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President: Mr. Indalecio J. ANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 58

Development and international economic co-operation
(continued):

(a) Report of the Committee Established under General
Assembly Resolution 32/174

1. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): In the view of the Jamaican delegation, it is entirely appropriate that the subject of the work of the Committee which was established by a decision of the General Assembly to deal in a comprehensive manner with the establishment of a New International Economic Order should be dealt with in a plenary meeting of the Assembly, for it is clear that we have reached a critical moment in these matters and must turn to this body in order to ensure a reinforcement of the decisions which were made nearly a year ago and to achieve the political impetus which is so badly needed in respect of the discussions and negotiations on the subject of global structural change.

2. At the beginning of this discussion we heard the comprehensive statement made by the Chairman of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, or the Committee of the Whole [35th meeting, paras. 2-40] and my delegation would like to pay the highest tribute to him once again for the work which he has done on behalf of the entire international community. The Chairman of the Group of 77, the Ambassador of Tunisia, has outlined the position of that Group in the clearest terms and my delegation fully endorses his statement [*ibid.*, paras. 42-69]. My delegation has had the opportunity on a number of occasions of speaking about the nature and the work of the Committee of the Whole and expressing our deep disappointment and frustration at the lack of progress. We have participated, along with many others, in the efforts to resolve the differences which have stood in the way of the work of that body. It is our understanding that there is every prospect that the much-desired agreement on the functions of the Committee is now within reach. We sincerely hope that this is so. It is therefore most important that this Assembly examine the state of the discussions and negotiations on the issue of the New International Economic Order and seek to ensure that this consensus on function and procedure has real and practical meaning; for

we would have little to congratulate ourselves on if it represented merely an agreement as to form and did not mark the beginning of a new phase in the discussions and negotiations, a phase representing really for the first time agreement on the part of all concerned to face the substantive issues squarely, discuss and negotiate in a constructive manner and produce practical and action-oriented conclusions. This agreement must also put the Committee in a position to exercise that responsible influence on and give a real impetus to the work of various bodies in the international system which are concerned with specific issues.

3. Here I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the officials of the Secretariat, who did so much to try to assist us in reaching agreement.

4. While my delegation, like so many others, has been deeply upset and frustrated at the actions which on so many occasions have prevented the Committee from proceeding with its work, I must say that we were not entirely surprised. We recognize that there may have been genuine differences of view about some aspects of the Committee's role and that there would have been a need for clarification as we proceeded with our work. But it is quite evident that the root of the difficulty was the unwillingness on the part of a number of countries to engage in concrete negotiations on those issues and proposals which have been before the international community for a number of years.

5. The representative of Guyana in his statement [35th meeting] urged that, in the light of the continued failure of the current dialogue to produce concrete results, we should examine the validity of the assumption implicit in the decisions of the sixth special session: namely, that the international community, through the United Nations system, can in a rational manner negotiate a fundamental structural change in the international economic system. It has been my view, which I have expressed, that as long as a number of industrialized countries were opposed to the proposition concerning the need for such structural change in the international economic system, we were likely to end up in failure and frustration whenever we came to the negotiating table in respect of any of those proposals. Moreover, it has been my belief that such frustration and disappointment would be the greater if there were a convergence of rhetoric which gave the impression that there was a real movement towards acceptance of the fundamental proposition. We have in fact seen such a convergence of rhetoric, particularly in the past year. In the absence of concrete results the inevitable disappointment has followed.

6. It was in the light of those considerations that my delegation made the comment over a year ago that the

failure of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation¹ had been inevitable since that Conference, whatever merit the idea may have had, represented a move from an unwarranted assumption to a foregone conclusion.

7. If we are to move now into a new phase of constructive discussion and negotiation we must do so in the light of a real understanding of the events of the past four years. Others who have spoken in this debate have sought to throw light on this matter. What is clear is that there were those who were angered by the proposals put forward by developing countries at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, or who regarded them as meaningless or quite impractical. There was quite evidently a failure to recognize the far-reaching political nature of the demand of a large number of countries, most of which had been subjected to the system of colonialism, for the establishment of a new system of international economic relations which would ensure that they had the opportunity to participate on a basis of equality. That claim was an inevitable and logical outgrowth of the process of decolonization and the establishment of the political independence of the countries involved.

8. However much one may question the particular form of the proposals which emerged at the sixth special session, the validity of the basic political statement is undeniable and the fulfilment of its objectives inescapable. This issue will not go away. Whatever disappointments we may have now or in the future, whatever resistance we may encounter, my delegation is of the firm view that the demand for such change will increase, as will the justification for it in the interests not only of developing countries but of the entire global community.

9. The only acceptable meaning of the experience which we have had in the past year, particularly in respect of the Committee of the Whole and the agreement which we now hope has been reached concerning the functions of that Committee, is that we all now jointly determine vigorously to pursue the discussions and negotiations concerning the New International Economic Order, in order to ensure that agreements be reached and action instituted to implement those agreements. We shall face many difficulties in this process, but if they are difficulties based on the realities of constructive negotiation then we expect that real progress will be achieved. That would mean an end to the ritual dance in slow motion in which we have been engaged for four years.

