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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (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. PAPOULIAS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Item 58 (a) of the agenda was brought before the plenary meetings because of the great importance of the continuance of the North-South dialogue for the establishment of the new international economic order. During the general debate we all expressed our disappointment and regret at the failure of the work of the Committee of the Whole, also known as the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. The report of that Committee [A/33/34] only confirms that regret, but at the same time the work carried out so far cannot be regarded as negligible.

2. While the lack of specific results shows the difficulties that the establishment of the new economic order is meeting, which are due *inter alia* to the various and sometimes contradictory concepts of the interpretation of the mandate of the Committee, none the less, clearly the international community must honour its commitments in the field of economic co-operation, and should certainly make every effort to give new momentum to the North-South dialogue.

3. Because the increasing economic interdependence of States makes collective action necessary, we consider that the Committee of the Whole can contribute in a constructive and positive manner to the dialogue between the developed and the developing countries on global economic problems, with a view to finding ways to assist the latter in their efforts to reinforce and diversify their economies, ensure decent standards of living for their populations and participate in the structural evolution of international economic relations.

4. The gravity of the world economic situation, the repercussions of which have a strong impact on the developing countries, makes it even more urgent to re-

structure relations between developed and developing countries on a more rational and equitable basis in accordance with the objectives of the new international economic order.

5. We feel that the Committee of the Whole, a key instrument of international economic co-operation, together with all the other agencies of the United Nations system which have a role to play in the establishment of the new international economic order, should begin discussions and arrange negotiations between developed and developing countries in the search for solutions to the fundamental problems in accordance with the Committee's mandate.

6. I take this opportunity of congratulating the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole and those who have participated in the achievement of a compromise, and to support the consensus which we reached unanimously in order to make possible the resumption of the dialogue and to facilitate the working out of the new international development strategy, which it is foreseen would be adopted by the General Assembly at the special session in 1980.

7. I have made this very brief statement mainly to assure the Assembly that Greece is certainly ready to make its modest contribution to the efforts which will be made by all.

8. We hope that the consensus will not remain the expression of a pious wish and that the Committee of the Whole will be able to carry out its task and reinforce international economic co-operation.

9. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Durable peace and the maintenance of such peace and the economic and social development of the peoples are the main objectives of the United Nations Charter. Even though years have gone by and the world continues to live in conditions of a precarious peace, the attainment of those objectives seems to be very far from attainment.

10. We are in the midst of turmoil and the gap separating the developing and the developed countries is increasing. All these tendencies point to the urgent need to adopt immediate measures. The international community must do this in order to achieve equitable and durable solutions to problems which are a threat to international peace and security.

11. The international economic situation is one of the fundamental problems confronting the international community because of the inequity and because the present basis of the world economic order, which was established at Bretton Woods in 1945, is completely unjust.

12. More than 800 million people in this world live in conditions of absolute poverty and ignorance, in which infant mortality is extremely high. These conditions, of course, are incompatible with human dignity.

13. The world is going through a very important stage of history, a stage of co-operation among States, interdependence and collective autonomy, in which the interests of any are directly or indirectly linked to the interests of all. This historic phase demands firm solidarity among all States, big and small, rich and poor; we must all strive to resolve the problems which confront us all.

14. The tragic conditions of life in so many countries of the third world should not be ignored. The small benefits they enjoy and the enormous and increasing gap between the poor and the rich countries must be corrected. The developing countries are making very little contribution to international production (13.9 per cent), and yet their people comprise the largest part of the world population, while the developed countries are responsible for 65.7 per cent of the whole of the international production of the world. Moreover, the developing countries' share in international trade amounts to less than 25 per cent, while their share of exports fell from 30 per cent of the world's exports in 1950 to 23 per cent in 1975.

15. Despite the fact that some developing countries have accumulated financial resources due to their exports of their natural resources, however, the economic problems of the developed countries, such as inflation, unemployment, balance-of-payments deficits and international monetary fluctuations had a very negative impact on the real value of the financial assets of the developing countries, which has fallen, and the economic situation, which is certainly not equitable. There is a serious imbalance and the interests of most countries in the world are not being taken into account. These economic conditions serve the interests only of the very few countries that control the world economic situation at present. The situation is changing now because so many developing countries have made considerable progress, economically and politically, and it is now necessary to introduce fundamental changes in the world economic system which was established at Bretton Woods.

16. This new reality was highlighted at the sixth special session when the General Assembly on 1 May 1974 adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] as well as a Programme of Action to apply certain measures [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*]. Those important resolutions were adopted in 1974 when the General Assembly affirmed that the present international economic order was certainly incompatible with recent development in international political and economic relations. The General Assembly called for the establishment of a New International Economic Order which would be based on equity, justice and co-operation among all States so as to put an end to economic disparities and to enlist the participation of all countries of the world in the solution of economic problems in view of the necessity for the development of the developing countries. Also stressed was the need to encourage development and to respect the right of all peoples to choose a political and economic system for their own country. The General Assembly also drew attention to

permanent sovereignty over the natural resources of the developing countries and the need to transfer and adapt technology in accordance with the requirements of development, that is, the requirements which are most in keeping with the economic situation as it now prevails in those countries. The Declaration also stressed the need to undertake individual and collective efforts in order to increase mutual co-operation in financing, trade and economy among the developing countries.

17. If we consider in depth the condition of international relations after the conclusion of the special session of the General Assembly and the situation as it prevails now and look for the reasons which have impeded the establishment of a new economic order, and if we study the negotiations which have been carried out during all that time, for example, the North-South dialogue in Paris and the negotiations that began immediately after the meeting of the Committee of the Whole, which was set up by resolution 32/174, we shall see that the main reason for the lack of progress was the refusal by some developed countries to engage in genuine negotiations for the establishment of a New International Economic Order or to undertake fundamental changes in their economies. They did not wish to undertake any specific commitments in that respect but wanted to contain the negotiations within the framework of exchanging views. Some countries even refused to honour their commitment to try to achieve the objective of development and to set aside 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for official development assistance.

18. We note that the assistance of the developed countries to developing countries has decreased and that the decrease has been considerable over the past three years. Statistics have shown that this assistance has decreased from 0.34 per cent in 1971 to 0.30 per cent in 1977.¹ The recent policies pursued by the industrialized countries make it extremely difficult to achieve the development assistance objective by 1980, an objective which, however, is part of the International Development Strategy [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. This situation, of course, has resulted in a large reduction in the imports of the developing countries. The countries which have suffered the most have seen their imports decrease by approximately 2 per cent between 1970 and 1976, and this has had a strong effect on their development plans. Moreover, this decrease in assistance has led many developing countries to obtain credit from the international financial market. Of course we have the problem of indebtedness and its servicing, which has become quite serious and which is becoming increasingly serious in many countries.

19. Studies have shown that indebtedness amounted to \$250 billion in 1977 and that the servicing of that indebtedness absorbs approximately 25 per cent of the income from the exports of the developing countries. If we compare the indebtedness with the volume of exports, which amounted to \$137 billion in 1978, we note that the problem of indebtedness is one of the fundamental problems and a main impediment in the North-South dialogue

¹ See *Official Records of the Trade and Development Board, Eighteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 5 (c), document TD/B/711, section II, table 1.

and requires an urgent solution on our part in order to establish some common basis that could guide us in restructuring the conditions of debt and enable the developing countries to rid themselves of that burden. That is an essential problem of development and it calls for fundamental changes which should be introduced in the international economic order as it now exists.

20. The problem of indebtedness is related to other economic problems, such as the improvement of conditions under which the developing countries can have access to world markets. Tariff barriers should also be eliminated as well as protectionist measures; the target of official development assistance should be achieved; the process of transferring financial resources on easier conditions should be ensured; all impediments to access to the financial markets and to the undertaking of fundamental changes in the international monetary system should be eliminated; and a relationship should be established between special drawing rights and development finance.

21. In this connexion, my delegation is pleased to note that some industrialized countries have cancelled their loans to the least developed of the developing countries by converting them into grants.

