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held on  
Wednesday, 2 November 1983  
at 3 p.m.  
New York

**SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 26th MEETING**

Chairman: Mr. DIETZE (German Democratic Republic)

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**AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued)**

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/38/3 (Parts I and II), A/38/106, A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, A/38/297, A/38/325, A/38/479, A/38/494 and Corr.1, A/38/537; (a) A/38/421; (b) A/38/176; (c) A/38/236; (d) A/38/207; (e) A/38/265, A/38/282; (f) A/38/275; (g) A/38/259, A/38/263; (h) A/38/264 and Add.1; (i) A/38/505 and Add.1; (k) A/38/512; (l) E/1983/91 and Corr.1; (m) A/38/498, E/1983/71; (n) A/38/190; (o) A/38/182; (p) E/1983/17/Rev.1; (q) E.1983/70; (r) A/38/374)

1. Mr. ESAN (Nigeria) said that his delegation attached particular importance to the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa, which had been proclaimed by the General Assembly to give impetus to the development and economic integration of the African continent through the adoption of a strategy and programme for overcoming the difficulties and the considerable backwardness which it had experienced in the transport and communications sector.

2. At the mid-point of the Decade, some stock-taking would be appropriate. The Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Executive Secretary of ECA had submitted reports which told how much had been accomplished in the first phase of the Decade. His delegation was not entirely satisfied with the progress achieved, in view of the gap between investment requirements and available financial resources, which had been responsible for the cancellation of some projects and the transfer of others to the second phase of the Decade. It was therefore to be hoped that the programme of the second phase would be even more sound in its technical and financial conception. In that connection, it was encouraging to note the careful manner in which the preparation of that programme was currently proceeding.

3. To ensure the success of the Decade, a greater commitment by the international community would be needed in the face of the spiralling cost of implementing the programme of the Decade and in support of the efforts being made by African Governments to finance the transport and communications sector.

4. In addition, the Economic Commission for Africa should perhaps consider other approaches for mobilizing additional resources for the programme. Even though consultative technical meetings had brought some encouraging results, the amount realized was not enough to meet the needs. An effort might be made, for example, to remove the obstacles to the obtaining of loans for subregional projects executed by African intergovernmental organizations.

5. Nigeria therefore joined in the appeal to donor countries and financial agencies to provide greater and more sustained assistance and to participate actively in the four consultative meetings that would be organized by ECA after the launching of the programme of the second phase of the Decade.

6. Mr. PALMA GIL (Philippines) said that he agreed with the critical analysis of the global economic situation made by the President of the Economic and Social Council in his foreword to the Council's report and shared his belief that economic

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recovery must go hand in hand with the development of the developing countries. The present recovery did not provide any feeling of relief for the developing countries. On the contrary, some of the prescriptions for adjustment were perceived by them to be so severe as to endanger their social and political stability. Thus, it was disappointing that the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development had failed to provide immediate measures for those countries. His delegation wished to reiterate its call for the launching of a real dialogue on life-and-death economic matters.

7. His delegation believed that the recommendations submitted by the Economic and Social Council, in its decision 1983/164, for rationalizing the work of the Second Committee were responsive to the multidimensional problems faced by the Committee and that they were feasible. In fact, some of them had already been put into practice during the current session. He was referring, for instance, to the practice of providing advance information on statements to be made on behalf of subsidiary organs and to the consideration of agenda items in clusters.

8. His delegation endorsed the recommendation that the general debate should be continued, as it provided States with an opportunity to express their views on major economic issues, and the suggestion that a biennial programme of work should be adopted; in that case, subsidiary organs should structure their work programmes so as to conform with the biennial programme, and he proposed that that should be adopted on an experimental basis.

9. There were a number of other suggestions related to the revitalization of the Economic and Social Council which deserved consideration. For instance, Mexico had proposed that the two annual sessions of the Council should be consolidated. That seemed to be a reasonable suggestion. Having two sessions, one of which dealt with economic issues and the other with social issues, resulted in two separate approaches, especially as some Governments sent two different delegations to the Council. The main *raison d'être* for the Council was to co-ordinate, integrate and harmonize actions in the economic and social field. Having a single session would not solve that problem, but it would provide incentives for delegations to deal with the whole spectrum of issues before the Council.

10. There was also too much duplication between the work of the Council and that of the Second Committee. As a long-range proposition, it might be interesting to consider enlarging the Council by opening it to universal membership and doing away with the Second Committee, without prejudice to the consideration of important economic questions in the plenary Assembly. The Council was, after all, a principal organ of the United Nations under the Charter. That would also be one way of effecting some economies in the United Nations, at a time when the number of specialized bodies was growing.

11. The development of national energy resources was a priority item in developing countries, especially oil-importing countries like the Philippines. The recent crises had shown the vulnerability of those countries to fluctuations in the supply and pricing of oil, and they must therefore produce some of their energy

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requirements. It was appreciated that the primary responsibility for undertaking that task rested on those countries themselves, but the problems were so complex and so costly that they required concerted international co-operation. His delegation was disappointed at the delay in the preparation of the Secretary-General's report on the matter, which had also resulted in a delay in the Council's deliberations on it.