10. In spite of the failure to proceed with the work of the Committee, my delegation is of the view that we have all learned a great deal. The Committee represents a major step forward in the institutional structure of the United Nations system and a means of putting that system in a position to make a most effective contribution to international economic co-operation. We have seen that the role of the Committee requires that our Governments pay very special and urgent attention to its work and organize their own processes and internal discussions in a manner that will facilitate the work of the Committee and the other bodies in the United Nations system which are concerned with the question of the New International Economic Order.

11. We have seen that the Committee must draw fully upon the interests and resources of all parts of the United Nations system and must command the respect of those who work in the system both as officials and as representatives of their countries.

12. But most of all my delegation feels that we have seen the need to establish a much greater public awareness of the issues with which we are concerned. The achievement of this would place a particular responsibility on Governments which must less and less plead the excuse that they cannot act because their constituents or their legislators will not agree to action, and must more and more seek to enlighten and influence their peoples towards a better understanding of the realities of global economic co-operation.

13. Should we end this discussion in full agreement concerning the function of the Committee of the Whole, we must all turn our efforts towards the wise use of the Committee, drawing on the experience which we have gained in the meetings which have been held so far. And we shall be entitled to judge from future meetings of the Committee whether, in fact, all countries, and particularly the industrialized countries, are now prepared to join in the effort towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

14. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Mr. President, I deem it a special privilege to make my first statement as Permanent Representative of Pakistan under your presidency and on the subject of development co-operation.

15. The Pakistan delegation is firmly committed to promoting the establishment of the New International Economic Order through dialogue and co-operation. We therefore fully endorse the statement made by the representative of Tunisia, the Chairman of the Group of 77, expressing the desire of the developing countries to promote their just objectives patiently and through persuasion. The Pakistan delegation also wishes to thank Mr. Jazairy, the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole and representative of Algeria, for his review of the work of the Committee.

16. There can be no denying that international economic co-operation is at a low ebb today. The more affluent nations are preoccupied with a decline in economic growth, growing inflation and unemployment. The prospects for the poorest countries are quite dismal, partly as a result of the restrictive economic policies followed by the developed countries. The hopes and expectations aroused by the call issued at the sixth special session for the establishment of the New International Economic Order are nowhere near fulfilment. The decisions and recommendations adopted by consensus at that session and at the seventh special session have not been translated into policy actions by the advanced countries. On the contrary, their policies have increasingly manifested a negative trend.

17. The North-South dialogue is now in a state of impasse. The last year saw the failure of the Paris Conference, the lack of agreement at the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly,² the suspension of negotiations on the

¹ Held at Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

common fund, the decline in real terms in the transfer of resources to developing countries, their virtual exclusion from the substantive trade negotiations being conducted in the multilateral trade negotiations within the framework of GATT, the adoption of increasingly protectionist trade policies by the developed countries aimed mainly at the exports of the developing nations, and the stalemate reached on international monetary reform, on the redeployment of the world's industrial capacity and on the transfer of technology.

18. Despite this discouraging experience the developing countries sought to maintain the dialogue with the industrial nations through the Committee of the Whole. Unfortunately, for reasons that are well known the Committee was unable to fulfil any of the responsibilities assigned to it under General Assembly resolution 32/174. While the Committee searched for agreement on its mandate, the substantive work could not move forward.

19. This is not the time or place for polemics; but it must be made clear that the lack of results in the Committee was due to the absence of political will on the part of the developed countries to engage in serious and meaningful negotiations on the basic issues involved in the relations between the developed and the developing countries.

20. At this point it is best to look to the future rather than to the past; it is best to view the North-South negotiations, not as a test of strength, but as a test of solidarity. My delegation, for its part, therefore discounts the counsels of those who believe that the developed countries no longer feel themselves compelled to negotiate a new economic order with the developing countries.

21. The continuation of the impasse is in the interests of neither the developed nor the developing countries. If the present trends persist, the world economy is in danger of slipping from its current recession into a dreaded depression. The consequences of this will be more severe for the developed than for the developing countries. International economic co-operation and, more precisely, the stimulation of economic demand and consumption in the developing countries, is an essential pre-condition for the revival of the world economy in the short term and its stability and continued growth in the longer term. There is, we believe, growing realization in the advanced countries that this is the only way out of the present economic malaise.

22. The deadlock over the mandate of the Committee of the Whole has come to epitomize the impasse in North-South relations. It was for this reason that the leader of the Pakistan delegation in his address to the Assembly on 4 October [21st meeting] outlined our willingness to reach a reasonable compromise on this question. We are, therefore, gratified that the differences between the two sides on this subject have been resolved and that attention can now be turned in the dialogue to substantive issues.

