

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



**2349th
PLENARY MEETING**
(Closing meeting)

Tuesday, 16 September 1975,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Programme of work	1
Agenda item 3: Credentials of representatives to the seventh special session of the General Assembly (concluded): (b) Report of the Credentials Committee	1
Agenda item 7: Development and international economic co-operation (concluded) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee of the Seventh Special Session	2
Agenda item 2: Minute of silent prayer or meditation	10
Closing of the session	10

President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria).

Programme of work

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members will recall that at the 2348th plenary meeting, on 11 September, the Assembly decided to prolong the special session, the closing date of which had been set for Friday, 12 September, and to hold a plenary meeting on Saturday, 13 September, or at the latest on the morning of Monday, 15 September.
2. For reasons known to the Assembly, the meeting in question could not be held before today.
3. May I take it that the Assembly wishes once again to change its decision with regard to the duration of the seventh special session and to close the session formally today, Tuesday, 16 September?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly (concluded)*:

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall first consider agenda item 3 (b). The report of the Credentials Committee on this item is contained in document A/10228.

5. I invite the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Mr. Narciso G. Reyes of the Philippines, to present the Committee's report.

* Resumed from the 2326th meeting.

6. Mr. REYES (Philippines), Chairman of the Credentials Committee: On behalf of the Credentials Committee I have the honour to present to the Assembly the following brief report.

7. The Credentials Committee held one meeting, on 10 September 1975. It had before it a memorandum by the Secretary-General dated 9 September 1975 from which it appeared that the credentials issued by Heads of State or Government or by Ministers for Foreign Affairs had been communicated, as provided for in rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, by all Member States except 51. The detailed information is contained in document A/10228.

8. In the light of the remarks made by the Committee's Legal Counsel and by the representative of Senegal, which are duly noted in paragraphs 5 and 6 of the report, the Chairman proposed that the Committee should decide to accept the credentials of representatives of all Member States referred to in paragraph 4 of the document and proposed the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of the report for adoption by the Committee. The resolution was adopted without a vote.

9. The Chairman then proposed that the Committee should recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution, and that proposal was approved unanimously by the Committee. The draft resolution recommended by the Committee is contained in paragraph 10 of the report. On behalf of the Committee, I now commend this draft resolution for the consideration of the Assembly.

10. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 10 of its report [A/10228]. May I take it that the Assembly approves this draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3361 (S-VII)).

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before turning to the next item on the agenda, I call upon the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to explain his Government's position.

12. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I apologize for asking to speak when we are at the final stage of our work but if I take a few minutes of the Assembly's time it is because I consider it my duty to explain that the General Assembly has just adopted a report of the Credentials Committee that

included approval of the credentials of the delegation of Israel to this special session. The representatives of the Zionists who have attended this session represent a régime that is racist and aggressive, which occupies by force the territories of States Members of the United Nations and violates the essential conditions for qualification for membership which have been agreed on within our Organization. That Zionist régime violates the basic conditions of General Assembly resolution 273 (III), which provides for Israel to be admitted to the United Nations. It must respect the Charter and comply with the preceding resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular with resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III), on partition and on the resettlement of the Palestinian refugees in particular. The General Assembly will therefore realize that the representative of the Zionist régime, which does not comply with the provisions of the Charter, should be banished from the General Assembly.

13. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call upon the representative of Israel in exercise of his right of reply.

14. Mr. HERZOG (Israel): The delegation of Israel rejects the unwarranted and ill-conceived intervention of the Syrian delegation, injecting, as is its wont, a discordant note into this session of the Assembly, which has been characterized by an atmosphere of consensus. Neither this action or any other disruptive actions by Syria, or other countries, will deter my Government from its policy of seeking accord with our neighbours and moving along the road towards peace in the Middle East.

AGENDA ITEM 7

Development and international economic co-operation (concluded)

REPORT OF THE *AD HOC* COMMITTEE OF THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION (A/10232)

15. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Seventh Special Session, Mr. José Antonio García Belaúnde of Peru, to present the Committee's report in document A/10232, a provisional version of which is before the General Assembly.

16. Mr. GARCIA BELAUNDE (Peru), Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Seventh Special Session (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Seventh Special Session, which was issued this morning. The Committee unanimously decided to recommend for the Assembly's approval a draft resolution which appears in paragraph 11 and two draft decisions, which appear in paragraph 12 of the report.

17. The final text, including the final text of the draft resolution and the decisions, together with the texts of the verbatim statements made by delegations after the adoption of the draft resolution, will be distributed as soon as possible.

18. The texts which were approved at dawn today are the result of a continuous, sustained effort and of goodwill on the part of all delegations. During the last 15 days we have had very long hours of work and negotiation, and I believe that the result is satisfactory.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Seventh Special Session.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite members to turn their attention to paragraph 8 of document A/10232, which reads as follows:

"The Committee agreed that the statements made by delegations after the adoption of the draft resolution would be reproduced verbatim as an annex to the report of the Committee on the understanding that they would not be made again in plenary meetings (see annex below)."