12. His delegation noted with regret that the Commission on Transnational Corporations had not completed the task of drafting a Code of Conduct, in spite of six years of effort. It hoped that the new agenda for the Commission recommended by the Economic and Social Council could facilitate the drafting of the Code. His delegation suggested that the Commission should be reconvened soon and that the Assembly should request it to work at a faster pace. The proposed Code, which would establish universally accepted standards, would enhance the positive contribution of transnational corporations to the development process in developing countries.

13. His delegation noted with satisfaction that the regional economic commissions were playing an increasing role in the promotion of interregional economic and technical co-operation among developing countries. Their capacity to undertake that responsibility should therefore be strengthened.

14. His delegation fully supported the programmes undertaken by the regional commissions. It urged that the proposed proclamation of a transport and communications decade in Asia and the Pacific should be approved and requested all the parties concerned to co-operate in ensuring the success of that undertaking.

15. As was indicated in the report of the Secretary-General on the exchange of information on banned hazardous chemicals and unsafe pharmaceutical products (A/38/190-E/1983/67), only 38 countries had replied to the questionnaires sent out to them. Thus the Secretariat had been able to reach only tentative conclusions. Moreover, those conclusions were of limited usefulness. It was more important to determine how the importing countries could obtain information about the existence of risks than to know how many countries had laws allowing the banning of hazardous chemicals. There should be negotiated agreements requiring exporters of chemicals and pharmaceutical products to provide information to importers on substances that were restricted, banned or regulated in the exporting countries.

16. His delegation took note of the report of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) on the celebration of 1983 as World Communications Year. It appreciated the efforts made by the Secretary-General of ITU to prepare for that event.

17. The significance of the International Conference on Population, to be held in August 1984 in Mexico, could not be overemphasized. First, because population growth was continuing at an alarming rate, but also, and even more importantly, because it was necessary to expand the areas of work in the light of recent technological advances. Much ground had been covered since the international

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community and the United Nations had begun to deal with that issue, particularly through UNFPA. UNFPA was no longer concerned only with fertility and its control, but had also begun to take up social issues such as the effects of migration on the social structure of communities. In the final analysis, the goal sought should be an improvement of the quality of life in the world.

18. On the question of tourism, his delegation noted with satisfaction that the World Tourism Organization (WTO) was actively engaged in promoting the implementation of the Manila Declaration on World Tourism (see report A/38/182). By conservative estimates, income from international tourism amounted to \$100 billion and would increase more rapidly than income from world trade. Thus tourism was one of the rare dynamic sectors in an otherwise gloomy world economic picture. In those circumstances the United Nations, notably through UNDP, should provide financial and technical support to WTO to enable it to perform its role and help developing countries. The implementation of the Manila Declaration provided opportunities to the United Nations to extend such support. The new concepts which had been defined and developed in the Final Document of the World Tourism Meeting at Acapulco, and by the fourth General Assembly of WTO deserved the attention of the international community.

19. As host of the World Tourism Conference, which had produced the Manila Declaration, the Philippines was making every effort to translate into action the concepts it embodied. At a time of tension, efforts should be intensified in the field of tourism, not only because of its economic benefits but also because it helped develop friendship and cultural exchanges among peoples. \*

20. Mr. ZAPOTOCKY (Czechoslovakia) said that many countries, and particularly the developing countries, were in an unfavourable economic situation, largely because of the activities of transnational corporations based in the principal capitalist countries. His delegation therefore noted with concern that the formulation of a code of conduct on transnational corporations had not yet been completed. It was clear that the principal capitalist countries were not interested in that code, which would prevent them from continuing to exploit other countries. Their attitude during the special session of the Commission on Transnational Corporations had made that very clear.

21. The work on the formulation of the code should be continued on the basis of the provisions already adopted, in particular those which formed part of the package proposal submitted by the Chairman of the Working Group I at the special session. Moreover, Czechoslovakia supported the draft resolution submitted by the Group of 77 to the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session.

22. Czechoslovakia categorically refused to include in the negotiations the question of "new transnational corporations", as was the desire of certain countries which supported those corporations. Moreover, it opposed the attempts to draw a comparison between the activities of the international trade enterprises of the socialist countries and developing countries and those of transnational corporations. It was unacceptable that those enterprises should be criticized by

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Governments which protected corporations which were openly collaborating with racist régimes. In reality that was simply a manoeuvre to disguise the opposition of those Governments to the negotiations.

23. Czechoslovakia did not share the view of those who maintained that direct private investment had no effect on the growth of the foreign debt of developing countries. UNCTAD statistics revealed that after a certain period of time, the amount of profit made by transnational corporations in the developing countries exceeded the net value of direct private capital imported to those countries.

24. If the effects of the monopolistic policies pursued by the transnational corporations in the area of prices and technology, and invisible transfers of resources between parent companies and subsidiaries were also taken into account, the argument regarding the beneficial nature of direct investments on indebtedness collapsed. The problem should be included among the questions to be considered at the world conference on monetary and financial questions.