23. We all know what these substantive issues are. In the short term efforts must be made to implement the recent Trade and Development Board agreement on retroactive debt adjustment of the poorest countries [see A/33/15, part two, annex I], to double official development assistance over the next two years, to secure a massive transfer of resources to the developing countries, to reverse the protectionist measures imposed by the advanced countries,

to work out a global trade compensation scheme and to embark on a new round of trade negotiations addressed specifically to the problems of the developing countries. In the medium term the structural changes required in the world monetary system and in the pattern of world industrial production must be conscientiously brought about. In the longer term development co-operation must lead to a new concept of globally planned and equitable economic growth and development.

24. These issues, we believe, will be debated intensively during the next 18 months. The Negotiating Conference on the common fund³ is expected to resume sooner rather than later. The fifth session of UNCTAD will be held next year. The preparations for the new international development strategy are to be initiated during 1979. The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development will also be held in this period. All these deliberations will culminate in the special session of the General Assembly on economic co-operation scheduled for 1980.

25. I believe that all of us here should dedicate ourselves to participating actively and in a positive manner in these negotiations. It is necessary to reaffirm that the international community can survive only through co-operation based on equity. The basic interests of the developed and the developing countries are compatible and convergent. These common interests should be translated into practical programmes and measures of co-operation to bring about an equitable economic system for the world and prosperity for all its peoples. Let us hope that the renewal of the desire for dialogue manifested here during this debate represents a point of departure on a new road of genuine world economic co-operation for development.

26. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): The Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia has already congratulated you, Sir, in his statement in the general debate [7th meeting], on your election as President of the General Assembly. May I add my personal congratulations and assure you of the full co-operation of the Yugoslav delegation in the carrying out of your responsible functions.

27. It is not my intention to deal with the present state of negotiations between the developed and the developing countries, nor will I deal with the causes and reasons that have prevented the Committee on the New International Economic Order from functioning normally; they are sufficiently known. My delegation had the opportunity to refer to them as well as the responsibility for this state of affairs during the debate in the Second Committee. Nevertheless, I should like to stress once again that it is not the different interpretations of the mandate and methods of work of the Committee or the supposed incapacity of the United Nations or of the international community in general that are at the root of the difficulties. Behind this situation is concealed a lack of readiness to effect changes in existing international economic relations as the only road towards overcoming the crisis in the world economy. At the root of it also is a lack of confidence in the central role of the General Assembly in the complex matter of identifying and solving the accumulated problems. And, in the final

³ United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

analysis, what is involved is a refusal to accept the evolution of the world, which demands a substantive democratization of international relations and makes the establishment of a new system of international political and economic relations imperative.

28. The desire and will to overcome difficulties was voiced by the majority of delegations which participated in the general debate. The Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs also emphasized, in this connexion, the need for creating, already at this session, conditions for the normal functioning of the Committee within the framework of its mandate.

29. Such desire has been confirmed also in the course of informal contacts and consultations. We have the impression that controversial questions concerning the interpretation of the Committee's mandate will be resolved in a satisfactory manner. We wish to believe that there exists a genuine desire to overcome the present difficulties. However, the differences that we shall eliminate in this way will prove relatively unimportant if the Committee is not in a position to continue its work next year and make a concrete contribution to negotiations on the most important issues. There is still time to make urgent decisions and adopt resolute measures, so as to make it possible to submit to the special session in 1980 a positive balance-sheet which will restore confidence in negotiations and enable the session to make a genuine contribution to the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

30. There is no doubt that one year has been lost in negotiations between the developed and the developing countries. Therefore we should discharge our responsibilities and direct our action to overcoming these difficulties and preventing their being repeated next year.

31. The differences and misunderstandings that have emerged with regard to the role and mandate of the Committee should not divert our attention from the real problems of international economic relations. The nature and dimension of these issues, as well as the consequences that would ensue owing to failure to resolve them, make it imperative today to search for new approaches, a different structure and an adequate framework within which these problems are likely to be solved.

32. There is no doubt that these problems can be solved only on the basis of the establishment of a New International Economic Order, which alone can provide appropriate conditions for the more rapid development of the developing countries and international economic co-operation based on equality.

33. We should not labour under the delusion that issues of such magnitude as the problems of development and international economic co-operation can be settled by means of temporary, partial and palliative measures. It should be clear to all those advocating such a course that in this way, instead of being solved, problems are merely postponed, multiplied and aggravated.

34. In connexion with this I wish to draw attention to the ever-growing tendency to drag out the solving of various problems without justification and on the most varied

pretexts. In one case we are faced with the tendency to reduce negotiations to a simple and general exchange of views, without commitments and perspectives, as if we were dealing with these problems for the first time. Another time attention is drawn to the necessity of identifying problems more thoroughly, as if they had not been sufficiently examined from various aspects and had not figured on the agenda for several decades. On a third occasion discussion is directed to the method of decision-making, rejecting one day what had been agreed on the day before and mixing up the method of harmonizing views with the method of their adoption, as if no established practice or rules of procedure existed. In a fourth case, the need to avoid a duplication of negotiations is used as a pretext, although we are well acquainted with the role of each mechanism. The final consequence, if not the actual purpose, of all this is to empty the dialogue of real substance and transform it into an aim in itself. At the same time, decisions on substantive issues affecting the world economy as a whole are made within closed groupings or within a narrow circle of the economically most powerful nations. Without shutting our eyes to the complex character of the problems and without contesting anyone's good intentions, we cannot free ourselves from the impression that such practice is intended primarily to conceal the absence of the genuine political will to move from words to deeds, that is, to undertake concrete action.

