prepared to make a substantial contribution, provided other members of the community of nations are willing to join them.

137. As to my country's possibility of making contributions beyond this initiative and over and above our present level of assistance, I shall limit myself to referring to the remarks made by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs during the general debate [2218th meeting] when he spoke about the future scope of the Danish development assistance programme.

138. May I add that the Danish delegation has noted with satisfaction that the Special Programme foresees the full utilization of the services and facilities of existing international organizations in the operation of the Special Fund.

139. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The supreme judicial body in the international community, the International Court of Justice, in its advisory opinion of 3 March 1950 stated the following, repeating what the Permanent Court of International Justice had already established even before the Second World War:

"The Court considers it necessary to say that the first duty of a tribunal which is called upon to interpret and

apply the provisions of a treaty is to endeavour to give effect to them in their natural and ordinary meaning in the context in which they occur. If the relevant words in their natural and ordinary meaning make sense in their context, that is an end of the matter. If, on the other hand, the words in their natural and ordinary meaning are ambiguous or lead to an unreasonable result, then, and then only, must the Court, by resort to other methods of interpretation, seek to ascertain what the parties really did mean when they used these words. As the Permanent Court said in the case concerning the *Polish Postal Service in Danzig*,

“It is a cardinal principle of interpretation that words must be interpreted in the sense which they would normally have in their context, unless such interpretation would lead to something unreasonable or absurd.”³

140. My delegation is convinced that what the Court said about the interpretation of treaties applies equally to the interpretation of resolutions like the two which we adopted yesterday. We believe that the texts of those resolutions are texts which should be interpreted in their natural and ordinary meaning, to use the words of the Court which I have just quoted. The words are self-explanatory, especially where references are made to the norms and procedures which this historic session of the General Assembly has felt should be applied without delay to eliminate existing disparities throughout the world and to ensure the prosperity of one and all, to use the terms of the Declaration.

141. For that reason, in this statement I shall confine myself to just a few considerations relating to paragraph 4 (e) of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. My comments will also relate to a few conclusions which, we believe, emerge from a consideration of that subparagraph.

142. First of all, I should like to say that we are very pleased that the inalienable principle of full permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources emerges from this Assembly strengthened through the emphatic recognition of certain fundamental rights which are implicit therein: the right of every country to exercise effective control over its natural resources and their exploitation using means which the State judges suitable to its own situation and the right of nationalization or transfer of ownership to its nationals when it considers that circumstances so require.

143. Secondly, I think it appropriate, as well, to stress that this subparagraph mentioned that every State has the right to be free from any kind of pressure, be it economic, political or other, which might be brought to bear in order to prevent it from exercising the right just mentioned.

144. The fact that the text of that subparagraph, precisely because it was the result of persevering efforts at conciliation, confines itself to the basic points I have just mentioned and does not try to go into all the various facets of this complex and crucial issue, in connexion with which, as is well known, there still are, unfortunately, many varied

positions, has, I believe, heightened the significance of the final session of the Working Group on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the so-called “Group of 40,” which will take place in June in the capital of my country.

145. As so many representatives have said in official debates and in unofficial negotiations, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the final draft of which is to be prepared by the Group I have just mentioned—a task in which the Declaration we approved yesterday will be a constant source of inspiration—will be, beyond doubt, a contribution of special importance for the establishment of a new international economic order.

146. We are confident that all members of the Group of 40 will show in Mexico the same spirit of compromise and receptivity which has prevailed at this special session which is coming to an end today. If so, the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States will become a reality before the end of this year and, as our Programme of Action so rightly states in its section VI, it will become:

“... an effective instrument towards the establishment of a new system of international economic relations based on equity, sovereign equality, and interdependence of the interests of developed and developing countries.”

147. Mr. AL-CHALABI (Iraq): It was not the intention of my delegation to speak on the documents which have been adopted by consensus. However, we feel compelled to do so after having noted that certain delegations chose not to abide by the spirit of consensus, but have expressed in strong terms their reservations and interpretations on certain important points in the Declaration, as well as in the Programme of Action—interpretations which are in contradiction with the purposes of the two documents and with the hopes placed in them by the majority of States Members of our Organization for the establishment of a new international economic order.