22. Increased assistance to developing countries and a reduction of indebtedness will make it possible for the developing countries to achieve a growth rate which would be more satisfactory both economically and socially. That would enable the developing countries to purchase important commodities from the developed countries and this will, in turn, assist the balance of payments of the latter countries.

23. The recent introduction of tariff, and non-tariff barriers, as well as other restrictions on quota exports and voluntary export restraints, which were imposed with regard to many important products of the developing countries, are factors which have aggravated the situation even more, so that the exports of developing countries to developed countries have not improved but on the contrary have actually rapidly decreased.

24. The developing countries which export oil, of which Libya is one, are convinced of the need to give financial assistance to the other developing countries, and especially to those that are least developed, so that it will be possible for them to overcome the obstacles which have been created by these inequitable conditions. We have given bilateral and multilateral aid to the poorer countries, without any political conditions or individual aims and objectives and in convertible currencies. The oil-exporting developing countries have given much greater assistance than have the industrialized Western countries. Three per cent of the gross national product of the oil-exporting countries has been used for that purpose, in addition to its contribution to international financial organs and to other sources of financing.

25. The oil-exporting countries have given that assistance because of their feelings of solidarity with the other developing countries. Development is something in which we should all participate because our responsibilities are based both on local and on international relationships of

solidarity. The oil-exporting countries are also going through a difficult economic period because they must devote a considerable amount of their income to their own needs. The oil-exporting developing countries are confronted by the fact that inflation and currency fluctuations, particularly the fluctuations in the principal currency, namely, the dollar, have also seriously affected the purchasing power of their revenue from oil exports, and that has had a very negative impact.

26. There has also been a considerable increase in the price of the industrialized products which the oil-exporting countries have to import from the industrialized countries. As imports represent a high percentage of the gross national product of the oil-exporting countries, losses are therefore taken by those countries because of the considerable increase in the prices of industrial products imported from the industrialized countries. For example, imports represent 20 per cent of the Libyan gross national product, and this can be said of most of the oil-exporting developing countries.

27. Others say that part of the cause is the problem of indebtedness too and this again, as is said by some, is due to the increase in the oil prices in the years 1973 and 1974. We can only say that this is not founded on truth. This is merely an attempt on the part of the industrial Powers to try to find a scapegoat on whom to put the blame and also to evade their own responsibilities vis-à-vis the developing countries. We know that the Western countries had considerable economic difficulties even before the increase of the oil prices. The oil-exporting countries were obliged to increase the price of oil, in order to face the high increase of inflation. While the cost of imports by the oil-exporting countries has increased by 35 per cent, the actual effect of the increase in oil prices was only equal to 2 per cent if one considers the over-all movement of prices of the main imports and exports in 1974. To this we can add that the price of oil has been increased only once and there has been no further increase, while the prices of manufactured goods have been going up continually. So we can say that the actual price of a barrel of oil is now only approximately one half of what it should be. Thus, one can conclude that the developing countries are more vulnerable to the phenomenon of inflation than the industrialized countries are vulnerable to oil price increases.

28. Many of the oil-exporting countries are developing countries themselves. Nine of them are considered net borrowers, according to the statistics of the World Bank and UNCTAD. They still lack the necessary economic infrastructure and that makes it necessary for them to reorient enormous investments in order to achieve the objective of a better infrastructure, and yet the oil-exporting countries continue to give generous assistance to other developing countries. Moreover, they have contributed to the stabilization of the world economy by not increasing oil prices at a time when all the industrialized goods that they are importing have been going up in price all the time, and by continuing to use the dollar as the account unit for oil transactions, despite the deterioration in the value of the dollar and its slump on international markets, which has meant that the oil-producing countries have suffered serious financial losses. Now all the oil-producing countries have made some efforts but unfor-

tunately they are being held responsible, despite the fact that the price of oil has only been increased to give that natural resource its true price in conformity with the principle of the sovereign rights of a country over its natural resources.

29. As to the relation between the price of oil and the debt problem of developing countries one can see that many studies demonstrate the fact that changing the price structure of oil is only responsible for a small part of the debt problems of these countries. The debt problem was there all the time and the situation has worsened because of the economic recession and because of the increase in the rate of inflation, the imbalance in the world monetary system and the decrease in the financial revenues from exports of developing countries.

30. This is due to the fact that the exports of the developing countries have no access to the markets of developed countries and, because of the various protective trade barriers that have been established, what has happened is that the economies of developing countries have been impaired. This is an obstacle not only to international economic development but also to political stability throughout the world.

31. The President of the World Bank in his report of 25 September 1978 to the Board of Governors demonstrated this serious trend, when he said: "The truth is that throughout the industrialized nations this trend towards protectionism is gathering momentum."² The President added and we completely agree with him: "Excessive protectionism is not only unfair. It is self-defeating."³ Excessive protectionism must come to an end.

32. The Secretary-General was correct in his annual report on the work of the Organization when he demonstrated the main causes for the worsening of the present economic situation. He states:

"Most developing countries continue to suffer from the adverse effects of fluctuations in commodity prices, aggravated by uncertainty resulting from continuing exchange rate instability. The failure of developed countries to achieve sustained economic recovery has resulted in reduced demand for many raw materials exports of developing countries while the inadequate level of financial transfers and the continuing inflation in prices of the manufactured exports from developed countries have put intense pressure on the balance-of-payments position of a large number of developing countries." [see A/33/1, sect. IX.]⁴

33. If we are to solve the tremendous problems confronting us on the basis of genuine determination, their solution must be envisaged within the general context of the establishment of a New International Economic Order because there can be no doubt whatsoever that the present order makes it impossible to solve the problems that have

resulted from injustices suffered by most countries. It is impossible to reduce the gap that continually grows between developed and developing countries. Basic changes are necessary in the structure of the system and these must be effected on the basis of equality and justice between all peoples and States. These fundamental changes must not be restricted to the international level because each country must make the appropriate changes in its own system so as to reduce the discrepancies in the standards of living of the various classes in the same country.

34. In many developing countries, and even in some developed countries there are privileged minorities benefiting from the wealth of the country whereas the broad majority are on the edge of the precipice. We must all begin to work together. We are calling out for these fundamental changes in the international economic system. The way the international economic system operates emanates from the very core of each country. This is an important truth that has been realized by my country and thus has modified its internal structure so as to reduce the gap separating individuals and so as to raise the standard of living of all the people of the society.

35. It is obvious that economic and technical co-operation among the developing countries is a new dimension in the international structure. It is an important point in the establishment of the constructive spirit that must reign among developing countries so that they may consolidate to work together to meet their national requirements, to enhance the political and economic relations and the productive capacity of those countries, to solve their development problems and to make possible the implementation of their economic and social development policies.

36. The efforts undertaken by the oil-producing developing countries including my own, in rendering assistance, and to benefit from the experience and potentialities of other developing countries are indeed, along the lines of such a concept and the efforts undertaken to establish a New International Economic Order.

37. The experience that has been acquired over the past few months in the Committee of the Whole clearly points to the lack of political will evinced by some developed countries. Such lack of will makes it difficult to make contacts and to adopt important decisions on the establishment of a New International Economic Order. On the other hand, the developing countries have constantly pursued these negotiations and have demonstrated their flexibility and their willingness to change their positions so that a consensus acceptable to all might be reached; thus the Committee of the Whole would thereby be in a position to discharge the mandate entrusted to it in General Assembly resolution 32/174.

38. The question of taking decisions in the Committee of the Whole is, in our view, not only a matter of procedure but also a fundamental issue. The Committee of the Whole has a responsibility to monitor progress made in the process of implementation of agreements and undertaking negotiations to reach necessary political decisions on matters that are pending and have thus impeded the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The Committee of the

² Robert S. McNamara, *Address to the Board of Governors* (Washington, D.C., International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1978), p. 8. Quoted in English by the speaker.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴ Quoted in English by the speaker.