35. That practice must be abandoned. We find ourselves in a phase of concrete negotiations and we need specific solutions. Procrastination is bound to result in a further deterioration of the situation of the world economy. The process of the more rapid development of developing countries is thereby being slowed down, while we are exposed to the ever-growing risk of the deterioration of relations, as well as the risk of confrontation—and that cannot be in anyone's interest.

36. One of the motives of the developing countries in launching the initiative for the establishment of the Committee on the New International Economic Order was to accelerate the process of the global political consideration, negotiation and adoption of conclusions with regard to the key issues of international economic relations. That is the reason why stress is laid in the mandate on the necessity for the Committee to assist, promote and contribute to—by its authority as the focal point of the General Assembly—efforts aimed at overcoming difficulties likely to arise in various technical bodies, and thus facilitate and accelerate the process of negotiation and reaching mutual understanding.

37. In many respects, the coming year will confront us with genuine and diverse challenges. There will be a number of important international gatherings, such as the fifth session of UNCTAD and the Conference on Science and Technology for Development. Serious work lies ahead of us with regard also to the elaboration of a new international development strategy for the forthcoming decade and preparations for the conference on new and renewable sources of energy.

38. All those meetings constitute a continuity in the efforts constantly being made to solve problems of the world economy and of international economic relations.

Confidence that all questions can be solved through negotiations can be strengthened only on the basis of positive results from such negotiations. If such results are not obtained, we shall be confronted with serious consequences.

39. Consequently, priorities in the work of the Committee in the coming year need not be identical with those of this year. Indeed, they will certainly be somewhat different. An agreement on this will have to be reached at the appropriate time, when the Committee's programme of work and schedule of meetings will also have to be determined.

40. We hope that all factors will manifest a genuine political will to solve these problems. If they do not, no organ, no mechanism, regardless of its composition and orientation—and this includes the Committee on the New International Economic Order—will be able to fulfil its role and tasks.

41. The existence of the political will to find substantive solutions to outstanding problems has been and is the only condition ensuring progress towards new international economic relations in the world. That is precisely the purpose of dialogue, which should search for solutions within the context of a global approach and not through isolated or partial measures. Problems have become so ripe for solution that there is perhaps no other area of international relations where more favourable conditions have been created for achieving tangible solutions liable to contribute effectively to international co-operation based on equality, to open new prospects for the expansion of the world economy and, in the final analysis, to broaden the basis of détente and increase the action to extinguish focal points of crisis and solve key international issues. What is needed for this is much more than declarations; what is needed is the political will of all countries to take action, as our common responsibility is involved. In fact, problems of such dimensions cannot be solved in a different manner. And this is an indispensable prerequisite for strengthening the peace and security of all of us. It is therefore the foremost political task of the whole international community.

42. Mr. THIEMELE (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): It is very fortunate that our Assembly is examining once again, in plenary meetings, the problem of development and international economic relations. But how can we examine that question without raising the question of the deep concept at the basis of the economic relations between the nations of the present world?

43. Indeed, while world developments until the Second World War were marked by the sought-for and assumed predominance of the power of States over all other considerations, with its attendant relations of domination, exploitation, subjugation and enslavement, the aspirations born of the crushing of the Fascist Hitler régime—that is, the quest for the freedom, dignity and self-determination of peoples—had perforce to entail a questioning of pre-existing relations as a whole, whether political or economic. The political liberation of the countries under foreign domination brought in its wake, as a logical consequence, the necessary affirmation of new economic personalities.

44. The United Nations, which has played and continues to play a role at the forefront of the quest for political freedom, could not but contribute to that effort aimed at the economic and social development of the countries that had regained their full sovereignty. In the 1960s, at a time when the majority of our States were acceding to it, the international Organization proclaimed the first international strategy for development [*see resolutions 1710 (XVI) and 1715 (XVI)*]. But what was, in fact, involved? Essentially, it was a question of envisaging internal and international measures which, when put into effect, could lead to an acceptable growth rate for the so-called developing countries, so that they could, at best, maintain the gap separating them from the most economically advanced countries. Thus, there was envisaged a minimum growth rate for the gross national product of those countries—and this was to have an effect on the various sectors of economic activities—as well as financial assistance by the developed countries to the developing countries and various attendant measures designed to make coexistence between the two economic zones of our world as tolerable as possible.

45. Despite these efforts by the international community, the main trends of the world economy became steadily stronger and, reducing the situation to the simplest terms, we can say that the rich became richer while the poor vegetated painfully in their state of poverty. Mankind seemed condemned to suffer the fatal result that two-thirds of the people of the world received less than 25 per cent of the world product, while the remaining third received 75 per cent. The Second United Nations Development Decade was launched as a result of much hard work, but there were no great hopes that the developments confronting the world would be corrected.