20. May I take it that it is also the wish of the General Assembly to hear statements after the decisions have been taken on the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee?

It was so decided.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before taking a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, I shall call on the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Morse.

22. Mr. MORSE (Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs): The draft resolution recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee incorporates a number of proposals regarding development and international economic co-operation.

23. Should the draft resolution be adopted, financial implications will arise in respect of some of the provisions requiring action by the Secretary-General or units of the Secretariat. In accordance with past practice at previous special sessions and in view of the convening later today of the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General intends to deal with the financial implications which may arise from any resolution adopted at the seventh special session as may be required either in the context of the final performance report of the 1974-1975 biennium or in revised estimates for the 1976-1977 biennium.

24. With regard to the servicing of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System, which is proposed in paragraph 1 of section VII of the draft resolution in paragraph 11, it is assumed that the meetings of that Committee will be scheduled at a time when not all of the main conference rooms are required for scheduled meetings of the Main Committees of the General Assembly.

25. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The draft resolution recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee is contained in paragraph 11 of its report [A/10232].

26. The draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3362 (S-VII)).

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The *Ad Hoc* Committee also recommends the adoption of two draft decisions which are set out in paragraph 12 (a) and (b) of its report.

28. I request members to turn their attention to the draft decision contained in paragraph 12 (a) of document A/10232 relating to land-locked developing countries. This draft decision was adopted unanimously by the Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft decision was adopted.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The second draft decision, which appears in paragraph 12 (b) of document A/10332, concerns the World Conference of the International Women's Year. It was adopted unanimously by the Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft decision was adopted.

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In view of the fact that some provisions of the resolution and of one of the decisions just taken require action by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session, may I propose that a decision be taken to include in the draft agenda of the thirtieth session an item entitled "Development and international economic co-operation: implementation of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its seventh special session"? If there is no objection to this proposal, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As members are aware, the recommendations and decisions by the *Ad Hoc* Committee were made after a series of long and arduous consultations and negotiations among the entire membership of the United Nations. Representatives have also had an opportunity to explain their positions or reservations in that Committee. May I therefore appeal to those who have included their names in the list of speakers kindly to be as brief as possible in view of the limited time before us.

32. I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak on any or all the decisions just taken.

33. Mr. WILLESEE (Australia): Mr. President, as this morning sees the closure of the seventh special session and of the twenty-ninth regular session of the General Assembly we pay a tribute to the guidance you have given at these sessions.

34. As all delegations recognize, there are a great variety of matters covered by the decisions taken this morning,

which cover or touch upon the major elements in international economic relations. These decisions are, of course, directed towards the achievement of a new international economic order.

35. It will be recognized that the circumstances of particular countries which support the thrust and objectives of the document cannot have been taken fully into account in the circumstances of its preparation. This is quite understandable, for to have done so on such complex and interrelated issues would have required a series of negotiations going well beyond the scope of our efforts in the past two weeks.

36. Moreover, because of the very pressures under which we have had to work, not all delegations have been able to be present at all the discussions, formal and informal, which have produced the package before us. The detailed elaboration and implementation of what is contained in the programme will, as the document itself provides, require further detailed consideration and negotiation in various other forums. We regard this as the necessary next step following our efforts during the past two weeks.

37. It follows that, until this process of elaboration and negotiation has progressed, general support for the programme cannot be regarded as giving rise to commitment on each and every specific point. It is nevertheless an undertaking to examine all proposals on their merits as further events progress.

38. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The special session of the General Assembly devoted to development and international economic co-operation is drawing to a close. The current session, a continuation of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, is an important session. In the past two weeks, a fierce struggle has been going on between the third-world countries on the one hand and the super-Powers on the other concerning the question of whether to uphold or oppose the basic principles of the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and whether to reform or preserve the old international economic relations. The proceedings of the session fully demonstrate the mighty force of the awakening and unity of the third-world countries and give expression to their strong will to destroy the old international economic order and develop their national economy self-reliantly; they also reflect the deepening of the struggle of the third-world countries against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism in the economic field. They have once again exposed, with an abundance of facts, the ruthless super-Power exploitation and plunder, and forcefully repudiated the fallacious arguments of the super-Powers. They pointed out in all seriousness that imperialist oppression and exploitation are the root-cause of the poverty and backwardness of the developing countries and the biggest obstacle to the development of their national economy. They urgently demand immediate action to implement earnestly the correct principles embodied in the resolutions of the sixth special session and put forward a series of reasonable proposals on six important issues concerning international economic relations.