Whole must be entrusted with this mission. The refusal of some countries to agree on these functions of the Committee clearly demonstrates their refusal to establish a New International Economic Order and their resistance to efforts made with that goal in view.

39. The so-called duplication of work undertaken by the Committee of the Whole and by other specialized bodies is merely an impediment to the work that could be done by the Committee of the Whole. The developing countries have stressed that the Committee's work should not impede the work of other bodies; it should play the role of enhancing and strengthening the work of those bodies. This can be done through taking clear political stances which will assist those bodies to solve the fundamental issues listed on their agenda. Studies should be undertaken to determine political stances. All the work that has been undertaken by a few countries has indeed been undertaken in order to avoid the true responsibilities arising from the establishment of a New International Economic Order, as well as to take the negotiation from the framework of the international Organization and enclose it within organs which they dominate and which they can direct in conformity with their interests.

40. The General Assembly has asserted that the United Nations system provides the only context within which all international negotiations should be conducted towards the establishment of a New International Economic Order and that all States should participate in the decision-making process on an equal footing.

41. Despite the pessimism that has imprinted itself upon the attitudes assumed by some States, we view the future negotiations to be conducted in the Committee of the Whole and at forthcoming international conferences, such as the resumed Conference on the common fund,⁵ the fifth session of UNCTAD and the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, in a spirit of optimism—yes, optimism, because we must not lose our confidence in the value of mankind and its qualities and the fact that it is necessary to ensure equality and equity among all. But we must be cautious because the experience we have acquired at the previous conferences and the decisions that have been taken with a view to ensuring the well-being of all peoples were disappointing and were not on the level of the collective responsibility of all countries. What we need right now is not words or good intentions. We need the real work and the political will, particularly on the part of those countries in a position to contribute the necessary aid—that is, the industrially developed countries—so as to ensure tangible economic progress, settle the economic problems confronting us and ensure an equitable structure for the well-being of all peoples. We must work in the context of the establishment of a New International Economic Order on the basis of principles adopted by the General Assembly at the sixth and seventh special sessions as well as at the following regular session, in the context of the Committee of the Whole and in the context of the future negotiations, as well as in the context of the fashioning of the strategy for the third development decade. That is the best way to overcome the problems and

to overcome selfish individual interests, and to look within a broader framework for the interests of the whole international community.

42. Therefore at this session the General Assembly must provide the necessary thrust so that this New International Economic Order can be established. In their declaration of 29 September [A/33/278, annex] the Foreign Ministers of the Group of 77 deplored that little or indeed no progress had been made in these negotiations directed towards revamping international economic relations in view of the suspension of work in the Committee of the Whole. The Ministers affirmed that the developing countries were ready to conduct real negotiations so as to have a true dialogue with the developed countries, to address all issues inherent in the establishment of the New International Economic Order, and to open the door to the developed countries so that they may demonstrate their good intentions and so that they may be urged to have the necessary political will to ensure the success of the negotiations in the Committee of the Whole, in UNCTAD and in the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development.

43. In conclusion I should like to join preceding speakers in expressing particular appreciation to my friend and brother Mr. Idriss Jazairy, the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole. He demonstrated wisdom and devotion as he confronted the obstacles before the Committee.

44. We should like also to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Group of 77, my friend and brother, Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri, for his devotion and untiring efforts.

45. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): What brought us to the plenary meetings of the General Assembly was an impasse faced in the work of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. In the Committee the impasse presented itself in the form of a procedural point arising from the interpretation of its mandate.

46. Last year, when consensus was reached among us to create a new forum that would act as a focal point, we had all expressed our conviction that all negotiations of a global nature relating to the establishment of a New International Economic Order should take place within the framework of the United Nations system. We had all agreed that a central organ was required which would be universal in composition and have a political orientation. It was to provide impetus for resolving difficulties in negotiations elsewhere and to serve, wherever appropriate, as a forum for facilitating and expediting agreement on the resolution of outstanding issues.

47. Is it not contradictory that an organ which was entrusted with the task of overcoming obstacles elsewhere has reached an impasse within itself? Is it not contradictory that a whole year could be wasted over what appeared to be a procedural issue, while the crises in the developing world were allowed to aggravate?

48. In fact it was quite clear from the beginning that the procedural deadlock carried the symptoms of a divergence in the fundamental approach to the whole process of the North-South dialogue. On this point our thinking is parallel to that of the developing countries, which have referred to

⁵ United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

the lack of political will on the part of a number of industrialized countries.

49. My delegation is pleased to observe that the recent informal contacts indicate that a solution to the procedural problem encountered will be forthcoming. We share the optimism that a consensus will be reached on the draft resolution presented by you, Mr. President [A/33/L.4]. What is crucial, however, is whether we shall be able to embark on an "action-oriented" dialogue, to use the words of the representative of Tunisia [35th meeting, para. 64].

50. During the period when the Committee of the Whole was at a standstill, there were certain developments in the international arena which either came under the umbrella of the North-South dialogue or had a direct bearing on it.

51. First, protectionism rose to new heights in the form of discriminatory measures against certain export products of developing countries. Against that background, the principle of free trade was being evoked at the multilateral trade negotiations. There was no progress, however, on issues of interest to the developing countries and it appeared as if agricultural products would be left at the margin.

52. Secondly, the negotiations on individual commodities that come under the Integrated Programme⁶ showed hardly any progress, even though a minimum number were tackled. This in turn had a negative impact on the negotiations for the common fund. A positive attitude on the part of the developed countries is still being awaited on this issue for a system that will constitute the backbone of a new international order.

53. Thirdly, another stalemate was reached at the United Nations Conference on the Establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization as a Specialized Agency.

54. Fourthly, the outcome of the Ministerial meeting of the Trade and Development Board in March 1978 on the debt problems of the developing countries [see A/33/15, part two] was limited in scope and character although it might be considered a step in the right direction. A most positive and comprehensive approach is required on this issue, which is one of the most crucial in the long-term search for world development. Consequently, it was gratifying to hear of some progress at the recent experts' meeting in Geneva which aimed at identifying multilateral guidelines for future operations relating to debt problems of developing countries.

55. Fifthly, the recent decision to increase the allocation of special drawing rights, as a result of the second amendment to the Articles of Agreement of IMF, and the quotas of member countries came as a welcome sign. Nevertheless, it is disappointing to note that the basic question of a total restructuring of the international monetary system is still not on the agenda and that only marginal reformist tendencies persist.

⁶ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. F.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

56. When we go through this list, the conclusion we reach is that whatever can be considered as a constructive development falls far short of what is required to outweigh the deterioration of the international economy. It is therefore essential that the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 resume its work urgently and take up its role as the leading forum for a meaningful, action-oriented dialogue. The days ahead will be crucial in many respects. For those who have regarded the impasse in the work of the Committee as purely procedural, there will be ample opportunity to demonstrate that positive political will does in fact exist for global development. There will be opportunities at the present United Nations Conference on an International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology, at the Negotiating Conference on the common fund, at the negotiations to replace the International Wheat Agreement, at the fifth session of UNCTAD to be held in Manila and the Conference on Science and Technology for Development in Vienna, and, last but not least, in the Committee of the Whole itself.

57. I should like to conclude by paying a special tribute to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Idriss Jazairy, who gave a remarkable performance in leading the Committee during the most difficult period, and we shall owe to him the resumption by the Committee of the Whole of its pivotal work.

58. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): The history of my country's involvement in the search for a New International Economic Order based on justice and equity may be summarized in three words: concern, commitment and action.

59. Concern for the problems of the developing world and its people has long been a tradition in the United States, and has found concrete expression in economic assistance programmes for decades.

60. A sense of commitment requires something more: it demands a determination to join all of this world's nations in seeking mutually beneficial change in the international economy. Unlike concern, it derives from a better understanding of mutual self-interest. Since the conclusion of the seventh special session, which succeeded in reaching a consensus, my Government has shared a sense of commitment to move ahead, which arises from a new sense of shared goals and from the reality of a tightening web of common interests. This kind of commitment is a far more solid basis for progress than any feelings of guilt or charity.