46. It took the raw materials crisis in 1973 and 1974—which, as a result of the quadrupling of the price of oil, brought about a revaluation of the prices of all commodities—for States to become aware, suddenly, that despite the differences in revenue and standard of living, they were all in the same boat and that anything affecting some of them would affect all of them. And thus there came about the staggering, indeed blinding, discovery of interdependence. Since the era of conquest and the exclusive prerogative of power had passed, they had to accept a dialogue between the two dissimilar parts of the world.

47. The Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the resolution adopted at the seventh special session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] adopted by the international Organization in 1975 laid down the principles for the restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of justice, equity and respect for the interests of all the partners.

48. The new international economic order which resulted was to respond to the most legitimate aspirations of the peoples of countries, large and small, rich and poor. It is not necessary for me to elaborate on the elements of this new order, since they have been amply discussed.

49. Unfortunately, the momentum of the first meetings, whether inside or outside this Organization, did not result in a real restructuring process. Promises quickly vanished and hopes were disappointed. Negotiations were quickly bogged down in procedural quarrels and academic discussions which were far removed from the real preoccupations of our people.

50. The impression prevails that, since the flurry unleashed by the crisis has passed, there is no longer any danger and that we can calmly maintain the structure of economic relations between States which has worked up to the present time.

51. It is our duty to ask, in view of so many changes of direction and about-faces, if there is still the political will to carry out this restructuring process.

52. Can we be content with the present situation, the explosive nature of which can escape no one? Can we, with impunity and even heedlessly, postpone the examination of the questions which are most essential to the new economic order from one meeting to another, from one forum to another, and especially from one year to another?

53. That is the problem before us today. The negotiating framework and the framework for discussion exist. Among them, and established in the supreme body of our Organization, there is the Committee of the Whole—presided over with devotion and tact by our brother, Idriss Jazairy, to whom we wish to pay a well-deserved tribute—which constitutes the most adequate means for giving to the United Nations system the principal responsibility for international economic negotiations.

54. To oversee and monitor the implementation of the decisions and agreements resulting from negotiations with respect to the establishment of the new international economic order, to provide the impetus necessary for overcoming negotiating difficulties and encouraging the continuance of the work, to serve as a forum for facilitating and expediting the solution of pending questions—that is the substance of the mandate entrusted to the Committee by General Assembly resolution 32/174.

55. Surely that mandate is clear enough to avoid any difficulty of interpretation and any risk of duplication or overlapping. Any progress made, in whatever body, cannot but be noted with satisfaction by the General Assembly. Cannot UNCTAD, the Economic and Social Council, the Committee of the Whole, and so forth, complement each other, so that the special session of 1980 may harvest all that we have sown rather than being merely transformed into a repetition of the sixth and seventh special sessions?

56. The delegation of the Ivory Coast, in view of all the hesitation, would wish that the North-South dialogue should remain a real dialogue where we seek mutual understanding and where mutually acceptable solutions might be reached. We unanimously rejected the confrontation of 1974 in favour of committing ourselves to a constructive and sincere dialogue designed to lead to the establishment of the new international economic order. I urge members to go on in this way, which, while not the

easiest way, is the way which can lead us to a safe harbour at the least cost.

57. The Ivory Coast, which shares the fate of all countries members of the Group of 77, whose position was so brilliantly set forth here by Mr. Mestiri of Tunisia, hopes very sincerely that the thirty-third session of the General Assembly will promote the renewal of the North-South dialogue by ridding it of procedural stratagems, by spelling out an adequate framework for negotiations dealing with the principal elements of the new international economic order, and, above all, by reaffirming the unanimous political will of the Members of our Organization, developed or developing and irrespective of their socio-economic systems, to commit themselves to concrete measures which alone are capable of stopping the dangerous course of our world eroded by inequality and injustice.

58. My country is entirely committed to promoting peaceful relations among nations and will participate with devotion, within the very limited means at its disposal, in this universal quest for happiness and justice.

59. Mr. NIZAMUDDIN (India): The subject we are discussing relates not only to the continued necessity for the Committee of the Whole, which the Assembly established last year; it also calls into question the political will of many developed countries to remove the inequities in the present international economic system. The dilemma facing the future of the Committee is only one of the symptoms of the deeper malaise afflicting international economic relations.

60. Developed countries have been preoccupied with short-term measures to deal with their continuing problems of stagflation and unemployment. In the process, they have tended to disregard the consequences of their measures for developing countries. They have also shown little enthusiasm to implement fully the commitments willingly undertaken by them in the various forums of the United Nations.

61. The developed market-economy countries have not been able to find lasting solutions to their own economic problems, and this has doubtless contributed to the uncertainty in finding solutions to the much larger and more pressing problems of developing countries. The greater sacrifice and the heavier burden belong to the developing countries in making the necessary economic adjustment.