39. Through a series of struggles, the session finally achieved relatively positive results. The Chinese delegation supports the resolution adopted by the current session. In our opinion, this document basically reflects some of the just propositions and reasonable demands of the developing countries in the fields of international economics and trade. The document has correctly pointed out that the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by the sixth special session of the General Assembly and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States lay down the foundations for the new international economic order. It has also stressed the need for increasing the capacity of developing countries, individually and collectively, to pursue their development so as to eliminate the economic gap between the developed and developing countries. To implement the basic principles of the resolutions of the sixth special session, the document has formulated certain guidelines for action and concrete measures in the fields of international trade, the transfer of real resources, the reform of the international monetary system, science and technology, industrialization, food and agriculture, etc. The document has confirmed the principle of formulating an integrated programme for commodities and the indexation of prices, which are aimed at improving the terms of trade of the developing countries and stabilizing and increasing their export earnings. It requests the adoption of measures required to implement the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action adopted at the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [UNIDO] [A/10112, chap. IV]. The document has also provided for the unshirkable responsibilities and obligations which the developed countries should undertake for the development of the developing countries.

40. With regard to the question of food and agriculture, we support the correct position and determination of the developing countries to develop agriculture independently so as to attain basic self-sufficiency in food grains gradually. In our opinion, it is of far-reaching significance for us developing countries to change the situation in which one has to rely on imported food for feeding the people. We are firmly opposed to the super-Powers using food as a means for control and exploitation. The food reserve of each country is a matter falling entirely within its internal affairs, and policies and measures in this regard can only be worked out by the country concerned in the light of its actual conditions. The establishment of an international food reserve and all other international co-ordinating activities on the question of food should be explored and negotiated on the basic principle of respecting the sovereignty of all countries.

41. We support the just proposals of the developing countries for a full and effective participation in the decision-making process in international monetary affairs and for reforming the international financial institutions. The state of affairs of a few big Powers, particularly a super-Power, controlling international financial institutions must be ended, and irrational regulations and systems must be reformed.

42. The Chinese delegation would like to state here once again that the International Monetary Fund [IMF], the World Bank and some other international financial organizations have to date still obstinately refused to implement

General Assembly resolution 2758 (XXVI); continued to pursue their policy of creating "two Chinas", a policy which is hostile to the Chinese people. Therefore, China will participate in none of the activities undertaken under their auspices.

43. As a result of the sabotage and obstruction of the super-Powers, certain important propositions and reasonable demands contained in the working paper of the Group of 77 [A/10003/Add.1, annex I] have not been written into the resolution of the session. The proceedings of the session clearly show that the establishment of the new international economic order is by no means all plain sailing and that the obstacle comes mainly from the two super-Powers. One super-Power is resorting to its habitual tactics of offering inducement and making threats by soft and hard means, in an attempt to undermine the unity of the third-world countries and sap their fighting will, so as stubbornly to maintain the old economic order. The other super-Power, which styles itself as "socialist", is even more insidious in its tactics. While trumpeting sham assistance, it tries hard to cover up its true exploitation and obliterate the contradictions between the poor and the rich countries in order to shirk its responsibility as a biggest exploiter. In drafting conference papers, it indulged in seeking its selfish interests and openly asked the developing countries to delete from the working paper such correct wordings as "in the interest of the developing countries" and "the accelerated development of the developing countries". Its aim was simply to maintain and enhance its privileged position of exploiting and plundering the third-world countries in its intensified contention for spheres of influence with the other super-Power in the economic field.

44. What is even more disgusting is that this super-Power tried to tamper with the correct wording in the documents of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima in August [see A/10217 and Corr.1], which reaffirmed the determination to eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of foreign aggression and domination and the economic and social consequences thereof as a prerequisite for development, and instead forcibly asked the third-world countries to accept the so-called "disarmament" and "détente" as the "prerequisite for development" in its attempt openly to justify colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign aggression and domination, to upset the orientation of our session and sabotage the just struggle of the third-world countries. It is only natural that these unreasonable demands have been firmly resisted and rejected by the third-world countries.

45. Recalling its repeated attempt at the sixth special session to delete the word "new" from the expression "a new international economic order" and instead begin the phrase with the word "maintain", and judging from the performances of this super-Power at this session, one can see full well its sham support for and real opposition to the third-world struggle for the establishment of the new international economic order.

46. The positive achievements reached at this session are the result of the united struggle of the numerous third-world countries, as well as their common efforts in alliance with some second-world countries. However, the resolution already adopted is only something on paper and it requires protracted and arduous struggles to translate it into reality.

47. Unity is strength and victory can be won only through struggle. - In recent years, the united struggles of the developing countries have constantly developed, and their mutual co-operation has been increasing steadily, thus giving a powerful impetus to the excellent situation of anti-imperialism and anti-hegemonism. They have adopted, individually and collectively, the policy of self-reliance and have won one victory after another in defending the sovereignty over their natural resources, achieving nationalization, controlling and administering the transnational corporations and forming and strengthening raw material exporting organizations.