25. The imperialist States not only resorted to exploitation when they wanted to achieve their neocolonialist objectives, but did not hesitate to make direct use of force, as had been clearly demonstrated by the invasion and occupation of Grenada. In that respect, his delegation had listened with concern to the statement made by the representative of Cuba, who had said that the United States had brutally pressured Cuban diplomatic circles to force Cuba to leave Grenada. Similarly, the United States' threat that it would take retaliatory measures against Cuba if the lives of United States citizens were in any way endangered gave rise to serious concern.

26. Czechoslovakia was gratified that the Economic and Social Council was taking a great interest in the role of international organizations and specialized agencies in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In particular, it welcomed the adoption of resolution 1983/42 in which the Council called upon those organizations to render increased material and moral assistance to colonial peoples, including the oppressed people of South Africa, and to their national liberation movements, withhold any assistance to the South African Government, grant full membership to the United Nations Council for Namibia and accord observer status to the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU. It associated itself with those who had condemned the collaboration of IMF with the South African Republic, and in particular the granting of a loan for more than \$1 billion, despite General Assembly resolution 37/2 and the firm protests of the international community.

27. His delegation welcomed Economic and Social Council resolution 1983/74 condemning the activities of the transnational corporations, which greatly assisted the South African régime in continuing its policy of apartheid, pursuing its occupation of Namibia and committing aggression against neighbouring countries - all because of South Africa's strategic position. His delegation was in favour of organizing public hearings on the activities of those corporations (Council resolution 1983/75). It was convinced that no regional group could prevent the

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ad hoc committee established under Council resolution 1982/70 from starting preparations for the organization of such hearings.

28. His delegation attached equal importance to the Council decisions concerning permanent sovereignty over natural resources. That principle applied not only to all States, but also to the peoples which were still under colonial domination. Council decision 1983/178 was very important in that connection. His delegation condemned the unlawful utilization by the Israeli occupying power of the national resources in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories and reaffirmed the right of the people of those territories to exercise their full and complete sovereignty over such resources, over their heritage and over their economic activity. Czechoslovakia was one of the countries which, in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1983/43, was providing assistance to the Palestinian people, including to the victims of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, and it would support all decisions designed to increase such aid.

29. At a time when countries, particularly the developing countries, were having to face a whole series of economic and social problems, interest in the role of the public sector was growing. That sector was one of the most effective instruments for dealing with the worst problems of the world economy. As could be seen from the report of the Secretary-General on the subject (A/38/176), the developing countries considered the public sector a stabilizing factor in their domestic economy at all levels. That sector played an essential role when it came to implementing long-term development programmes or limiting the adverse consequences of the activities of the transnational corporations. Accordingly, his delegation welcomed the adoption of Council resolution 1983/61 and was ready to support other similar initiatives.

30. The increasing need to resolve international economic problems at the world level meant that more and more demands were being made on United Nations entities concerned with economic questions. Given that situation the question of the revitalization of the Economic and Social Council assumed tremendous importance. His delegation felt that the Council's effectiveness could be increased if measures were taken to rationalize and improve its methods of work. In addition, the programme of work of each session of the Council should be limited. There was no need to revise the articles of the Charter which dealt with the Council. The existing provisions were quite adequate in that respect.

31. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh) said that the second regular session of 1983 of the Economic and Social Council had been useful for several reasons. Firstly, the Council had undertaken a cross-organizational review of selected major sectors in the medium-term plans of the organizations of the United Nations system. Such reviews should lead to clear and specific guidelines with regard to the activities and programmes of the relevant entities of the United Nations system in various sectors; those entities should pay due attention to the decisions of the Council and should strengthen their co-operation and co-ordination. Secondly, it had discussed the question of the revitalization of the Council and the organization of the work of the Second Committee. Thirdly, it had adopted two major resolutions on

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economic co-operation among developing countries (ECDC), one dealing with the promotion of interregional economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, the other with joint meetings of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination on economic and technical co-operation among developing countries. Those resolutions constituted an important commitment of the United Nations to promote ECDC and, if implemented fully they would go a long way towards promoting development of the developing countries. Fourthly, the statement by the Group of 77 on operational activities for development, which was annexed to the report of the Council, was an important input to the comprehensive policy review of operational activities for development throughout the United Nations system. He hoped that other groups would find that statement useful.

32. The question of population was closely linked to the development efforts of the developing countries so it was extremely important that adequate preparations be undertaken for the successful holding of the International Conference on Population, 1984. Concerted international action should be taken to implement the World Plan of Action adopted at Bucharest nearly 10 years earlier. In addition, he expressed the hope that the funds required for the Conference would be approved at the present session of the General Assembly, as recommended by the Council.

33. Because of its interrelationship with development, all aspects of the population question should be considered on a regular basis by the Council in a more detailed and effective manner. The cross-organizational review of the population question in the medium-term plans of the organizations of the United Nations system, which had been undertaken at the Council's last session, had served a very useful purpose. A separate agenda item on the question of population should be included in the Council's future work programme in order to provide follow-up of the recommendations of the International Conference on Population.