62. As early as 1961 developed countries accepted the commitment in the GATT programme of action⁴ not to raise new trade barriers against imports from the developing countries. This commitment was reiterated a number of times in subsequent years. In spite of this, during the last few years developed countries have imposed a number of restrictive bilateral agreements on developing countries relating to the imports of precisely those commodities in which developing countries have demonstrated competitive advantage. Protectionism has been acquiring increasing support in developed countries and statements are being frequently made by various interests in its favour.

⁴ Programme for Expansion of International Trade. See General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, *Basic Instruments and Selected Documents, Tenth Supplement* (Sales No GATT/1962-1), p. 25.

63. Developed countries are also going back on their commitments relating to non-reciprocal and preferential treatment to developing countries in trade negotiations, embodied in section 4 of the GATT programme, in the various decisions of UNCTAD and in the International Development Strategy for the decade of the 1970s [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. Instead of using the GATT multilateral trade negotiations for improving the access of the exports of developing countries to developed countries' markets, the negotiations are being taken advantage of to legalize various derogations from commitments.

64. There is a total absence of serious discussion in any forum on how to put the much-needed flow of resources to developing countries on a continuing and reliable basis. Ideas so far advanced on this subject have remained unpursued on the ground of their being impracticable. The target for providing 0.7 per cent of gross national product as official development assistance, to which developed countries are committed in the International Development Strategy, is now generally ignored. The major developed countries are even opposed to the very concept of fixing targets and determining a time-bound framework for implementing them.

65. Negotiations on almost all major issues having a bearing on the restructuring of the international economic system remain stalled. Instead of the developed countries giving the negotiations the necessary push and bringing them to successful conclusions, futile debates on procedural and organizational questions have been occupying our time.

66. There is clearly an absence of political will on the part of the developed countries to resolve the issues currently under negotiation and to implement the agreed measures incorporated in the Strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade and in the Declaration and the Plan of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order.

67. In these circumstances, even if the Committee of the Whole is put back on the rails, it remains to be seen whether and how it will serve the purposes for which it was established.

68. The Committee was set up last year with much acclaim. It was expected to function as the supreme United Nations body to monitor, supervise and impart momentum to negotiations on major international issues in all United Nations forums. It is indeed a sad commentary on the present situation that the discussions spread over a year have not yet helped the Committee to get off the ground. The failure to agree even on the procedures for the functioning of the Committee reflects the reluctance of the major developed countries to initiate the process for bringing about the indispensable structural changes in the world economy and in international economic relations.

69. It is, however, a matter of some gratification that, as a result of the consultations that have taken place so far, it may be possible to get the Committee to resume its functions on the basis of the consensus reached at its last session, held in September. But this will clear only the procedural hurdles and will still leave us quite unable to deal with substantive issues. In the debate on this subject in

this Assembly we can do no better than call upon our partners from developed countries to demonstrate their political will to produce results and make meaningful progress.

70. The Committee's main task should be to provide impetus to the ongoing negotiations in other forums on issues which have been fully explored at the technical level but which, for their final settlement, require high-level political decisions. If the Committee is to discharge this function effectively it has to have at its disposal a highly sensitive and reliable instrument for monitoring progress in other forums and reporting on them regularly to the Committee of the Whole, which can then review the negotiations and, where they have reached an impasse, deal with them at the political level in order to arrive at agreed conclusions. The Committee has every right to expect inputs of this kind from its own Secretariat. Our delegation therefore hopes that the next session of the Committee will be provided with competent technical support by the Secretariat, which should produce a paper indicating the present stage of negotiations on some of the major issues, identifying the aspects on which the negotiations have reached a stalemate and clearly spelling out the positions of the different groups of countries on various aspects. Discussions could then take place in the Committee on the basis of such research and analysis.

71. The Committee might also discuss new issues which could then be remitted to the appropriate bodies for further treatment in detail. An example that occurs to my delegation is the question of the link, which is one of the very few means of putting development assistance on an automatic and assured basis. Now that a fresh lot of special drawing rights has been created and they are in the process of being allotted to member countries of the IMF, is it not time to resume discussions on the link in the appropriate forums? The Committee of the Whole could legitimately draw the attention of those bodies to this important subject. The Committee should certainly not supplant other bodies but it is open to it to supplement their work by suggesting new ideas and commenting generally on the direction, scope and adequacy of the work in those bodies.

72. We should also consider seriously whether the Committee of the Whole should be assisted, when necessary, by smaller bodies representing different groups and interests. Such an arrangement could be used as an effective means of exerting pressure and of stimulating and triggering off progress in negotiations. It is, of course, for the Committee to create small working groups entrusted with responsibility for formulating draft conclusions and agreements on individual issues referred to them by the Committee.

73. My delegation hopes that the consideration of this item by the Assembly in its plenary meetings will impart new momentum to the functioning and successful working of the Committee. Above all, my delegation trusts that practical demonstrations of the political will of the major developed countries to make practical and concrete progress on specific outstanding issues will soon be given. Otherwise there will be no real justification for prolonging the life and mandate of the Committee of the Whole, which has raised so much hope and expectation in so many developing countries and has done so little to fulfil them.