148. The Group of 77 has made many concessions—and, I should like to emphasize, substantial concessions—in order to reach a consensus acceptable to all: a real consensus whereby every country has to abide by the spirit and letter of the principles and guidelines contained in those documents.

149. Those reservations, I am sad to say, have tended not only to reduce the effectiveness of this hard-worked-for consensus but to render it inoperative. That is why I am constrained to place on record the position and understanding of my delegation on the following points contained in resolution 3201 (S-VI), “Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order”, and resolution 3202 (S-VI), “Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order”.

150. On paragraph 4 (e) of the Declaration, on permanent sovereignty and nationalization, our understanding is that that principle means that nationalization is the most effective expression of the permanent sovereignty of the State over natural resources and all economic activities in the country concerned. We believe that nationalization in developing countries which are exporters of raw materials is the only way to implement effectively the principle of

³ See *Competence of Assembly regarding admission to the United Nations, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950*, p. 8.

permanent sovereignty and to exercise real and effective control over natural resources. It is only by nationalization and the liquidation of concessionary systems and all colonial forms of exploitation that developing countries can use freely and efficiently those resources for the benefit of the people in fulfilling the objectives of the accelerated social and economic development of those countries.

151. Our understanding of that principle is that all questions and consequences arising from the exercise of the right of sovereignty are to be governed solely by the State concerned, its competent organs and its institutions. It is the State that fixes the possible amount of compensation.

152. It follows that all disputes that may arise from the exercise of the right of nationalization, whether related to compensation or its amount or the mode of payment, are to be settled exclusively in accordance with the domestic laws, and fall within the jurisdiction of the national courts of the country carrying out nationalization.

153. Furthermore, and in this regard, my delegation interprets subparagraph (a) of section VIII of the Programme of Action to mean that the international community is committed morally, as well as politically, to defend the exercise of this right, and to frustrate any attempts, discriminatory measures or actions aimed at undermining and rendering ineffective and inoperative the exercise of sovereignty, including nationalization.

154. On paragraph 4 (t) of the Declaration, and on paragraph 1 (c) of section I of the Programme of Action, both of which relate to producers' associations, my delegation understands that the main objectives and aims of such associations are to defend and safeguard the common interests of the raw materials-producing developing countries which are constituent members of such associations and to determine the right values and prices of the commodities concerned, with a view to continuously improving the income from their exports, which is necessary for present and future development requirements of the producing countries.

155. In this connexion, the right of developing raw-materials-exporting countries to decide on and adopt pricing policies for their commodities cannot, under any circumstances or pretexts, be negotiated or compromised. In the view of my delegation, the establishment and strengthening of the producers' associations is the only way to counterbalance the overwhelming force of the monopolistic groupings in the industrialized countries, which became the predominant feature of the economies of those countries.

156. Finally, on section X of the Programme of Action, relating to the Special Programme, including emergency measures, the understanding of my delegation is that the developed countries, being the main beneficiaries of the present inequitable international economic order at the expense of developing countries, should bear the main, if not the sole, responsibility for financing the programme for extending aid and assistance to developing countries.

157. It follows that the other countries which could be potential contributors to such a programme are those which

are in a position to participate, whether in the Special Fund or in other measures, on a voluntary basis and after taking into account present and future commitments those countries have made vis-à-vis other developing countries through bilateral and multilateral channels. In this connexion, I wish to recall what has been mentioned in the statement made in the general debate by the Minister for Oil and Minerals of Iraq [2217th meeting] on Iraq's contributions made in 1974, amounting to \$500 million, mostly in the form of grants and loans, and representing a very high proportion of the gross national product of Iraq.

158. Furthermore, any possible contributions from such countries could be made only after meeting the basic needs and requirements of those countries, which are, first, their present and future requirements of economic and social development. Iraq, with a low *per capita* income despite its huge resources, has set for itself ambitious development objectives. For the financial year 1974/75 the allocations for development amounted to \$4,000 million, in addition to government current expenditures amounting to \$2,200 million, an important part of which goes to human and social development.

159. Second, there are the national and regional obligations of those countries. As was stated by Iraq's Minister for Oil and Minerals in the general debate, the development requirements of the Arab oil-exporting countries should be viewed as part of those of the whole Arab world, which suffers as one area from severe problems of economic and social under-development. Furthermore, he brought into focus the problems of the Arab world related to national security and defence, which necessitate collective efforts and responsibility.