34. The decisions taken by the Council with regard to the special measures for the social and economic development of Africa in the 1980s, the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa and the regional programming, operations, restructuring and decentralization of the Economic Commission for Africa were useful. However, he was concerned about the remark contained in the report of the Secretary-General (A/38/275) that there was no discernible evidence that there had been any special effort by the international community, during the past three years, to provide the resources for special measures required to give impetus to and sustain the development effort being made by African countries themselves. That was particularly significant in view of the fact that Africa had the largest number of least developed countries. He hoped that the Secretary-General together with the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa would continue to keep the matter under close surveillance and would explore every avenue to ensure that donor countries and financial institutions provided increased resources to African countries.

35. He noted with satisfaction the preparations for the elaboration of the plan of action for the second phase of the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa as well as the progress already made in the implementation of the programme for the

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first phase. His delegation also attached great importance to the proposal of ESCAP regarding the proclamation of a Transport and Communications Decade in Asia and the Pacific during the period 1985-1994.

36. The question of the development of the energy resources of the developing countries was of importance to all developing countries and, at the initiative of the Group of 77, the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session had requested the Secretary-General to prepare a comprehensive report on the subject for consideration by the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session of 1983. Because of the late submission of the report the Council had not been able to examine it in depth. However, upon preliminary examination the developing countries had noted that the report was not comprehensive in the sense that it dealt mostly with one source of energy, hydrocarbons. The Secretary-General had therefore been requested to complete the report by taking into account non-conventional sources of energy also. His delegation would join interested members of the Group of 77 in presenting a comprehensive draft resolution on the subject. That draft resolution was extremely important because in the foreseeable future, energy consumption in the developing countries would continue to grow at a significantly higher rate than in the industrialized countries.

37. The question of consumer protection should be discussed in a substantive manner in the Economic and Social Council and in the General Assembly. It was a matter of emerging concern in the developing countries and, in particular, in Bangladesh, which had adopted a comprehensive policy with regard to essential drugs sold and produced in the country. Moreover, consumer protection and the exchange of information on banned dangerous chemicals and hazardous pharmaceuticals should be the subject of widespread international co-operation, which could be organized on the basis of the guidelines for consumer protection proposed by the Secretary-General in document E/1983/71, which constituted a set of minimum standards in various areas.

38. With regard to the development efforts of the developing countries, international support was all the more necessary when it pertained to the peoples engaged in liberation movements. His country therefore strongly supported action by the United Nations system to provide assistance to the Palestinian people, who were victims of systematic deprivation and exploitation. Such assistance to the Palestinians living in Arab countries should be rendered in co-operation with the Palestine Liberation Organization and with the consent of the Arab host countries concerned.

39. During the deliberations of the special session of the Commission on Transnational Corporations, held in March and May 1983, his country had indicated its interest in the formulation of the Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations. In spite of the spirit of compromise demonstrated by his country in response to the comprehensive proposal of the Chairman of the special session, the Commission had failed to carry out its mandate. While it continued to be interested in resuming negotiations on the Code of Conduct, his country considered that it was incumbent on the OECD countries to create favourable conditions to that end.

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40. Concerning international co-operation for development, he deemed interesting the idea formulated at the latest session of the Council by the Committee for Development Planning namely, to convene a special group of high-level experts for the purpose of examining and reporting on proposals for improving and strengthening the international system for co-operation in the areas of money, finance and trade. The General Assembly should at its current session accord special attention to that proposal.

41. Where the revitalization of the Economic and Social Council was concerned, it was not sufficient to streamline procedures or limit documentation. Member States must also propose ideas and new initiatives and be determined to put the forum to more practical use.

42. Mr. SALLU (Sierra Leone) said that the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa was very important for a country like his where the modes of transport and communications were often rudimentary, especially since it was recognized that the development of that sector was, in all countries, a prerequisite of economic and social development, as stated in the Lagos Plan of Action. It was therefore regrettable that the results of the plan of action for the first phase of the Decade had not been entirely satisfactory. The international community, and in particular, the donor countries and financial institutions, should provide the Economic Commission for Africa with additional resources to implement the plans of action for the Decade in accordance with the wishes of the African Governments. It should be mentioned in that regard that the consultative technical meetings organized to mobilize the resources needed to finance the programme for the Decade should be complemented by other means in order to implement the plan of action for the second phase. For example, the United Nations might make available to the Economic Commission for Africa the necessary financial resources to enable it to organize the relevant consultative technical meetings, undertake studies on the harmonization and co-ordination of various modes of transport and communication and prepare a study of the manpower needs of all African countries for all modes of transport and communication.

43. Concerning the question of special measures for the social and economic development of Africa in the 1980s, he said that the relevant resolutions had not been implemented, while the economic situation of the African continent had continued to deteriorate. It was therefore to be hoped that the international community would make substantial contributions to the Trust Fund for African Development.