48. We are deeply convinced that the struggle of the third-world countries to reform the inequitable old international economic relations and to develop their national economy independently is an irresistible historical trend. Although they may yet encounter resistance and sabotage of one kind or another on their road of advance, they are sure to overcome gradually the obstacles raised by the super-Powers and march from victory to victory.

49. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic, I should like to signify our agreement in principle with the resolution just adopted.

50. The delegations of the socialist countries view the seventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly as an important step in the developing struggle for the elimination of the persistent injustice in international economic relations which does serious harm to the economies of developing countries. In the view of those delegations, at the present time in circumstances of continuing détente, favourable conditions are being created for the attainment of appreciable progress in this direction.

51. The delegations of the socialist countries note with satisfaction that, in the discussion at this session and in the final document, stress is laid on the significance of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States which confirm the principle of peaceful coexistence, establish a clear interdependence between social and economic development and the strengthening of international peace and security, and contain a number of progressive principles which should underlie international economic relations.

52. The delegations of the socialist countries have, in the course of the session, expressed their position of principle, which on the whole is favourable to the concrete proposals of the Group of 77, and also their general approach to the problem of economic co-operation and development. The position of the socialist countries on these problems is also well known from previous statements in the United Nations. In their support for the struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for the elimination of the heritage of colonialism in the economic realm, the socialist countries at the same time do not accept and will never

accept the idea of dividing the world into the so-called "north" and the so-called "south," and so-called "poor" and the so-called "rich" countries, nor the idea of equal obligations for the economically developed countries towards the developing countries without any account being taken of the radical differences in their social and economic systems. This attitude applies also to a number of concrete provisions of the final document of this session which are founded on that concept.

53. The socialist States intend to continue to do everything in their power to promote the implementation of measures in the field of international politics which will create the necessary conditions for the normal development and the social and economic progress of all countries and peoples.

54. In so far as concerns economic relations between the socialist countries and the young independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America, these relations will continue to be developed on the basis of equality and common advantage. Furthermore, the socialist countries will continue to provide economic and technical assistance to developing countries in accordance with our resources and the specific desires expressed by developing countries and in ways which are in keeping with the social and socio-economic system of socialist States and which have fully proved themselves.

55. The effectiveness of the assistance which the countries of the socialist community are providing to the developing countries was once again confirmed in the statements of the representatives of developing countries who spoke in the general debate at this session. And this is a convincing response to certain slanderous fabrications. The purposes of those purveying these inventions are fundamentally at variance with the aspirations of peoples for the strengthening of peace and security and, particularly, for the successful development of the developing countries.

56. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude and my thanks for his tireless efforts and active work to the President of the seventh special session, Mr. Bouteflika; and to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Pronk; the Chairman of the Group of 77, Mr. García Robles; our partners in the negotiations; the staff members of the Secretariat; the interpreters, and so many other unseen helpers. They have all made their personal contributions to the work we have accomplished, and we very much appreciate it.

57. Mr. VINCI (Italy): As Italy at present holds the presidency of the Council of the European Economic Community [EEC], I have been asked by my partners to say a few words on behalf of the whole EEC.

58. I shall start by stating that EEC welcomes wholeheartedly the text of the resolution which we have just unanimously adopted. This is a gratifying feeling for all delegations that have been involved in the prolonged and often strenuous negotiations. This result has indeed been made possible only by the encouraging spirit of co-operation and dialogue that prevailed throughout the session, and because of the substantial concessions that were made by all sides. I have been impressed by the

atmosphere of conciliation and mutual understanding. The Secretary-General himself, Kurt Waldheim, to whom we feel indebted for the quiet and helpful work he has done in the background, expressed the same feeling in the remarks he made yesterday in a public statement.

59. We can therefore all congratulate ourselves. Special congratulations, of course, are to be made first of all to our distinguished President, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who has guided our work with patience and statesmanship. We extend equally our sincere expression of appreciation and gratitude to the Chairman and other officers of the General Committee and the secretariat of the *Ad Hoc* Committee; to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Ambassador Bennani; to Mr. Pérez Guerrero; to Ambassador García Robles, and to all the heads of delegations who have contributed so much to the success of this special session.

60. We also extend our gratitude to all the members of the staff, the interpreters and all those who have helped us throughout this session.

61. As for the detailed results of this session, I set forth our views last night, in general terms, in the *Ad Hoc* Committee. I said then that we were satisfied with those results. But I did not say this with any feeling of complacency. We are all aware that we have begun a process that will be long and that will be far from smooth for everybody. We can and must accept as a fact that we will be able to face and to solve the challenges of our times only by co-operation and not by confrontation. We have started on the road of co-operation. Let us keep alive the goodwill that has emerged on all sides at this special session.

62. Mr. MOYNIHAN (United States of America): On behalf of the United States, which styles itself "non-socialist", I would like to make these brief remarks.