160. Mr. CAICEDO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Following the energy crisis this session was called, designed not only to deal with oil and the price of oil but also to consider development and raw materials or rather the totality of trade and finance and their impact on development.

161. For almost 20 years the countries of the third world, in various places, have been denouncing the severely unequal situations and have noted that the gap between rich and poor countries is widening dangerously. Oil had the virtue of making people think seriously about management, inventory, distribution and payment for non-renewable natural resources and about the fact that, in spite of economic distances, there is basic solidarity among all countries of the world.

162. Technological advances and demographic increases indicate, too, that the task, if it is to be performed, must be universal, rapid and radical, if the world wants to organize a more rational and equitable international economic order.

163. With these thoughts the Group of 77 prepared two fundamental documents—a declaration which formulated criteria of equity and economic rights of the developing countries and a plan of action which provided for immediate measures and long-term measures in line with those criteria. For the first time it seemed that the great Powers were coming here not as adversaries but as partners in a common enterprise, determined to adjust age-old inequities

for the benefit of others but first and foremost for their own benefit.

164. The notion of interdependence and solidarity was always present in a world which is a kind of ship floating around in space with a vast cargo of passengers on board, hungry, desperate and deprived of the benefits of education, health and jobs, face to face with a rich and powerful part of humanity which controls wealth, money, finance, transport and the fixing of prices for sales and purchases.

165. These first-class passengers on the ship seem to realize now that to consolidate their own privileges would be self-defeating. Hence, we did not expect an agreement which would be rapid or easy or total in such broad matters which are so complicated and which affect directly the final gain, but the discrepancy was circumscribed on a few points. The original documents were changed in open dialogue and a formulation was reached in which there could be reservations and clarifications, but in an accessory way, with the idea that we would achieve a final grand consensus. In the final analysis, both documents were adopted last night in this very hall by this procedure and in an atmosphere of general harmony.

166. But it became clear quite soon that this was not the case and that perhaps there existed some deliberate intention to permit of a hope to liquidate it at one fell swoop. In the contact group and in previous consultative groups there was rather obstinately put forward a series of vetoes, and the painfully constructed structure seemed to be collapsing in the face of this demonstration of pride, isolationism and power. Power is not very likeable if it is not buttressed by moral principles. This moral purpose was not shining yesterday.

167. It is not enough to declare that there was an intention to come to the help of the countries most severely afflicted by the present crisis. In no way is this incompatible with the adoption of a global policy which radically attacks the origin of inequity and unfounded privileges—provided that it was not a matter of pitting certain poor countries against other poor countries and confronting them in a sterile struggle, in a kind of “every man for himself” situation. But the objective of this session is different. We are not excluding any emergency plan, but we are devoting ourselves fundamentally to the study of raw materials and development.

168. But history is irreversible and the conscience of the world has been awakened. In the face of the formidable obstacles which have been raised stands the solidarity of the poor countries, which constitute more than 70 per cent of the totality of mankind. The route has been traced and the goals have been laid down with much more depth and clarity. Those who are lagging behind are those who believe in coexistence and in the possibility of consolidating the enormous distances and gaps existing between nations, those who prefer not to adopt codes of general conduct but rather to try, isolatedly and with discrimination, to deal with commercial situations more on the basis of their own national advantage than on that of the nature of the product.

169. It would be distressing if we were to leave this Assembly in defeat. We all represent the great human

family. Over and above the interests of flags, it is quite obvious that we breathe the same air; we have to have access to the same resources; we have to exchange goods and services, not only out of selfish, narrow interests, but with vision. We must not lose tomorrow by maintaining the impossible and unjust situation of yesterday. This special session of the General Assembly should be not an end but a beginning, an opening up of a new awareness and an awakening of conscience.

170. As a representative of a new country, a poor and developing country, but a vital country full of promise and aware of its situation and of its vulnerability, my heart is full of hope and trust that in spite of everything there will be justice done to the poorest and the most populous.

171. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): I was hesitant to speak, and if I have taken the floor finally it is because certain statements and reservations expressed in this Assembly have really surprised me. When some people minimize the results of this session and say that the major concern of their delegations was immediate relief for the developing countries which are most affected by recent changes in the world economic situation, I wonder whether they have followed the proceedings attentively and especially whether they have read the documents, particularly section X of the Programme of Action.