44. As far as the special session of the Commission on Transnational Corporations was concerned, it was disquieting to note that the parties concerned had not reached an agreement on a complete text of the Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations. The partners of the North should show more flexibility during the negotiations on that item. Measures should be taken to ensure that transnational corporations, while carrying out their lawful activities, in particular in the developing countries, took into consideration the wishes of the countries in which they were established. It went without saying that, in formulating the Code, the

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legitimate concerns of the developing countries as well as of the transnational corporations should be taken into account. In that regard, his delegation repeated its condemnation of the activities of transnational corporations in South Africa, which provided the basis for the economic strength that had allowed South Africa to continue its odious policies of apartheid and its aggression against neighbouring States. However, it welcomed the steps taken by some developed countries to loosen their economic ties with South Africa.

45. Council decision 1983/64, entitled "Recommendations regarding the organization of the work of the Second Committee of the General Assembly", could play an essential role in making the work of the Second Committee more action-oriented. However, some recommendations contained in that decision, such as the proposed adoption by the General Assembly of a biennial programme of work for the Second Committee, should be carefully considered in terms of both the approach to the problem and the substantive issues it raised. Nevertheless, there was no doubt that the decision of the Council had already had a positive impact on the work of the Second Committee, as reflected in the general debate on international economic co-operation. In that connection, he noted with interest the many suggestions made by a good number of delegations during the general debate and was prepared to join any consultations which might subsequently be held on that question.

46. The issue of revitalizing the Economic and Social Council, considered in its decision 1983/181, was linked to the need for the Council to continue to provide the Second Committee with assistance, which should not be restricted to the organizational aspects of the Committee's work. It should be possible to entrust the Council with a number of issues for its consideration and decision, thereby lightening the burden of the Second Committee. Such organizational issues should be dealt with in the broadest possible consultations, in order to give all members of the Committee an opportunity to suggest solutions to current problems, with the ultimate goal of strengthening the United Nations so as to make it more responsive to current world needs and to contribute to the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

47. Mr. MIHALJEVIC (Yugoslavia) said that, in his view, the report of the Secretary-General on permanent sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories (A/38/282) provided documented proof that Israel was shamelessly exploiting the national resources of the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories. Nevertheless, it was regrettable that the information contained in that report was limited as a result of Israel's refusal to allow the United Nations fact-finders access to the occupied territories.

48. According to another report of the Secretary-General (A/38/265), permanent sovereignty over natural resources, now established as a right of nations and peoples under international law, had important implications for the law of belligerent occupation. The report went on to say that the rights of sovereignty did not belong to the occupant but remained with the States and peoples of the occupied territories. Both the principle of permanent sovereignty and the law of belligerent occupation had as an important purpose the protection of sovereign rights in land and other natural resources.

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(Mr. Mihaljevic, Yugoslavia)

49. Those observations showed that all the measures taken by Israel to exploit the human, natural and other resources in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories were illegal and that the Palestinians and other Arabs subjected to Israeli aggression and occupation had the right to the restitution of the natural, human and other resources exploited by Israel and to just compensation for any damage caused.

50. Referring to the report of the Secretary-General on the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa, he said it was regrettable that less than 50 per cent of the programme had been financed and that the performance of certain subsectors had been particularly poor. He also noted that regional and subregional projects, which constituted the most important element of the programme for the Decade, had attracted fewer financial resources than had national projects. He therefore supported the appeals to donor countries and financial institutions to increase their financial support to the programme for the Decade. In addition, the Secretary-General should provide the Economic Commission for Africa, as the lead agency for the Decade, with financial and other resources.

51. The report of the Secretary-General on special measures for the social and economic development of Africa in the 1980s (A/38/275) showed very disappointing results in the implementation of the provisions of the General Assembly resolution on that question. Multilateral assistance financed through the United Nations Development Programme had not progressed as planned, and the Fourth Biennial Pledging Conference held at Addis Ababa in May 1983 had also been disappointing. The declining trend of overall official development assistance to African least developed countries had continued in 1981 and 1982, despite the commitment on the part of most donor countries to devote 0.15 per cent of their GNP to assistance to those countries or to double such assistance by 1985. Actually, aid from donor countries members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee had represented only 0.07 per cent of their GNP in 1981.

52. The programme for the Industrial Development Decade for Africa could be implemented only if the extremely grave situation outlined above was overcome. The Secretary-General's efforts to keep the matter under close surveillance must be coupled with the efforts of donor countries and financial institutions in their common concern to improve the situation in Africa as soon as possible.

53. Mr. ABU-KOASH (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) said that the report issued in document A/38/282 clearly showed that the economic and social situation continued to deteriorate in the occupied Palestinian territories and the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights. He welcomed the scientific nature of document A/38/265, which had been very carefully prepared.