63. The French term for a special session of the United Nations General Assembly is "*session extraordinaire*." Taken most directly into English, this reads "extraordinary session", and I cannot but feel that the great majority of the nations which have now unanimously adopted this resolution have also concluded that the special session has indeed been an extraordinary one. Perhaps never in the history of the United Nations has there been so intensive and so genuine a negotiation among so many nations on so profoundly important a range of issues. We have shown that we can negotiate in good faith and, in doing so, reach genuine accord. Not least, we have shown that this can be done in the unique and indispensable setting of the United Nations. The system works.

64. At the outset of this special session the United States asserted that we had assembled here with an opportunity to improve the condition of mankind. We may well have done so. Rather, it may well turn out that we have done so, for that task is yet ahead. We have, however, unmistakably begun.

65. Mr. RAE (Canada): The results of this special session represent a significant and perhaps historic achievement. In the past two weeks negotiations have taken place in an extremely co-operative and constructive atmosphere on the full range of issues relating to economic co-operation and

development in the international field. The results, to us, are most heartening. The achievement of such a wide area of agreement on the range of complex issues on our agenda will serve the interests of the international community as a whole. This session marks an important step on the road towards lessening the disparities between developed and developing countries.

66. The meaningful and productive dialogue on which we have embarked is also a milestone for the consensus approach in the United Nations and for the essential role which the United Nations must play. This will be an example for the future work in this body and will inspire each of our Governments in the formulation of its policies in the period ahead.

67. In conclusion, Canada looks forward to working in a constructive and positive way with all Governments in all international institutions and conferences in the years ahead towards the building of a new international economic order.

68. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): At the meeting yesterday of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Seventh Special Session the representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and today in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly the representative of the German Democratic Republic, clearly explained the position of the group of socialist countries of Eastern Europe and of the Mongolian People's Republic with respect to the final document that has been adopted at the seventh special session of the General Assembly. The adoption of this document and its approval by the General Assembly leads the delegation of the Soviet Union to make the following statement.

69. In the Soviet Union we attach great importance to the seventh special session of the General Assembly, now drawing to a close, which was convened on the initiative of the developing countries and with the support of the socialist countries, in order to consider the problems of development and international co-operation.

70. The delegation of the Soviet Union supports all the provisions in the text, which summarizes the work of the special session and aims to eliminate the injustices and inequalities in international, economic relations, which are detrimental to the developing countries and an obstacle to equal and mutually advantageous co-operation among sovereign States, regardless of their social system and their level of development.

71. International relations must now be cleansed of all the consequences of colonialism and neo-colonialism and of the uncontrolled sway of multinational corporations and other foreign monopolies in the developing countries.

72. The evolution and the results of the seventh special session confirm the need to ensure the application of progressive principles embodied in United Nations resolutions on the establishment of a new international economic order, as well as the principles contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. This confirms, as members know, the need to strengthen international peace and security and the principles of peaceful coexistence, as

well as reaffirming the duty of States to seek to contribute to general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the link between disarmament and economic development, the application of the principles of most-favoured-nation status and non-discrimination in trade, equality and mutual advantage, the recognition of the sovereignty of States over their own natural resources, and other progressive principles.

73. All these provisions and principles, and others too, were reaffirmed in the Lima Declaration of the non-aligned countries. These principles and provisions must be the basis for political and economic relations among States and for practical efforts to implement the decisions of the seventh special session of the General Assembly. Favourable conditions now exist for this, resulting from the relaxation of tensions in international relations and the improvement of the international climate. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe made an invaluable contribution to this process. The international political scope and the historical significance of that Conference are now recognized, as well as its immense importance for the solution of the key problems of our time—for the strengthening of peace and security for all peoples, for making the process of détente irreversible and for the confirmation of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and the development and of equitable co-operation among all States. It should be noted that all this has become possible mainly due to the constructive foreign policy of the Party and Government of the Soviet Union and of other countries in the socialist community, and to the active personal contribution of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev. We share the views of the developing countries, whose representatives, speaking at this rostrum, have stated that without peace there can be no development. We know this from our own experience during the patriotic war that lasted for four years.

74. The Soviet delegation has not opposed the adoption as a whole of the final document which the developing countries submitted. Our position stems from the traditional co-operation and unity of action established between the socialist countries and the non-aligned developing countries when taking progressive decisions within the United Nations.

75. During the general debate the Soviet delegation expressed its support for the various apposite proposals made by the Group of 77. In the course of both the debates and the useful consultations between the group of socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Group of 77, the Soviet delegation entered certain reservations with regard to the draft final document.

76. In this respect the Soviet delegation wishes in particular to emphasize once again that neither in theory nor in practice can the Soviet Union accept the false notion according to which the world is divided into the "north" and the "south", "poor" and "rich" whereby the socialist countries are placed on an equal footing with the developed capitalist countries as regards the historical responsibility for the backwardness of the developing countries and their state of present poverty in the economic crisis which has gripped the capitalist world. It is in the light of this position

that the Soviet delegation regards those portions of the final document which are based on this false notion. The Soviet Union accepts the final document in so far as it is in keeping with the general position of the Soviet Union on this matter, even if some provisions are insufficient and incomplete.