61. Action must follow commitment. In his speech before the Congress of Venezuela, President Carter noted that:

"Only by acting together can we expand trade and investment in order to create more jobs, to curb inflation, and to raise the standard of living of our peoples".

Mr. Vance, the Secretary of State of the United States, in his address before the Assembly on 29 September [14th meeting], described the action we have taken and are prepared to take with others.

62. I am grateful to the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, General Romulo, for calling attention to the fact that

Secretary Vance's address in the Assembly had implications for the entire economic dialogue. This address fully reflects the action-oriented viewpoint of my Government. I shall cite some examples.

63. We do not believe interdependence is just a catch-phrase; we believe it involves a mutual obligation to fashion our domestic policies on the basis of global as well as national needs. For the industrialized nations, this imposes an obligation to avoid protectionist reaction to inevitable structural changes. The developed countries also have a responsibility to facilitate smooth adjustment for workers and business which bear the brunt of such changes.

64. For the developing countries, action requires a commitment to full participation in and contribution to the multilateral trade negotiations. It requires mutual readiness to negotiate flexibly on the establishment of a common fund. It requires a readiness to establish progressive domestic and international priorities, to set responsible and realistic goals, and to assume common obligations.

65. For developed countries or wealthy countries which can contribute, action means a commitment to maintain and increase resource transfers to developing countries. In the past year our multilateral commitments increased by 31 per cent, our bilateral programme by 20 per cent. The assistance legislation just passed by our Congress provides for further significant increases in our assistance effort. The legislation also provides authority for the retroactive adjustment of aid terms applying to the poorest countries, thereby making it possible for us to implement commitments we have made in UNCTAD.

66. We believe we should do more. We believe also that all developed or wealthy countries should participate in this common effort to bring economic health to this planet. No nation should opt out of this process by using an interpretation of history or ideology as an excuse—an excuse that is becoming increasingly weaker. We have common interests, we share common benefits, we should accept common burdens.

67. To transform policy concepts into reality is a process requiring mutual understanding and accommodation. I think I know as well as anyone in this room how long and complex such a process can be in the domestic politics of a large nation like the United States. Others here appreciate even better than I that the same qualities are needed to achieve concrete progress on international issues. We are fully prepared to make our contribution.

68. My country's interest in the Committee of the Whole and in setting aside the procedural problem which has delayed its work derives from this commitment to progress. We join in a common desire to see the Committee achieve real progress on the issues brought before it.

69. Since the first days of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly my Government has continued to share the conviction that the United Nations should play a central role in the international economic dialogue. We presented a draft resolution⁷ offering one approach to such

a role for the Organization. We joined readily in negotiations which achieved consensus on a different means—through a Committee of the Whole directly under the aegis of the General Assembly.

70. We played an active role in reaching speedy agreement at the Committee's organizational session and we prepared extensively for its first substantive session in May—perhaps even a little too extensively, given the length and tardiness of the paper we submitted.

71. After some delegations had raised procedural questions at that May meeting my Government endeavoured to find solutions. In July, at the Economic and Social Council, I proposed a formula to help ensure that the Committee would be an action-oriented body which would assist and encourage Governments to make changes in their positions on important unresolved issues.⁸ The process would also have led to agreed conclusions at the meetings of the Committee.

72. In September senior United States officials came from Washington to a scheduled meeting of the Committee prepared to offer a number of constructive proposals and explain how the Committee's past work had contributed to changes in the United States position. We were therefore disappointed that substantive discussions did not take place because of differences over procedure. None the less we believe it was useful that those differences were discussed openly and frankly. Like the Ambassador of Peru, we, too, place great importance on the straightforward expression of views.

73. Secretary Vance did not wish these procedural issues to stand in the way of potential progress on the substance. The United States Government had made considerable adjustments in its initial conceptions of the Committee's role in order to reach full agreement. We therefore responded to the Secretary-General's offer of assistance in resolving outstanding differences. Our mission remained in close contact with Mr. Waldheim, with the Director General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, Mr. Dadzie and with the Under-Secretary-General for International Economic and Social Affairs, Mr. Ripert.

74. Mr. Vance's object in his address to the 14th plenary meeting was to find the simplest means of getting the Committee back to work, to put procedural questions behind us and to get back to the substance. Judging by what others said during the general debate, this goal was universally shared. Secretary Vance therefore instructed my delegation to join with others in seeking the best means of confirming a formulation in the Assembly which would enable the Committee to work towards action-oriented agreed conclusions that all nations will be prepared to implement. To this end, we look forward to the statement of the President of the Assembly and the adoption by consensus of a draft resolution at the end of this debate to give the Committee a solid basis for future work.

75. We believe that the discussions we have had have produced a better understanding of each other's views, and

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda item 67, document A/32/480 and Add.1, para. 7.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1978, Plenary Meetings*, 24th meeting, paras. 56-70.

hence provide a basis for responsible decisions on the application of the Committee's mandate, as the President will clarify it for all of us.

76. The President's statement, and our mutual consent to it, will set aside the difficulty the Committee has faced since September. His statement will not be challenged, but it is in itself a challenge. It is a call to pass from the resolution of a procedural issue to the arduous task of resolving concrete problems.

77. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): The Chairman of the Group of 77 has already expressed very ably the deep sense of disappointment which the developing countries are experiencing at the moment as a result of the failure to arrive at an agreement on the manner in which the Committee of the Whole should operate, and especially at its inability to discharge the important task for which it was designed on behalf of the international community.

78. The head of our delegation, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Muniyua Waiyaki, also had occasion a short time ago [29th meeting] to dwell at quite some length on the lack of progress in negotiations for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. My task, therefore, is simply to emphasize this problem with a few observations.

79. Throughout all these negotiations my delegation, along with others of the developing countries, has approached our work with great patience and a willingness to understand the difficulties of others as well as their varied points of view. We are prepared to bargain and, where necessary, to seek just and fair compromises. At the base of our constructive approach is a strong undercurrent of the sentiments which were expressed here at the sixth and seventh special sessions by our Governments, represented at the highest political levels, and which emphasized the realities of our interdependence and the need to establish a new order for the benefit of all. It was with this background in mind that we felt special disappointment at the latest break-down of negotiations in the Committee of the Whole. We were particularly pained when we realized that the Committee was not even being allowed to embark on its substantive work, as it had instead been misdirected into an entangling procedural debate regarding its scope and functions. In the end it was our conclusion that the reason for the failure of the Committee to conclude its first session and to engage in substantive negotiations during the second session was not so much that the mandate of the Committee was not clear, as that some delegations deliberately chose to misinterpret the mandate of the Committee as spelled out in General Assembly resolution 32/174.

80. To us, this was characteristic of the reluctance still lingering in some quarters to come to grips with the proposals for structural changes in the present order.

81. We have noted in the recent past that we are treated to generalized statements of good intentions both here in the General Assembly and in other international forums, but whenever we start negotiations on the real issues the situation changes. Reluctance to engage in meaningful negotiations or to take any fundamental decisions with

regard to issues that are especially important to the interests of the developing countries appears to be the rule. Consequently, while a wide range of issues have been under intensive negotiation since 1974, little or no action has been taken pursuant to the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order.

82. The failure of the international community to make the eagerly awaited breakthroughs in the fields of international trade, industrialization, debt problems, the transfer of financial resources and the reform of the international monetary system has been disappointing. The pace at which our negotiations are proceeding is too slow. Indeed, while we move from one conference to another the conditions which we have resolved to remove are simply getting worse. Many of our economies are in fact declining to unacceptable levels with each day that passes without action being taken in these critical areas.