172. I wonder, too, whether they have listened with attention to the speeches made by heads of delegations in the general debate.

173. Must I remind the Assembly that the head of the Iranian delegation, on the very first day of the general debate [2209th meeting], proposed, “on behalf of my sovereign, a perfectly balanced plan, much more in the interests of the developing countries than other plans produced hastily and presented in the last few days? If delegations which today are complaining about the scanty results of this Assembly had sincerely co-operated with us from the very beginning, we would have had even better results.

174. I should like to refer to some delegations which have expressed doubt about the possibility of linking the prices of manufactured products with the prices of raw materials, and also about the possibility of guaranteeing the real value of the monetary reserves of the developing countries. My delegation believes that no effort should be spared to achieve that end, and we believe that the link is possible. It is on that basis that we intend to establish our economic relations with other countries.

175. In conclusion, Mr. President, and with your permission, I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to all my colleagues who have been kind enough to pay me compliments. I do not think I deserve so much praise. Indeed, we have all worked together and we have all made great efforts: representatives, interpreters, members of the Secretariat and particularly the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Diallo.

176. In every section of the Programme of Action which we have adopted, we find the following formula cropping up: “All efforts should be made to” and so forth. For our

part here, we have not worked on a conditional basis. We have done everything we could and I think thanks are due not to any one of us, but to all of us, and, above all, to our President, whose patience and co-operation has made it possible for us to perform this sometimes very difficult task.

177. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is for us an occasion for great satisfaction that once again the General Assembly has done its work under your authority. While your wisdom, from the very beginning, was an extra pledge of our success, there is no doubt that the efforts that have been made here—by us, by you, by everyone, and principally by our brother and friend, Mr. Hoveyda—have made it possible constantly to galvanize our waning energies. The Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee was devoted, and as has been said, effective. Let us hope that in this tribute he will find a sincere expression of our friendship and gratitude.

178. There is no need to stress how much thought—in our awareness of the importance of the problems to be resolved—all delegations have given this matter. There was a debate, which was very significant. We have also witnessed complex and delicate negotiations.

179. We must say that this sixth special session of the General Assembly has been held in an atmosphere of crisis marked by, first, the will to perpetuate economic domination, which is a constant of the policy of the imperialist Powers; secondly, the stagnation imposed upon the third world which tended to make chronic if not irreversible the exploitation of their wealth and the draining of their working energies; thirdly, inflation, a phenomenon generated by the developed countries which has assumed catastrophic proportions—with ruinous expenditures and waste—the antidemocratic nature of which could not have been changed by attempts at renewing the international monetary system, and the manner of fixing commodity prices, which has made it possible constantly to drain the resources of the third world; fourthly, the development decades, which were a total failure—all these factors, which underlie the present international economic order, seemed a fundamental and irreversible obstacle to development. However, the acuteness of the world economic crisis has, because of recent developments, created conditions of an awakening of awareness on the part of the whole international community of the need to transform the present order and replace it by a new order that would be more viable because it would be more equitable.

180. The merit of this special session will undeniably be that of having caused the spirit of agreement to progress and thus of having contributed to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. The approach to the problems by third world countries was constructive. We had to establish a dialogue, and immediately we chose dialogue on the understanding that it was to be established upon the basis of equal consideration of the priorities of all countries. If the developed countries have their priorities, the developing countries have their own, which are more urgent, more crucial, and often vital.

181. I must say that throughout these proceedings that approach has been confirmed both in the spirit of modera-

tion which guided the Group of 77 in its negotiations and in the spirit of conciliation which emerged in other groups. On all sides, the partners to the dialogue, in spite of the reservations of some, displayed their political will to achieve consensus reflecting in its broadest form their agreement on the essential principles for future action and on the ways in which we should tackle our future tasks jointly.

182. The consensus underlying our work is unprecedented. It is of considerable scope. It opens up real prospects of fruitful co-operation. We are in the General Assembly, and everyone is quite well aware that consensus is not unanimity in this body. Given the number, variety and divergencies of concerns and interests of its members, how could we hope for unanimity on the decisions to be taken, especially when those decisions may constitute an historic turning-point?