74. Before I conclude I should like to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Jazairy of Algeria, the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole. We had been confident from the outset that his contribution to the work of the Committee would be significant. We fully realize that the emerging consensus on the role of the Committee owes a great deal to Mr. Jazairy and we are glad to join other delegations in expressing our warm thanks for his untiring and devoted efforts.

75. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call now on the representative of the Dominican Republic, who will speak as Chairman of the group of Latin American States.

76. Mr. ESQUEA GUERRERO (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are here at this rostrum for two reasons: our frustration at the lack of understanding on the question before us among the countries represented in this plenary; and our optimism, since we think that there is still time to establish a basis for agreement on the need for a new international economic order.

77. Indeed, the elimination of the great differences that separate our countries in the area of development cannot be postponed. This was recognized by the General Assembly when in 1961 it proclaimed the United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 1710 (XVI)*]. Ten years was not enough for the achievement of the desired objective and, in pursuance of Article 55 of the Charter, the United Nations extended that period by proclaiming the 1970s the Second Development Decade.

78. The years that followed showed that it was not possible to eliminate the differences between the developed and the developing countries without some change in the international economic order. If the same international economic system continued the differences would continue to increase and would reach a point where they would constitute a threat to international peace.

79. Bearing this in mind the sixth special session of this Assembly, held in 1974, produced a Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. In that Declaration [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] all States undertook to work with a sense of urgency for:

“... the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems, which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations...”

80. After adopting at its twenty-ninth session the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which created favourable conditions for the establishment of the new international economic order, this Assembly adopted at its seventh special session resolution 3362 (S-VII), in which

specific measures for the achievement of the development of international economic co-operation were established.

81. That resolution, which decided on the convening of a special session of the General Assembly in 1980 to assess progress made in connexion with the new international economic order, set up a Committee of the Whole whose terms of reference included, among other things, giving the necessary impetus to overcome difficulties that had arisen in negotiations on economic issues.

82. As is well known, hardly had the Committee of the Whole begun to hold its first meetings when difficulties arose which compelled it to suspend its work. It would appear that for some that Committee was a body which must not be allowed to achieve its full purpose.

83. Indeed, one of the criticisms made was that it was not effective because, it was argued, the discussion of important economic problems could not be carried on outside the political context which determined them, adding that it would lead only to a duplication of the work done by other United Nations bodies established to study economic questions.

84. That argument does not apply in the present case because, as the representative of Jamaica so clearly stated on behalf of the Group of 77, the Committee was set up to meet the need:

“... to have, in the international institutional framework, a central body which would have the right to bring together the various elements involved in order to move towards the creation of a just and equitable international economic system through the establishment of a new international economic order.” [*See A/33/34, part two, annex B, para. 1.*]

85. But what is even more regrettable is that the work of the Committee of the Whole should have been interrupted by certain conceptual and semantic allegations which, however complex they may appear, are always easy to interpret when one has good faith and the desire to reach solutions.

86. As I said earlier, the fact that we are here indicates that something is wrong with the present situation, and we consider that we are not only judging the behaviour of the Committee of the Whole today but also testing the decisions, the desire of each of us for change. We must ask ourselves clearly and without hypocrisy as to our interest in international co-operation for the development of the peoples of the world.

87. We must examine our own consciences to see whether we have fulfilled the commitments that we undertook at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly to work with a sense of urgency towards the establishment of a new international economic order.

88. We must ask ourselves whether we have done everything possible to put an end to all forms of foreign occupation, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and colonial, neo-colonial and foreign domination and exploitation. We must ask ourselves whether we have done everything

possible to adopt at the international level the measures necessary to eliminate food shortages; whether we have done everything possible to improve the terms of trade of developing countries and eliminate their trade deficits; whether we have avoided the protectionist measures that other countries create to the detriment of our producers, thus avoiding unfair competition.

89. We should ask ourselves whether we have managed to improve the international monetary system, to achieve the industrialization of the developing countries and transmit to them the technology necessary for that development. Finally, we should ask ourselves whether we have been able to adopt and apply fully the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

90. If we have not fulfilled those obligations, and if indeed we seriously desire peace and the development of peoples, we should make an act of contrition, which should not be a simple *mea culpa* but should include a firm decision to smooth the path towards the achievement of those ideals.

91. We think this is not the moment for reproaches or apportioning blame, which would merely lead to a deepening of differences. We believe that the time has come for conciliation, a time of growing awareness, a time when we must be consistent and transform our written and spoken words into concrete action, because we shall not be able to speak of human rights without social justice and there will not be equality among States or equal possibilities for development as long as there are human beings who are dying of hunger and who are denied their human dignity.

92. We do not wish our words to be regarded as a simple expression of humanism or commiseration. Our position is that the independence of nations, as has been stated in this Assembly, the future of each people, depends on the future of all the other peoples. That is why the establishment of a new international economic order is a duty laid upon all the States of the world, a task which brooks no delay.