83. In this connexion, it is perhaps appropriate here to draw the attention of the Assembly to the very pertinent words of Mr. Robert McNamara in his recent address to the joint annual meeting of the World Bank and IMF in Washington where he referred to the "most shocking conclusion" of the Bank's newly published *World Development Report*, namely, that 600 million people in the developing countries would remain trapped in absolute poverty at the end of the century.⁹

84. For us in Africa, the situation has in fact been deteriorating. Any assessment of recent development trends and prospects in Africa will quickly and clearly show the poor performance of the economies in the last decade. The prospects for the future are not bright either. Our development has been substantially affected by the continued cyclical fluctuations in the economies of the industrialized countries and in international trade. We have experienced adverse effects on the values of our exports, our terms of trade, the cost and value of our imports, the level of inflation, and ultimately on the trends and levels of our gross domestic products. Many of our sister States in Africa are indeed at present experiencing rapidly growing debt burdens. As a result, outlays for interest and amortization charges for external debts represent a rapidly growing percentage of total export earnings, amounting to as much as 30 per cent for some African countries, in contrast to, and going well beyond, the World Bank's 10 per cent ceiling.

85. It is true that the constructive spirit and the favourable climate which prevailed during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and also at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi had raised great hopes in us. We had indeed been led to believe that at last there existed an opportunity for the international community to tackle effectively and resolve issues which had been the subject of discussions between the developed and developing countries for over two decades. We welcomed this turn of events, since for us it ushered in a potentially promising new era not only for our people but for the whole international community, developed and developing alike.

⁹ McNamara, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

86. Unfortunately, and judging from the pace and nature of the negotiations in the various international forums, especially as was recently exemplified in the Committee of the Whole, it would appear that we have not made any significant progress.

87. Our hope at present is that after this general debate we shall all be the more determined to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to us by the international community. We also sincerely hope that after this debate the Committee of the Whole will be put back on the right track so that it can fulfil its mandate. For our part, we cannot accept the view that the Committee should serve only as a forum for exchanging ideas concerning the New International Economic Order, for that would defeat the very purpose for which it was established. On the contrary, we would like the Committee to be action-oriented as was, in our opinion, clearly spelled out in resolution 32/174.

88. In concluding my brief remarks, I should like to emphasize the fact that, in spite of the frustrations of the recent past, the Kenya delegation is still determined to pursue and continue the dialogue in a spirit of co-operation and understanding of each other's problems and difficulties. What is required, we believe, as my Minister stated in the general debate, is

“... a political vision that is inspired by the promise of the future and not clouded, as it is at present, by past controversies and by the desire to cling to the short-term privileges of the present”. [29th meeting, para. 107.]

89. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): It has been said that science progresses in a spiral. The establishment of the new international economic order will surely take the same course and follow the same twists and turns. This debate on the role of and mission entrusted to the Committee of the Whole established under resolution 32/174, would have no particular meaning if it had not been placed within the context of that dialectic. I should like to make a very brief review to clarify the understanding we have reached.

90. Since the Second World War, mankind has seen great upheavals in several sectors. In the last 30 years, contemporary society has experienced profound changes in the political, social and cultural fields. A symbol of solidarity and co-operation, the triumph of mankind over fascism and nazism was the yeast for the struggle for liberation waged by the peoples of Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa against régimes of repression and plunder. Since then, many nations have reconquered their independence and regained dignity. Many peoples have hoisted the flag of freedom in place of the flag of domination.

91. Unfortunately, the process of liberation has not yet been completed, because in some regions of the world, particularly in Africa, criminal régimes of *apartheid*, racism and colonialism remain in power. The supporters of those régimes, hypnotized by selfish and short-lived interests, ignore the lessons of history and the invincible force of people fighting for just causes. The peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe will emerge victorious from the bloody ordeals which they must undergo. Sooner or later, the freedom and independence of those countries will be

welcomed by the international community. The struggle of all peoples to regain their dignity and sovereignty will be successful because it falls within the framework of a broader combat to consolidate political independence when it has already been won and assure the establishment of an international economic order founded on justice and equity.

92. What, indeed, will political independence, won at the cost of such sacrifice, represent if the problems of hunger, disease and ignorance remain unsolved? Political conquest is inseparable from economic liberation. Most countries that have just achieved independence must meet the requirements of national reconstruction in particular by overcoming obstacles to their development which have been bequeathed to them by colonialism. However, courageous policies directed towards national recovery will be unsuccessful as long as out-of-date, unjust structures continue to hold sway in international economic relations. The international economic order is still governed by institutions and machinery that have their origins in policies of domination and the protection of the selfish interests of an infinitesimal minority of the international community.

93. Many developing countries that have recently achieved independence note that their economies are locked into the economic structures of the former metropolitan countries, which have been considered as development models. This, for example, is the case with the trade flows and monetary blocs. The crisis in the economies of the former colonial Powers necessarily has an influence on the precarious economies of the developing countries that wish to maintain good relations.

94. A quick glance at the developed market-economy countries reveals a substantial slow-down in economic growth, a constant imbalance in their balances of payments, an instability in exchange rates, the persistence of high unemployment and an increase in a spirit of protectionism.

95. What is even more worrying is the persistence of this recession in the industrialized countries. Developed countries must have the political courage to take appropriate measures to improve the situation of the world economy. Energetic measures must be adopted to avoid the energy crisis which is looming on the horizon for 1985.

96. I should also like to say that the blame for these cyclical crises must be placed on the invention of world economic structures which are not based on the principles of justice, interdependence and mutual advantage.

97. Efforts to improve the world economy must be recognized by the international community. Despite the slump in the value of the main reserve currency, developing countries are now absorbing approximately 25 per cent of the total exports of the developed market-economy countries. We note particularly that more than 30 per cent of the demand for capital goods and chemical products comes from the developing countries.

98. This is a not inconsiderable share when one realizes the difficulties the developing countries have experienced in obtaining transfers of resources. The true dimensions of this contribution may be realized if one takes account of the

conditions of access to private financial institutions to which these countries must resort to finance their balance of payments.

99. In such circumstances developing countries cannot be asked to contribute more to the improvement of the world economy. Moreover, most of them have low incomes and do not have access to private capital markets. Even if the international financial system were to be improved, no significant progress could be made if there were no increase in export earnings. So far the instability in commodity prices remains a serious problem for many countries.

100. In that context, the establishment of a common fund and the implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities are urgent needs. In view of this the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in Khartoum, Sudan, from 7 to 18 July 1978, adopted a resolution clearly pointing out the role that this fund should play once it has been established. This resolution urges all States to exert every effort to achieve agreement on the common fund and on individual commodities.

101. We would point out in passing that of the 15 agricultural commodities agreement has been reached on only three.

102. With regard to food, the situation is not satisfactory either. Hundreds of millions of human beings are suffering from hunger and malnutrition, whereas a small number of persons are living in affluence. During recent years some encouraging signs have appeared. We can see that there has been some increase in food supply, but the balance between supply and demand is still precarious because many of the problems that are impeding the establishment of an adequate world food security system have not yet been solved.

103. In view of this gloomy picture of international economic relations radical changes in the existing economic system are necessary. This belief must have been shared by the international community at the sixth special session of the General Assembly as shown by the adoption of its Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, submitted by the developing countries.

104. The seventh special session of the General Assembly was an important factor in giving new impetus to the negotiations directed towards establishing a just and equitable system. The African countries welcomed the two special sessions devoted to economic problems as important events.

105. At these two special sessions the General Assembly envisaged special measures to be taken for the least-developed among the developing countries as well as for the land-locked and island developing countries. Effective measures were also recommended for those countries most seriously affected by economic crises and natural disasters.

106. The African countries were particularly pleased that those measures were adopted because most of the countries in Africa fall within those categories. It is in fact in Africa that the majority of least-developed, most seriously affected and land-locked countries are found.

107. We must note, however, that the measures adopted by the international community to meet the requirements of particular situations were very limited in scope. The fate of the special fund set up for that purpose is a case in point.

108. In an important sector of economic life, that is to say the industrial sector, UNIDO had envisaged appropriate measures to give effect to the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development Co-operation,¹⁰ which established as targets an increase of 25 per cent in industrial production in the developing countries by the year 2000, and aid to the least-developed among the developing countries, the land-locked countries and the island developing countries.