183. The Group of 77 showed its devotion to the compelling logic of its fundamental doctrine, displayed undeniable maturity and lived up to the desire to understand its partners with a view to working out along with them the necessary compromises.

184. It is thus by genuine consensus, the broadest it is possible to imagine here, that we finally succeeded in adopting the text which is the result of this special session. Of course, we are aware that on the level of final agreement consensus often embraces a certain number of differences expressed in the reservations of various parties. But this consensus does constitute considerable progress, not only in the search for solutions to our problems but also towards establishing the broadest possible co-operation among the members of the international community.

185. The cohesiveness of the Group of 77 was the expression of the level of awareness of its members and at the same time lent full significance to natural alliances, particularly with all the socialist countries—natural alliances which are profoundly motivated by the will of the international community to establish a new era of justice, progress and peace. While the developed countries have not refused to enter a dialogue—it is to their credit—the Group of 77 was united and constituted a solid front, and for the first time in the history of the United Nations the General Assembly worked essentially on the basis of documents prepared by the third world, which demonstrates the importance of this group and is an augury of its constructive action in the strengthening of international institutions.

186. The third world is no fiction. It is a contemporary reality. It is a force, a responsible force.

187. The international community as a whole concedes that the sixth special session is an important turning-point in international economic relations. Often—is there any need to stress it?—it is more difficult to begin a dialogue than to finish it. Now, on the matter of these particular problems, we can state this with even more conviction. The process thus embarked upon demonstrates a collective political will to tackle the genuine problems of development, and the United Nations is more than ever now emerging as the proper instrument to contribute to the solution of the great problems of the day.

188. The following has been established. First, the problem of development is the priority of priorities and political emancipation has content only in terms of economic liberation.

189. Secondly, all basis for dialogue must take account of everyone's priorities; that is to say the priorities of all parties. However, the central question lies in harmonizing priorities among the vital needs of poor countries and the needs of developed countries.

190. Thirdly, the developed countries must understand that nationalization is a development instrument and not an ideological option. Therefore, they must recognize this principle sincerely. Since they have applied it in their own countries, let them not drain it of its substance or limit its scope by prohibitive demands and unacceptable restrictions.

191. Fourthly, the recovery of natural resources, if it is to have any sense, implies the readjustment of commodity prices.

192. Fifthly, in a world more solidly bound together than ever, the development of third-world countries falls within the framework of the international community itself.

193. Sixthly, the creation of producers' associations has no objective other than that of establishing terms of trade that would be fairer because of the institution of equal negotiating relationships.

194. Seventhly, these fundamental principles have not made us forget the importance of the Special Programme adopted. This Programme should be implemented immediately in order to meet the urgent needs of the poorest countries. As President Boumediène said in this Assembly on 10 April:

"My country is submitting a proposal relative to this special programme. I express the hope that the General Assembly will adopt it as a concrete and immediate measure which will constitute one of the results for which the present special session of the General Assembly of the

United Nations can take credit." [2208th meeting, para. 143.]

195. Algeria, as a member of the third world community, proclaims its will to make its own contribution to international mutual aid, it being understood that in our view aid is to be defined as a contribution from those who have the most to those who have the least, or nothing at all.

196. This Assembly has raised problems in their true perspectives. Throughout the debate we have demonstrated an unflagging will to maintain dialogue with all our partners. We have demonstrated an unflagging will also to achieve genuine co-operation to achieve objectives which seem to us to be common. It is clear that our optimism should be reasonable and that we should preserve a sense of proportion, because in an undertaking where there can be no victors or vanquished, we must recognize objectively the limits of the possible in order to attempt the impossible. Through the divergent and often conflicting interests, no one has ever thought that it could be otherwise, or that the affluent countries were going, by a miracle, to renounce in the space of a few weeks decades and even centuries of privilege.

197. The new perspectives, the awareness that the stake is at the level of the whole of mankind, makes the international community readier to confront seriously the problems it has to resolve. And since the debate and the decisions of the Assembly have given us the hope that we may achieve this result, the development of the third world peoples and the success which we must win over unemployment, poverty, disease, illiteracy and insecurity, take shape not as the revenge of the poor countries upon the rich countries, but as the victory of mankind as a whole over itself.

198. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Given the lateness of the hour, I am sure the General Assembly will agree to allow me to adjourn the meeting and to continue this afternoon.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.