93. Let us leave aside past misunderstandings and, in a true oecumenical spirit, seek the solutions required now so that we shall not have regrets in the future.

94. Lastly, on behalf of my delegation and of the Latin American group of States, may I congratulate the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Idriss Jazairy, on the accomplished manner in which he guided the work of that Committee.

95. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation listened with attention to the statements made at the 35th meeting by Mr. Jazairy, the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Mestiri, on behalf of the Group of 77, and the representatives of some other countries. We endorse the positive stand as expressed in their statements with regard to the Committee of the Whole.

96. On the initiative of the developing countries, the General Assembly at its last session adopted resolution 32/174, by which the Committee of the Whole was established. This Committee is entrusted with a wide-

ranging mandate as spelled out in the resolution. The mandate of the Committee, as we see it, is above all to undertake meaningful negotiations on the major issues in the present international economic field with a view to making decisions and promoting the establishment of the new international economic order. We have all noted that the struggle for transforming the old international economic relations has encountered one obstacle after another since the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly. In view of this situation, the developing countries, while strengthening their unity for struggle in all aspects, deem it necessary to stress the need of undertaking negotiations related to the establishment of the new international economic order within the framework of the United Nations system, reiterate the equal participation of all countries in the decision-making progress, and uphold the central role of the United Nations General Assembly in this regard. It was to meet this general demand of the developing countries that the Committee of the Whole was established. This is an important step to surmount difficulties and facilitate the earnest implementation of the resolutions adopted by the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly. The Chinese delegation has extended its support to this initiative of the developing countries and has taken an active part in the work of the Committee.

97. Nearly one year has passed since the Committee of the Whole came into being. If all sides concerned had a sincere desire to negotiate and resolve the major international economic issues, the Committee should have made some progress. However, the reality proves just the reverse. The super-Powers have not only obstructed the Committee from reaching any agreement on such substantive issues as the transfer of resources, but have also created side issues and unscrupulously caused complications in its mandate, and as a result the Committee was forced to suspend its work. People cannot but recall the fact that the super-Powers were deliberately making difficulties as early as the last session of the General Assembly, when the draft proposal to set up this Committee was submitted by the developing countries. It was only thanks to the persistent efforts of the developing countries that the super-Powers accepted it reluctantly. Afterwards, they raised the question of its mandate again and again, trying to downgrade and limit the role of the Committee without any valid grounds. One super-Power made reservations of one kind or another in an attempt to turn the Committee into a talking-shop incapable of performing any of its tasks. The other super-Power employed more insidious tactics to obstruct and sabotage the work of the Committee. While paying lip-service as to its "support" of the Committee, it was in actual fact undermining it. Under such pretexts as "avoiding the overlapping of work with other organizations" and "the Committee should primarily serve as the preparatory organ of the special session in 1978", this super-Power tried, in fact, to deprive the Committee of its vital role of undertaking negotiations and adopting resolutions and thus make this forum exist only in name.

98. It is clear to all that, although the debate on the question of the Committee of the Whole seems to be centred on procedures, in the final analysis it is a question of whether to promote or oppose the establishment of the new international economic order. This struggle is not an

isolated and accidental phenomenon. It is a reflection of the struggle of anti-exploitation against exploitation and anti-control against control in the present international economic sphere. Mainly as a result of the obstruction of the super-Powers, no real progress has been made in the important negotiations towards the transformation of the international economic relations since the last session of the General Assembly. Negotiations are bogged down in stalemate on such important areas as the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the common fund, the transfer of resources, international monetary reform, the cancellation and alleviation of the debt of the developing countries and the improvement of the conditions for transfer of technology. All these have fully attested to the fact that in the past year the super-Powers have not made any changes in their obstinate position to protect the old and oppose the new international economic order.

99. Recently the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 adopted a declaration [A/33/278, annex], which brings to light the major obstacles for the establishment of the new international economic order and put forward many reasonable propositions and suggestions. The declaration expresses once again the common will of the third-world countries to maintain unity, uphold principles and persist in struggle as well as their determination to contribute to the establishment of the new international economic order by strengthening their collective self-

reliance through economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, and other measures. The Chinese delegation resolutely supports this declaration.

100. Now the Group of 77 has made another effort to enable the Committee of the Whole to stand on its feet again. But the real progress of the Committee will essentially depend on whether the super-Powers can be forced to change their stand and demonstrate some action.

101. In spite of the long and uneven road in the establishment of the new international economic order, it is our belief that so long as the third-world countries close their ranks, unite all the forces that can be united and wage a deep and wide struggle persistently, they are bound to overcome all the difficulties and obstructions and bring into being the transformations favourable to the developing countries in the international economic field and make steady contributions to the establishment of the new international economic order. As a developing socialist country, China will stand together with the third-world countries and co-operate with all countries that genuinely support the new international economic order and make a common effort for the promotion of the struggle to destroy the old and establish the new in international economic relations.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.