54. Israeli violations of international law in the occupied Palestinian territories and the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights were numerous. The Israeli occupation authorities had seized more than 60 per cent of the area of the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967; they had confiscated State and privately owned land, transferring ownership to residents of the Israeli

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settlements, and had depleted water resources. Those acts constituted a violation of article 55 of the Annex to the Hague Convention of 18 October 1907, containing Regulations Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land; that article authorized the occupying State to administer lands belonging to the hostile State, without damaging them or depleting their resources, but did not authorize it to assume ownership of them. Those acts also constituted a violation of article 46, which stipulated: "Private property cannot be confiscated". The land owned by Palestinian municipalities which had been seized by Israel should be "treated as private property", in accordance with article 56 of the Hague Regulations. Yet Israel, not content with seizing Palestinian lands in violation of international law, had established settlements there in violation of article 49 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, which specified: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transport parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies". Furthermore, Israel had demolished more than 20,000 Palestinian houses because it had been determined to change the physical and demographic character of the occupied Palestinian territories in order to facilitate their annexation, in violation of article 53 of the fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibited the occupying Power from destroying real or personal property belonging to private persons or to the State except where such destruction was rendered absolutely necessary by military operations. The Geneva Convention was based on the premise that the occupation of territory in wartime was a temporary situation and implied no right whatsoever to dispose of occupied territory. Israel's annexation of the occupied Palestinian territories and its conduct there, which implied its sovereignty over those territories, had no legal validity. Under international law, Israel was a belligerent occupying Power and was bound to observe the relevant provisions of that body of law. Instead, Israel had chosen to consider itself an "administrator", a novel in international law, but it had not limited itself to carrying out mere administrative duties; it had also annexed Jerusalem and had acted as if it were entitled to full sovereignty over the occupied Palestinian territories. Israel had modified pre-1967 legislation, even though, as a belligerent Power, it was not allowed to do so, in order to facilitate its confiscation of Palestinian lands and resources and ensure its control of the Palestinian economy.

55. Permanent sovereignty over the occupied Palestinian territories, including their resources, rested with the Palestinian people, who should be able to free themselves from Israeli occupation and exercise their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination. Israel, as the occupying Power, had no right to prevent the Palestinian people from exercising their permanent sovereignty over their natural and national resources; rather, international law obliged it to pay reparations to the Palestinian people for damage suffered as a result of its violations of the rules of belligerent occupation. The above remarks applied equally to the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights, where the population had been arbitrarily brought into subjection and where Israel had expropriated land and water resources, imposed collective sanctions, destroyed houses, closed schools, burnt harvests and carried out mass arrests. The Golan Heights were and would remain Syrian; the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip were and would remain Palestinian.

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56. Mr. KEYES (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said it was unfortunate that the representative of Cuba had chosen to discuss events that had no bearing on the agenda item being considered by the Committee. It was even more unfortunate that the Chairman had authorized him to continue his diatribe, even after the United States delegation had rightly challenged its relevance.

57. The situation in Grenada was serious and complex, and countries had ample opportunity to air their views on that subject in the Security Council and in plenary meeting of the General Assembly. To bring up the question in the Second Committee was inexcusable and the fact that it had been raised could only be explained by a desire to undermine the co-operative efforts of the United States and other delegations to ensure the success of the Committee's work. There could be no doubt that the Committee had been manipulated during the previous meeting. All the participants had agreed that Cuba should be added to the list of speakers in the belief that every delegation had the right to express its views on an agenda item. Once the subject of the statement of the representative of Cuba had become clear, the United States had raised a point of order. Yet, the Chairman, instead of acting in keeping with his responsibilities as the guardian of the Committee's common interests, had assured members that the diatribe, which had no relation whatsoever to the item under consideration, was entirely relevant. The work of the Committee had been deflected from its real goal, to the detriment of all. In its statement during the general debate, his delegation had said that it would refrain from introducing political questions into Committee discussions, and had expressed the hope that other delegations would do likewise. And yet, during the present meeting, the representative of Cuba, with the approval of the Chairman, had seriously impaired the spirit of co-operation which had marked the deliberations of the Committee thus far. His delegation could not remain silent in the face of the lies and invective uttered by the Soviet Union and its puppet régimes. That attitude threatened to prevent the Committee from focusing on its consideration of economic co-operation, and all countries would suffer, particularly the developing countries. The blame lay with those who instigated and encouraged confrontation.

58. It was hardly surprising that the Cuban representative had taken refuge in lies, because the truth was of little comfort to him. The fact was that Cuba systematically carried out subversion in the free countries of the Caribbean, Grenada simply being the latest example of that policy. The presence of Cuban forces in other parts of the world, the treacherous lackeys of a new and more deadly kind of imperialism, was a well-known fact. Cuba must have been surprised to find that its small neighbours were ready to defend their independence, their stability and their democracy against its machinations and were capable of uniting to do so. It had been put on notice that its neighbours would not wait passively to be destroyed. The Cuban representative's statement did however contain one grain of truth when he referred to the presence of Cuban workers and experts in Grenada. The whole world now knew that the experts were military experts. By ordering Cubans to hold out to the end, Fidel Castro had virtually admitted that Cuba had already invaded Grenada and refused to be driven out. On the little island of Grenada there was one Cuban for every 100 inhabitants, never in all the history of colonialism had there been such an example of occupation by a foreign

(Mr. Keyes, United States)

army, except in eastern Europe and in Afghanistan. There was no doubt who were the modern-day colonialists. Maurice Bishop had been the victim not of an ordinary struggle for power but of a carefully planned and orchestrated coup and carried out with a savagery and brutality unprecedented in the English-speaking Caribbean, though not elsewhere in the world, because such behaviour had been encountered wherever the Soviet Union tried to extend its empire. The Soviet Union and its Cuban puppets were the champions of international banditry, of terrorism, extortion, subversion and conflict. Free peoples could and would resist. The United States of America would not hesitate to help them in their struggle.