77. As regards co-operation with developing countries, the Soviet Union grants considerable economic aid to those countries, and we intend to continue this aid according to the present formulas and methods of co-operation which best correspond with its economic and social structure and which have stood the test of time. The Soviet Union will act on the basis of specific and economically viable proposals, taking into account both the needs of the developing countries and its own capacities.

78. In conclusion, we wish to express our gratitude to the delegations of countries which, in their statements in the general debate during this session, have spoken of the friendly aid provided by the Soviet Union and its peoples to the developing countries in order to accelerate the development of their national economies.

79. What can be said of the routine dose of hostile inventions regarding one of the super-Powers, vented by one of the speakers from this rostrum who represents a country seeking to become the one and only super-Power, a "mono-super-Power"? If the speaker really believes what he has been saying on this subject, I can only pity him. And if in this hall there is anyone sufficiently naive to believe what has been said by that speaker, I can only feel compassion for him too. But the speaker himself has once again asserted that his country, donning the garb of a developing country, is at the same time against peace, security, détente and disarmament.

80. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the last meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which was held at dawn today, I already had an opportunity to express my gratitude to some of those who, within the *Ad Hoc* Committee itself and in the course of informal negotiations held outside that Committee, have made the greatest contribution to the success of this special session of the General Assembly which we shall close today. Among these, a prominent place belongs to Mr. Jan Pronk, the Chairman of the Committee.

81. I shall not now repeat what I said barely a few hours ago. I only wish to supplement it by making special mention of the effective and discreet co-operation which we received in the course of negotiations, particularly in the many critical moments, from the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

82. The seventh special session has convincingly proved that the new international economic order is something which, although still in its infancy, is far from being a mere point of dogma or a rhetorical figure. On the contrary, it already constitutes, and will every day become more and more, the pivot on which the economic relations of States will turn.

83. It seems to me that in our work we have fully demonstrated that the Declaration and Programme of

Action, which were adopted at the sixth special session, and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, adopted at the twenty-ninth session, are far from being elements that might produce destruction or chaos but are, on the contrary—as was maintained at the outset by the 100 or so developing countries which constitute the so-called Group of 77—balanced instruments the implementation of which will represent the best guarantee of the legitimate interests of both the developing and of the developed countries.

84. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Iraqi delegation, I should like to make some comments. At the same time I am happy to be able to express the satisfaction of the Iraqi delegation at having been able to make our modest contribution to the work of this session and to the adoption of the documents of this session. These documents are, indeed, the fruit of a dialogue which has been going on for many years on the international economic order and, above all, on the far from satisfactory terms of trade between developed and developing countries.

85. Iraq supports this resolution, which is a compromise. It is not for us the final result which would be the culmination of all the aspirations of the developing countries. Nevertheless, we, the Arab countries, have proved throughout the negotiations and at the stage of international action that we have always supported the developing countries, and we shall continue steadily and sincerely to make our contribution in this sphere. It is important for us for this document to be implemented in good faith and without any political pressure. The Iraqi delegation believes that the vote on this document leaves open a way to rectify the economic situation in the world, particularly with regard to the terms of trade as between the poor and the capitalist industrial countries. The Arab countries, which have always supported and will continue to support the developing countries, reaffirm that they will always champion the cause of economic justice throughout the world because they belong to the "have nots", which for so many years have struggled to obtain better terms of trade.

36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have thus concluded consideration of agenda item 7. I now call on the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

87. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I listened with great interest to the statements which were delivered during the general debate. I also followed with care the unfolding of the consultations and negotiations which took place throughout the session and which culminated in the decisions the Assembly has just adopted.

88. From all this it is quite clear that the problems connected with the new international economic order are now being tackled by all Governments at the highest level of political responsibility. Indeed, the world's attention is today, more than it has ever been, focused on the problems of poverty and development, which dictate a new course in international relationships. These problems are finally reaching the top of the agenda of the international community, notwithstanding the political stalemates and the dangerous or even explosive situation in so many areas of our globe.

89. What is also encouraging is that the discussions and negotiations which take place in a number of forums inside and outside the United Nations system are all about measures and solutions which have originated in years of painstaking analysis and discussions within this Organization. The imaginative steps agreed upon last week in the World Bank and IMF, namely, the use of reserve assets for development, the subsidization of interest charges and the beginning of a reform of the international decision-making process, were already prominent 10 years ago in the debates of the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD].

90. I recall these facts not in a spirit of self-satisfaction but because they should strengthen our faith in the capacity of this Organization to deal constructively with momentous problems. In fact, are there concrete signs that the different problems of economic co-operation are being handled elsewhere more expeditiously than they are here? The truth of the matter is that economic co-operation everywhere is enormously difficult in a world of strong national aspirations and considerable inequalities.