109. The Lima Plan of Action recommends that UNIDO be made a specialized agency, but because of a lack of political will the plenipotentiary Conference organized for that purpose was unable to reach agreement.

110. As can be seen clearly from the foregoing, negotiations to make economic relations more democratic have made no progress. Pessimism has taken the place of the enthusiasm evinced during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly. The United Nations and the Foreign Ministries of the Western countries are becoming increasingly concerned. To prevent the worst, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation—better known as the North-South dialogue—was held in Paris in 1977, but the Conference was only able to achieve very meagre results. Indeed, one might even say it was a failure.

111. But there was a gleam of hope in Africa—in Nairobi, Kenya, to be precise—when the fourth session of UNCTAD was held, that a common fund might become a reality. Unfortunately, that hope was dispelled under other skies. In view of this stalemate, the Organization could only shoulder its responsibilities as laid down in the United Nations Charter.

112. As a centre in which efforts undertaken by nations to achieve aims and objectives established by the international community should be harmonized, the United Nations must channel all these efforts. This important role was made clear by the General Assembly at its sixth special session when it declared in paragraph 6 of resolution 3201 (S-VI):

“The United Nations as a universal Organization should be capable of dealing with problems of international economic co-operation in a comprehensive manner and ensuring equally the interest of all countries. It must have an even greater role in the establishment of a new international economic order.”

113. This is the context in which the General Assembly established the Committee of the Whole, the mandate of which has been clearly laid down in paragraph 4 of resolution 32/174, which was adopted by consensus by the General Assembly at its thirty-second session.

114. Mindful of what happened to some of the decisions adopted by certain specialized bodies of the United

¹⁰ See document A/10112, chap. IV.

Nations, showing the vicissitudes of negotiating in small bodies, the General Assembly rightly wished to recall the principle of universality of the Organization. This implies that all States have both the right and the duty to take part in the search for solutions to global problems. It was therefore necessary to establish a committee that would be open to all States, whether small or large, rich or poor, because the effects of economic and monetary crises are felt with more bitterness and a greater sense of impotence by the poorest countries.

115. This body is political in conception. The duties entrusted to it clearly indicate the political orientation that should be given to all the negotiations. It is a body designed to provide the impetus necessary for resolving the difficulties in the negotiations and encourage those concerned to continue their work.

116. Moreover, this body is composed of high-ranking individuals and cannot work on a purely technical basis with the sole aim of preparing for a special session of the General Assembly in 1980 to assess the progress that has been made towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

117. The Committee has a highly political function. There can be no doubt about that. The Committee of the Whole should also act as a forum with a view to facilitating and speeding up the settlement of pending problems. How can it accomplish that mission if it is not given powers of negotiation and decision? Endless discussions on this question can only be sterile because the problem has been artificially created. From the outset the African delegations were aware of this responsibility borne by the Committee, which could not become a debating society. Like other members of the Group of 77, we do not minimize the importance of speeches and new ideas as long as they are directed towards action and change.

118. We deplored the refusal of the Committee to take decisions. The argument put forward was that overlapping with other bodies must be avoided, but those who support this thesis surely forget the primary function of the Committee, which is to oversee and monitor the implementation of decisions and agreements emerging from negotiations on the establishment of the new international economic order conducted within the competent bodies of the United Nations.

119. Paragraph 10 of resolution 32/174 removed any ambiguity in this connexion. While recognizing the duties which the Charter assigns to the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly requested that main body of the United Nations to contribute effectively to the overseeing and monitoring functions of the Committee. While the Committee was working, and in other forums in which negotiations were taking place between the North and the South, many delegations from the North emphasized dialogue and realism.

120. The African delegations support dialogue as long as it is a truly action-oriented dialogue and not merely an endless flow of words.

121. As for realism, the African countries, like the Group of 77 as a whole, have demonstrated their patience so as to

make it possible for the developed countries to adopt the necessary decisions. The third-world countries have shown their maturity by accepting the principle that decisions should be reached on the basis of consensus, but they cannot agree to its use as a means of blocking their aspirations and their desire for change.

122. The African delegations have been encouraged by the statements made by some developed countries that have declared that they have committed themselves to this process of change. We hope that, as negotiations continue, these commitments will indeed lead to concrete decisions. Now that an agreement has been reached with regard to the role and the powers of the Committee of the Whole, we must get to work as quickly as possible so as to make up for lost time. The developing countries have suffered excessively from inequality and injustice, which has long been the hallmark of the world economy.

123. Mr. President, I should like to refer to the brilliant statement that you made at the beginning of our session:

“The establishment of a new economic order has thus become the goal for the solution of the problems of an era which has seen the fall of colonialism, the awakening of the poor nations, changes in the international division of labour, and revolutionary shifts in the geographical location of the centres of power.” [*1st meeting, para. 50.*]

124. We hope that these very wise words will inspire the Governments of the industrialized countries to embark on the path to change and true realism.

125. On behalf of the African States, which I have the honour to represent here, I should like to express our hope that this message will enlighten all the bodies charged with giving a new impetus to the establishment of a new international economic order.

126. I should like to express our deepest hope that the Committee of the Whole will make tangible progress. I wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Idriss Jazairy, who guided the work of the Committee with tact, competence and dedication.

127. The African countries desire neither abdication nor confrontation, but justice and solidarity, because mankind shares the same destiny.

128. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*):- In deciding to discuss directly in plenary meetings item 58 (a) of its agenda the General Assembly wanted to indicate the great interest it took in this important question and also to call the attention of the United Nations to the absolute necessity of finding a just and effective solution to this problem that would be in conformity with the real interests of the whole of the international community.

129. During the thirty-second session the General Assembly adopted resolution 32/174 affirming that “all negotiations of a global nature relating to the establishment of the new international economic order should take place within the framework of the United Nations system”. In

doing this the General Assembly wanted to prevent the mistakes that were at the root of the failure of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which was commonly called the North-South dialogue. In this regard one should stress that that Conference, which was convened in unclear conditions among parties that had differing motives, carried the seed of its own failure from the outset.

130. The developed countries, which were suffering from the trauma of the Arab oil embargo after the war of October 1973 and also from the increase in oil prices which followed, apparently wanted to limit their involvement to the energy problem, which was their main concern, while the oil-producing countries wanted to broaden the discussion to include all the questions of interest to developing countries, interests which they rightly feel are indissolubly linked to their own. The developed countries tried to set up machinery which would protect them from a new energy crisis and ensure the recycling of the immense financial resources of the oil-producing countries, which felt on the other hand, that a global settlement was necessary in order to end the stagnation of international economic co-operation caused by the selfishness of the rich countries.

131. It was against that background of mental reservations and cleverly concealed mistrust that that Conference on Economic Co-operation in Paris was to begin and end.

132. Despite an international environment that was very propitious because of the very fruitful discussions at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, that Conference was incapable of achieving an agreement that would contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order, and thus it aroused among the international community, and particularly among the developing countries, a real feeling of disappointment.

133. Thus the General Assembly, after having affirmed at its thirty-second session that the United Nations system was the only proper framework for any negotiation of a world-wide scope, also took the decision to convene a special session in 1980 in order to evaluate the progress in the various United Nations bodies acting in the area of international economic co-operation.

134. A Committee of the Whole was set up which was to meet as needed in the interval until the special session of 1980.

135. The Committee, in the meantime, was expected to make recommendations to the General Assembly at the thirty-third and thirty-fourth sessions.

136. Unfortunately, the work of that Committee had to be interrupted on the eve of this session because of the divergencies of view on the nature and scope of the mandate that had been entrusted to it.

137. Our Assembly, at the end of this debate, will have to decide very clearly on what measures will have to be taken in order to enable the Committee to continue effectively its work in the search for a solution which will put an end to the continuous worsening of an economic, commercial and monetary environment which increases unceasingly the gap separating the developed from the developing countries.