59. Mr. MORET (Cuba) said that he had not been surprised when the United States representative had raised a point of order on the pretext that the Cuban delegation's statement had nothing to do with the subject under discussion. The mandate of the Second Committee included studying problems of international economic co-operation, particularly economic co-operation among Member States, which the United States did not care about, since it had impeded the launching of global negotiations and prevented economic negotiations in other forums from achieving any concrete results. The events in Grenada were a matter for the Second Committee since the Cuban personnel there were supporting Grenada's development efforts by providing technical assistance in the context of TCDC.

60. The behaviour of the United States should be a matter of concern to all Governments furnishing economic aid since there was no guarantee that staff seconded by other countries for technical co-operation would not suffer the same fate. The United States representative's reply was in line with his country's aggressive traditions and practices, a recent example being its intervention in the Dominican Republic in April 1965. The pretexts put forward to justify the invasion of Grenada deceived no one. The argument of the imperialist Government of the United States was that its intervention was designed to save the lives of its nationals, but that was entirely without foundation. The United States Government had intervened dozens of times in Latin America on the same fallacious pretext. Actually, it had done so to preserve imperialist political and economic interests. President Reagan claimed that the United States invasion would help to bring democracy to Grenada, one might well ask whether the United States Government also meant to restore democracy in those countries on which it had imposed a dictatorship.

61. The island of Grenada, one of the smallest countries in the world, had been attacked by the most powerful capitalist country using specially trained troops. In defiance of international law and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the principle of non-intervention, which was the fundamental guarantee of peace among nations, the United States Government had shown clearly that it had nothing but contempt for the interests of the peoples or for their right to independence and sovereignty. In Grenada, United States troops had made a surprise attack on Cuban civilian workers in a position of numerical, technical and military inferiority. The attack against those workers brought great dishonour on the armed forces of the United States.

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(Mr. Moret, Cuba)

62. Cuba had co-operated in the development of Grenada, particularly in the areas of education, culture, public health and construction work, in accordance with relevant resolutions of the United Nations and other international bodies. The United States armed invasion of Grenada was a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and had put a stop to the Grenadian people's efforts to create an economy in keeping with its needs: for example, the building of an airport to develop tourism.

63. The United States policies of blackmail, oppression and discrimination, along with the aggressions, economic blockades and trade and other barriers which accompanied those policies, were ample confirmation of the fascist-like character of the present United States Government. The United States imperialists had also delayed and hampered the efforts of the international Red Cross to facilitate the evacuation of the wounded to Cuba. Similarly, United States troops had surrounded the Cuban Embassy in Grenada, preventing anyone from entering or leaving, and had arrested two Cuban economic co-operation officials in flagrant disregard of the diplomatic immunity conferred by the Vienna Convention. The United States representative had forgotten to say that his country's naval forces were heading for waters off the Cuban coasts, under the pretext of naval manoeuvres, in violation of paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 37/118 which prohibited military manoeuvres in crisis areas. Actually, the aim was to unleash against Cuba the same kind of armed aggression as that perpetrated against Grenada. Cuba wished to denounce to the international community the provocative acts of the present United States Government and its threats against Cuba, which might have incalculable consequences for international peace and security. The international community must once again raise its voice to put a stop to provocations of Yankee imperialism against the Cuban people.

64. Mr. DUN (United Kingdom) said that he wished to correct some inaccuracies in the Cuban representative's remarks. He had tried to make the United Kingdom Government responsible for the safety of Cubans in Grenada, but that showed a complete and perhaps deliberate lack of understanding of the position. Since Grenada's accession to independence, the United Kingdom Government had no responsibility for its internal or external affairs. Moreover, the Governor-General was a Grenadian national and any questions regarding his constitutional status and powers or his authority were internal affairs of Grenada and had nothing whatever to do with the United Kingdom Government. He also wished to point out that his Government was represented in Grenada by a diplomatic mission which, like the Cuban ambassador, was accredited to the Governor-General.

65. Mr. ASTAFIEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said it was not surprising to hear the Government of the United States of America offering lies and slanders because it habitually used that kind of invective, especially against the USSR, which it alleged was responsible for everything it did not like in international affairs. The United States Government had offered several versions to explain why it had invaded the island of Grenada without any reason, invoking a treaty which was unknown to anyone and to which, by the way, the United States of America was not a party and claiming that it was at the request of certain States

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(Mr. Astafiev, USSR)

which themselves were not parties to the treaty either. In reality, that request was a pure invention of the State Department.