91. We should not resent the fact that there is at present a "negotiation explosion". It is a testimony to the seriousness with which the problems of development and poverty are now being tackled. And the multiplicity of efforts often produce new constructive ideas. But let us not forget that the General Assembly has already gone quite far in defining the framework within which negotiations must take place. It is the initiator and the guarantor of the new international economic order. Such an order can only emerge from concrete and practical measures. If promoted elsewhere, these should be linked with the United Nations.

92. I know that these considerations are very much in the minds of many representatives, and I would add that this body, representative of 138 Governments and sometimes described as solely addicted to rhetoric, has shown very convincingly that it can find, through ingenuity and goodwill, the negotiating methods which make it possible to overcome the handicap of its sheer size by practical and flexible devices, without at the same time excluding anybody from the main action. In this context I wish to pay a tribute to the manner in which the Group of 77, EEC, other intergovernmental and regional groups as well as individual Governments approached with realism and foresight the extensive preparations for and the deliberations of this special session.

93. This negotiation is about change; it is not about a smoother management of the *status quo*. It strives to bring real improvement in the conditions of the poorer countries, to afford to them a measure of economic security without which any planning is so futile, to set in motion mechanisms for a more equitable distribution of the world's ever-increasing wealth and to enhance the participation of all nations, including the weakest, in the decision-making process which is shaping the future of our world.

94. We have observed more favourable conditions for such a negotiation. And we could well ask ourselves, What is it that has brought about this improvement? No doubt there is the cumulative effect of years of constant and ubiquitous effort to raise the consciousness of the world to a real

perception of the scourges of mass poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy and unemployment. But it is also clear today that, after years of stagnation in world-wide co-operation, there has been, as a result of the events of 1973 in the field of energy, a change of heart, an inclination to negotiate in earnest and further to consider solutions to the issues which have been for so long pending on the international agenda. It is most gratifying that this time the discussions have taken place on the basis of well-thought-out documents submitted from all sides of this Assembly.

95. Important ideas have made their way through the chain of events and negotiations in the last two years. The first stage of a constructive and realistic compact of policies and measures has been achieved. Some parts of it require further and intensive work. There is among these the old issue of a real commitment to capital transfers. But the most difficult aspect of the future phases of negotiation is related to primary-commodity problems. These problems have proved among the most intractable. It was in 1954 that the United Nations established for the first time a committee on commodities,¹ and the situation has hardly changed since then. The international community cannot afford not to negotiate continuously on primary commodities. It is a paramount exigency of those countries which have hardly any other income to sustain themselves. The present state of affairs cannot under any set of criteria be considered satisfactory. The extraordinary gyrations which affect these markets where the vagaries of the business cycle are disproportionately amplified and where weather conditions so frequently introduce an unpredictable element, cannot be considered as an example of "global rationality".

96. It may be that it is exceedingly difficult for the various interests involved to agree on a better form of organization. But it may also be that, after the period of turbulence in the markets through which the world economy has just passed, there is a greater disposition to pay a price for a measure of stability—for instance, through the financing of stocks, a greater discipline in the management of prices and export quotas, and efforts to overcome the administrative difficulties inherent in commodity arrangements. Important proposals have been made in this respect, including those for an integrated approach, which emerged from UNCTAD.

97. Recently, the question of commodities has been linked with schemes of income guarantee for primary-producing countries. This gives an additional dimension to future negotiations.

98. In the backdrop of the negotiation there lurks the question of the price of oil, which is mentioned sometimes bluntly, more often hesitantly. It is my sincere hope that we are approaching the moment when it will be possible to discuss this question dispassionately, without the anathemas of not so long ago, and that it can be seen as one of the relevant elements of a more orderly and stable world economy. One problem often emphasized today is the possible impact of oil policies on short-term economic trends at a time when the world economy is going through the most difficult phase of its post-war history. But the oil

question touches on many other aspects of international relationship: permanent sovereignty over natural resources; the division of gains between producers, consumers and intermediaries; the international price relationship; the possible depletion of energy sources; and the interest of future generations. I am confident that all these aspects will be taken into account in the spirit which has marked this special session.

99. There is another aspect of the current situation which should offer the United Nations system great opportunities. There is now a pool of available capital of unprecedented size that can be utilized for initiating action for a more equitable international division of labour. The United Nations has a long experience of pre-investment and training programmes. It has an organized network of information and local facilities. It has also a natural aptitude for assessing the international impact of national decisions. One suspects that, without any measure of consultation, capital investments of the present magnitude could in some fields at least transform situations of acute shortage into ones of embarrassing gluts. There are also the less obvious opportunities, which the United Nations system might help to discover in countries which have no oil but in which, nevertheless, the changes in the situation may point to new and profitable investments. Indeed, some of the decisions of the Second General Conference of UNIDO, in Lima, are specifically oriented towards these ends.