138. Indeed, if it is true that at the present time there is no alternative and a choice must be made between co-operation and confrontation, it is equally evident that there is also no alternative but a choice between the continuation of unfair and obsolete privileges which generate crises having dangerously unforeseeable consequences and the establishment of a new and equitable international economic order which would be based on considerations of global interdependence and objective and freely accepted human solidarity.

139. The developing countries have already made their choice by adhering unreservedly to the decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and to the provisions of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

140. Now it is for the developed countries to respond.

141. The Committee of the Whole is expected to study and to propose to the General Assembly ways and means leading to the solution of the main economic problems of our time.

142. The international trade system must produce the necessary reforms to facilitate access for the raw materials and the manufactured and semi-manufactured products of the developing countries to the markets of the developed countries.

143. An increase in the revenue the developing countries earn from their exports is a pre-condition for the implementation of their programme of economic and social development. It is obvious that the developing countries will not be able to derive any profits from their foreign trade if that trade is not protected against the instabilities in the international monetary system and the negative impact of the inflation the industrialized countries export.

144. The problems of indebtedness will also have to be examined, taking into account, on the one hand, the ability of the countries concerned to pay and, on the other hand, the size of the burden of debt servicing, allowance being made for the volume of income from their external trade.

145. In the area of the transfer of public assistance to developing countries stress must be placed on the fact that, with one or two exceptions, no developed country—capitalist or socialist—has yet reached the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product which was set in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

146. Other no less important questions will also have to be considered by the Committee, such as: reform of the international monetary system, which must no longer be a tool of domination at the service of a small number of countries, or even of one country; the Integrated Programme for Commodities, in particular the common fund; measures relative to the world food problem and to agricultural problems; and, finally, the transfer of technology. These are only the most important and urgent questions that will have to be examined.

147. The various interpretations of the Committee's terms of reference should not lead us to forget the spirit in which

it was set up. The constant deterioration of the international economic situation, the persistence of the inequities of the present economic climate and the instability of the international monetary system are so many alarm signals directed to our community with regard to its own survival; and it is in the interests of all that the world economy should be restructured and better balanced.

148. The interdependence of all the nations of the world is an undeniable reality, even if some obstinately refuse to accept it.

149. The new international economic order must have as criteria—and this has been very properly pointed out here—equity, justice, solidarity and respect for the sovereignty of States and peoples. It must guarantee a just sharing of production, of advantages and also of surpluses.

150. Our present deliberations are moving towards a consensus decision, and we are happy to see that.

151. However, that consensus should not be interpreted as an abandonment pure and simple of the fundamental principles which have always guided our attitudes in the past. A revision on a more equitable basis of relationships between industrialized countries and countries producing raw materials has become inevitable. Therefore we must prepare ourselves to set up infrastructures endowed with a real dynamic for economic and social change, such as is characteristic of the present situation.

152. Only on this condition will the world community be able to face the challenge of the new strategy of the next United Nations Development Decade.

153. Mr. KABEYA wa MUKEBA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): One by one we have watched an uninterrupted parade of speakers precede us, each apparently speaking the same language, which seems to us most encouraging. The topic that has brought us together in plenary meeting has already been considered in a plenary meeting—in the 107th plenary meeting that was convened when the Assembly at its thirty-second session adopted resolution 32/174, establishing the Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the implementation of some important resolutions adopted on various other occasions and in that meeting all of us participated.

154. There is no need to revert to those resolutions, as they have been endlessly repeated, and consequently one might fear that if one strikes hard on a nail the nail may finally bend, which would be extremely embarrassing. Unfortunately, history does repeat itself.

155. The issues we deem to be matters of urgent priority are perhaps not considered so by others. This doubtless explains the relaxed attitude we note when important issues are considered. Like repetition, good rhetoric gets us nowhere. Each of us surely will have an easy conscience because he will have correctly recited his lesson before the Assembly.

156. The pilgrim from Lima, Nairobi, Tokyo, Geneva, Paris or New York is always the same, because he is defending the same principles. What we must do now is to

undertake the task entrusted to us by resolution 32/174. To jeopardize that resolution would be tantamount to jeopardizing the work undertaken at this thirty-third session and to revert to the position at the thirty-second session because it would mean that an additional body would exist which was doing nothing. Now the Assembly is taking up this resolution once again, and therefore we are in a position to think that the Committee of the Whole indeed does have the right to exist and to fully play its part.

157. That is why the delegation of my country would be most unhappy if we were unable to participate in this important debate on agenda item 58(a) devoted to development and international economic co-operation.

158. World interdependence and shared international economic responsibility which have become a matter of current necessity and concern, are undoubtedly the justifying factor whose implementation seems far off.

159. We should recall the fact that the sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to raw materials, together with the seventh special session devoted to development and international economic co-operation, serve as excellent evidence in this connexion. In resolutions 3201 (S-VI), 3202 (S-VI) and 3362 (S-VII), these two special sessions of the General Assembly again demonstrated that the division of the world into two rigid blocs was an outdated concept and that mankind is bound to co-operate to establish a just and equitable new international economic order.

160. The same is true for other instruments of international scope which have emerged from the conferences that have been held, such as the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States, adopted at the twenty-ninth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations; the Lima Declaration, adopted at the Second General Conference of UNIDO and the resolutions adopted in Nairobi by the fourth session of UNCTAD. They were guided towards the same target: that is to say the restructuring of the present economic order.

161. While the developing countries are not the only ones to be concerned with this burning issue, they cannot remain indifferent. It is surely in order to participate in this international effort towards the establishment of a new international economic order that these resolutions and recommendations emerging from the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Mexico City in 1976, the Conferences of non-aligned countries held in Colombo and Belgrade, and the recent United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires, have been directed.

162. If we thought only of those few international conferences, which have not failed to take some important decisions, and did not forget the partially positive results that have been obtained, in my delegation's opinion, in the North-South dialogue, the new international economic order would already be a reality, but unfortunately this is not at all the case.

163. The industrialized countries are continuing to protect their selfish economic interests we understand this—but

this has led to a growing deterioration in the terms of trade for the products exported by developing countries. Similarly, efforts made to introduce into the international monetary system appropriate reforms guaranteeing a more equitable distribution of purchasing power for all, and ensuring an expansion of world trade, are still fruitless, because no true progress has been made.

164. Negotiations on commodities, so as to conclude individual agreements within the framework of the Integrated Programme, which are under way in Geneva, have not as yet reached conclusive results, although we stand on the threshold of the fifth session of UNCTAD. The Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation led to a stalemate because of the stubborn refusal of the developed countries to make the concessions flowing from the necessary transformations proposed by the developing countries with a view to the establishment of the new international economic order.

165. My delegation, together with many other delegations, regrets that all the attempts made to establish a new international economic order have not produced any results, and we believe that the action taken by the United Nations should effectively and speedily result in sincere and true international co-operation leading to the restructuring and balanced development of their respective economies.

166. It will be recalled that as a follow up to the North-South dialogue, the General Assembly, in resolution 32/174 of the thirty-second regular session, decided to establish the Committee of the Whole. It was to meet between Assembly sessions and be entrusted with monitoring and overseeing the implementation of decisions and agreements emerging from negotiations on the establishment of the new international economic order, conducted within the competent bodies of the United Nations. This Committee of the Whole, which is to serve as a focal point for negotiations until the special session of the General Assembly in 1980, is entrusted with the establishment of a new development strategy to address international economic issues. It has also been instructed to speed up a settlement of the pending questions and also to give the necessary impetus so as to obviate the difficulties that have emerged in these negotiations and thereby promote the continued work of these bodies.

167. In view of the political importance of the North-South dialogue, which has been superseded by the Committee of the Whole, for the restructuring of economic relations among nations, my delegation believes that the powers given to the Committee of the Whole, as laid down in resolution 32/174, are explicit and broadly justify the establishment as well as the retention of the Committee. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Chairman of the Committee for his introductory statement a few days ago [35th meeting] on the work that has been done during this first year in the Committee.

168. As have other members of the Group of 77, the delegation of the Republic of Zaire is ready to join in the general consensus on the reconfirmation of the role entrusted to the Committee of the Whole by the General Assembly with regard to international economic co-operation and development. We hope that all delegations

present at this session will provide the support necessary for the Committee to discharge its mandate.