66. Despite the very detailed explanations given by the representative of Cuba, the representative of the United States of America continued to assert that the Cubans on Grenada were in fact military contingents. However, the United States Congress did not seem to share that opinion and was reported to be sending a mission of inquiry to determine the causes of the invasion. The criminal attack on Grenada demonstrated total contempt for the norms of international law, flouted the noble principles of the United Nations Charter, and showed that in order to achieve its aims, the Government of the United States of America scorned the independence of the peoples and the will of international public opinion. The invasion revealed what a danger the machinations of the Government of the United States of America represented for the peace and freedom of the peoples.

67. Mr. KEYES (United States of America) considered it astounding that the representative of Cuba should try to prove that the question of Grenada was pertinent to the discussion by asserting that it was a question relating to technical co-operation activities. It was a really strange definition of technical co-operation which, in the case of Grenada, amounted to overthrowing a country's institutions, assassinating its leaders and infringing its independence by installing foreign subversive forces. As the Prime Minister of Jamaica had said, the Cubans had used the pretext of building an airport, to build up stocks of arms. A great number of cases of ammunition, Russian-made submachineguns, heavy artillery, anti-tank devices and anti-aircraft installations had been discovered at the Point Salines airport which, in reality, was nothing but a vast military camp. There was nothing to suggest that it was intended for commercial or civil purposes.

68. With regard to the United States intervention aimed at protecting its nationals, he wished to remind the representative of Cuba that after the assassination of Maurice Bishop, the situation in Grenada had been extremely uncertain. The small group which had seized power was not a government but a band of assassins who had imposed a veritable reign of terror on the Grenadians, decreed a curfew and closed the airport, thus preventing the repatriation of 1,000 United States citizens. Consequently his country could not ignore the danger threatening a large number of its nationals.

69. As to the accusation that the United States had prevented the evacuation of Cuban soldiers wounded or killed in combat, he pointed out that 57 wounded soldiers and 10 medical personnel had been evacuated that very day by the International Red Cross, which had taken the steps provided for in the Geneva Convention. Far from hindering those operations, his Government had facilitated them.

70. Lastly, he said that it was not surprising that the representative of the USSR did not understand how free institutions operated. That notion and the freedoms which accompanied it were totally alien to his country. Nevertheless, the United States of America would preserve the existence of those free institutions, and their operation in no way implied that his country was unable to defend those freedoms and to help other countries to do the same.

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71. Mr. MORET (Cuba) said he did not intend to further the name of the United States, whose lies and slanders were intended simply to present the facts and consequences of its aggression and the reasons for it in a false light. It was endeavouring in that way to divert attention from the acts of aggression it was trying to commit against Cuba. Those machinations were a serious precedent for the developing countries in general, and for those of Latin America in particular. The repression and the use of force against Cuban advisers constituted a violation of the principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter. Consequently, there was an urgent need for the international community to acquaint itself with the facts and to condemn the criminal aggression against Grenada as well as the threats of aggression against Cuba.

72. The United States of America could rest assured that if the Cuban people were attacked, it would fight to defend its country and its national sovereignty with the same courage and the same dignity as the small group of Cuban civilian advisers on Grenada.

73. Finally, with regard to the remarks made by the representative of the United Kingdom about the Governor General, he pointed out that he could not forget the role played by the United Kingdom in its former colonies and, in particular, its invasion of the Malvinas (Falkland Islands). Nor should it be forgotten that Grenada was currently invaded by the United States of America, which claimed to want to maintain order and establish democracy, and that fact itself constituted interference in Grenada's internal affairs.

74. Mr. DUN (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) said he had absolutely no intention of engaging in polemics with the representative of Cuba on the subject of the Falkland Islands. His country's position on that subject was well known and he regretted that the representative of Cuba had seen fit to raise the question before the Committee, which was not the appropriate forum.

75. So far as the role of the Governor-General was concerned, he thought he had clearly explained the position and he recalled once again that the Ambassador of Cuba himself had presented his credentials to the Governor-General in October 1979, which demonstrated the inaccuracy and absurdity of the accusations made by Cuba.

76. The CHAIRMAN, speaking in reply to the representative of the United States of America, pointed out that he had never interrupted a delegation's statement, not even that of the United States when it had decided to discuss a question from a wider angle. Moreover, challenging a decision by the Chairman after the Committee had accepted that decision did nothing to further its work. In that regard, he wished to remind the representative of the United States of America that his delegation had the right and the opportunity under rule 113 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, to appeal against the Chairman's decision, and that such an appeal was immediately put to the vote. But the representative of the United States of America had not had recourse to that procedure.

77. In any case, he intended to pursue his efforts to achieve concrete results during the current session of the General Assembly, and to adopt a realistic,

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(The Chairman)

objective and flexible attitude with a view to drafting resolutions and decisions which would make it possible to establish a new international economic order and to improve international economic relations and the economic situation of the developing countries. Lastly, he pointed out that the Fifth Committee had just voted to allow the Cuban delegation to make a statement which did not relate to an item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.