100. Much time and effort will be devoted in the months to come to the necessary strengthening and restructuring of the United Nations system. The report of the Group of Experts² certainly deserves careful study. The action proposals to be prepared by the *Ad Hoc* Committee established by this Assembly [see resolution 3362 (S-VI), sect. VII, para. 1] will, I am confident, enable the General Assembly to adopt the necessary measures in this respect. It should be a "problem-oriented" restructuring designed to enhance and facilitate the solution of specific problems which are particularly topical in the framework of the new international economic order.

101. There are areas where the action of the United Nations system is deficient and its structure ill-adapted to the task of today, and I would particularly draw attention to the question of energy.

102. In retrospect, we can reflect upon the mistakes made over the last 30 years: the premature abandonment of coal mines, the indiscriminate switch to petroleum—even by countries rich in coal but poor in petroleum resources—and the subsequent rush into nuclear energy, with all the attendant risks and public apprehension. We must also note the failure to explore dynamically the potentialities of new sources, which are less depletable and less polluting and on which, as far back as 1961, the United Nations convened a major conference.³

² *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation: report of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7).

³ United Nations Conference on New Sources of Energy, held at Rome from 21 to 31 August 1961. For the report of the Conference, see United Nations publication, Sales No. E.62.I.21 and corrigendum.

¹ Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade, established by the Economic and Social Council in resolution 512 A (XVII) of 30 April 1954.

103. The fundamental nature of the problem is today seen more clearly: the need for a long-term perspective in a field where investments yield results only after a long period and the necessity for a global approach at a time when the possibility of scarcity and the need to share are among the major themes of public reflection. If the United Nations is to be of real assistance in these matters it requires a stronger machinery and a more rational arrangement of functions.

104. There is a final message which I should like to leave with you, although it refers to a theme which has not figured prominently in these discussions, principally devoted as they were to the conduct of international relations, but which I feel is really the essence of our problem.

105. We are today witnessing a drastic reappraisal of our earlier working hypotheses, a questioning of our system of values and of the definition of our proximate as well as our long-term goals. We are perceiving that our policies are not producing the minimum improvement in the appalling living conditions of a very high proportion of the world's population, and that the significant progress which has been achieved in production and productive capacity is not being felt in those layers of the population that are most in need of a better deal. In short, we are not advancing towards the objective of social justice. Styles and patterns of development are naturally viewed as falling within the responsibility of national Governments. Yet they must be a concern of this Organization if its higher objectives are not to be overlooked or betrayed. Important programmes within the United Nations system are being reoriented so as to serve more directly the objectives of greater employment, better nutrition, less illiteracy, the integration of women in economic life—in short, towards the eradication of mass poverty. I myself insisted on these priorities in my report published on the occasion of the first review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy,⁴ but a real debate did not take place on that occasion. I believe the time has now come when this Assembly should become more cognizant of a state of affairs which it cannot condone, and I hope that our programmes as well as our debates can more directly reflect this primordial concern.

106. After having established last year the principles for a new economic order, this session has tackled in a practical way the key elements of such a new order. We all knew that during a period of two weeks we would not be able to solve all the problems we are faced with, but I think we all note with great satisfaction that it was possible to start a negotiating process which led last night to the adoption of most important decisions, decisions that were confirmed today. What is necessary now is to pursue these issues and to translate them into concrete agreements in the period ahead.

⁴ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.6 and corrigendum.

107. This has been not only a highly important session but also a very arduous one. I am particularly grateful to the *Ad Hoc* Committee under the distinguished chairmanship of Mr. Pronk and its subgroups and their chairmen for their perseverance and determination to arrive at solutions. Indeed, I should like to pay a personal tribute to all the representatives in this Assembly for their individual contributions and their dedicated work.

108. Mr. President, I cannot conclude this statement to the Assembly without expressing to you personally my sincere gratitude for your dedication, outstanding leadership and skill in the conduct of one of the most significant sessions of the Assembly in the history of the United Nations. We are, indeed, all deeply indebted to you.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have thus concluded our work. The decisions we have reached are such that the seventh special session of the General Assembly will go down in history as a milestone in the history of progressive ideas and the expression of a firmer commitment to the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action of the sixth special session and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States that was adopted by the twenty-ninth session.

110. No one is solely responsible for this success. It is the result of the efforts of all; it is the expression of a new dynamism and of greater solidarity among certain sectors of activity of the international community.

111. I should like to express my gratitude to members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and to all the regional groups. The task of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Pronk, was very arduous, and his outstanding efforts have earned him our gratitude and congratulations.

112. Our Assembly has achieved such results that this special session will most certainly be another decisive gain for the community of peoples in their struggle for more progress and justice.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

113. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I would now invite representatives to rise and observe a minute's silence for prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

114. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I declare closed the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.