169. Mr. MALINGUR (Somalia): Permit me at the outset to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 for the work which he has done on behalf of the international community and to the Chairman of the Group of 77, who has outlined the position of that Group in the clearest terms, and my delegation fully endorses their statements [35th meeting].

170. It is a universally recognized fact that no single nation, whatever its economic capacity or technological advancement, can build its economy in isolation from the rest of the world.

171. We have good reason to believe that as the nations of the world are becoming more and more interdependent, the United Nations and its co-ordinating bodies can solve the existing global economic problems only through efforts of collective actions. However, this goal seems to be drifting further away as the years go by since this Organization adopted resolute measures to combat the economic disparities among nations.

172. The world has come to realize that the demands of equity and justice require fundamental changes in the international economic system to assure the developing countries of fuller participation in international economic activity and an equitable share of its benefits.

173. This perception found its expression in the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly. That session laid down the lines along which the global community would have to move if a just and equitable system of international relationships were to be achieved and with it the prospect of peace and justice for present and future generations.

174. At the seventh special session of the General Assembly, we witnessed what appeared as a sign of a new readiness on the part of most countries to pursue the necessary processes of negotiation towards these aims. But the evidence of the following years proved that those of us who were of that view were mistaken. The many discussions and attempts at meaningful negotiations during that time have produced meagre and limited results.

175. While there has been a growing realization of the interdependence and reciprocity of interest and the need for structural changes, this has not been matched by commensurate practical action on the part of the developed countries.

176. As quite rightly pointed out in the Declaration adopted by the Ministers of the Group of 77 at the Headquarters of the United Nations on 29 September 1978, the lack of progress in negotiations towards the restructuring of international economic relations, particularly those on the main areas, such as the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the common fund, multilateral trade negotiations, the transfer of resources, international monetary reform, the debt burden of the developing countries,

to mention a few, is a major set-back to the hopes of the third world for a just and equitable share in the international economic system. There are, of course, retrograde trends which run counter to the principles upon which a New International Economic Order must be established. One example of those trends is the withdrawal of the developed countries into a systematic policy of protectionism, which further undermines efforts for the liberalization of world trading patterns.

177. These inward-looking policies have rendered the process of negotiations more difficult and made the attainment of the goals of negotiations set out at the seventh special session elusive. It was therefore with a particular sense of disappointment that we noted the failure of the resumed session of the Committee of the Whole to agree on the mandate and the functions of the Committee.

178. My delegation would like to reaffirm the importance it attaches to the involvement of the United Nations system in the negotiations on economic issues of a global nature and the need for providing them with a central body which would serve as a negotiating body for the adoption of guidelines on central policy issues and the achievement of agreement on the resolution of fundamental and crucial issues related to international economic relations. It is our earnest hope that the General Assembly will be in a position to confirm the right of the Committee to negotiate.

179. It is also my delegation's hope that the thirty-third session of the General Assembly will promote the renewed North-South dialogue by spelling out an adequate framework for negotiations dealing with the principal elements of the New International Economic Order, and above all by demonstrating more political will of the Members of our Organization to commit themselves to specific measures which alone are capable of stopping the dangerous course of our world eroded by inequality and injustice.

180. My delegation notes with regret the sluggish transfer of official development assistance in real terms from the developed to the developing countries. In this connexion, my delegation notes that the developed countries have not only failed to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product by 1980, but that they are in fact receding even further from that target.

181. The Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade this year [A/33/206, annex I], called upon those countries lagging most behind the set target, which are at the same time the economically most powerful countries, to accelerate the transfer of these resources to the developing countries. The Foreign Ministers noted also with regret that the official development assistance of the developed socialist countries fell from \$1 billion in 1974 to \$0.8 billion in 1975 and to \$0.5 billion in 1976, which is less than 0.1 per cent of their combined gross national product.

182. It is my delegation's firm belief that it is only through a continuing commitment to change and reform, coupled with the requisite political will and co-operation, that the New International Economic Order will be achieved.

183. We have defined this decade as being that of development. The establishment of a more just economic order has been the keystone to this because it would be the starting-point of all the actions to be taken to promote the rapid continuous and harmonious growth of our economies. That is the basic task, and on the response that we give to this challenge will depend our relations in the future.

184. My delegation very much hopes that confrontations which are harmful to all of us will give way to sincere, equitable co-operation based on an exalted notion of the destiny of man.

185. Mr. ORANTES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala, in participating in this debate on world-wide negotiations on the establishment of a new international economic order, which is vital for the strengthening of international relations, would like to express its disappointment at the lack of progress in the Committee of the Whole, which was established under resolution 32/174 of 19 December 1977. That Committee had been entrusted with a crucial task but thereafter it was not possible to agree on either the procedure or the form in which the Committee was to discharge its basic mandate: namely to achieve the establishment and implementation of a new international economic order. That mandate has not been and is nowhere near being discharged.

186. The delegation of Guatemala is pleased that the Group of 77 requested that the debate on this problem of the mandate of the Committee of the Whole be brought before this General Assembly so as to emphasize the highly political importance of economic negotiations between the North and the South and to bring to the attention of Governments and of world public opinion the seriousness of the dangers inherent in the failure of these efforts directed towards giving new impetus to the dialogue with the developed countries. We should like to congratulate Mr. Idriss Jazairy, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and the members of the Committee, on their spirit of compromise.

187. The Committee of the Whole was established by the General Assembly, *inter alia*, to resolve the difficulties of negotiation and to facilitate and speed up the solution of pending questions so as to achieve the establishment and implementation of the new international economic order.

188. We are convinced that the Committee of the Whole from the very outset had difficulties with respect to representation and to the interpretation of its mandate, but the basic problem has always been the rejection by the majority of the developed countries, particularly the main industrialized countries, which do not wish to commit themselves seriously to the restructuring of international economic relations.

189. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, Mr. Rafael E. Castillo Valdés, stated a few days ago in this General Assembly [*15th meeting*] that the Government of Guatemala was seriously concerned about the delicate stage which the world has reached, which is marked by inflation, disregard of the masses, by the steady impoverishment of broad sectors of the population and by the fact that it is impossible to meet the spiritual and material needs of the peoples.

190. Despite the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the economic situation of developing countries has deteriorated and international economic relations have worsened. Apparently nothing has happened. That Charter stated that its basic aim was to promote the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, mutual interests and co-operation among all States whatever their economic and social systems.

191. That Charter states that in order to achieve this goal international economic relations must be placed on a more rational and equitable footing and that structural changes must be promoted in the world economy. Conditions must be established which will make possible an expansion of trade, increased economic co-operation among developing countries, the establishment and promotion of economic co-operation among all nations, the strengthening of the economic independence of the developing countries, and the establishment and promotion of international economic relations based on the degree of development of the developing countries and their specific needs.

192. The essential feature of all of these goals and premises is an improvement in the quality of life of our peoples, not through donations but through opportunities for remunerative work. Yet hundreds of thousands of our workers are daily being threatened by unemployment, by poverty, the poverty which worries the President of the World Bank, Mr. McNamara, a poverty that may possibly be caused by the lack of markets and, what is even worse, international markets. I am referring to the new wave of protectionism which has swept over us.

193. The industrialized countries, concerned about the economic imbalances in their own economic structures, have reacted with protectionist measures to protect their agricultural, food and industrial production, thereby seriously harming the interests of developing countries in violation of their international duties and commitments. Only one group of developing countries has been able to respond to this attack and defend itself against this protectionist policy. These are the countries of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, but their reply resulted in an increase in fuel prices, which has further increased the economic suffering of our peoples.

194. One must add to this the problems which make international trade impossible, such as the fluctuation in the prices of raw materials and the steady deterioration in the terms of trade.

195. A few days ago at an international meeting an industrialist from a Caribbean country told us that in 1970 a tractor cost approximately three tons of sugar, and now it costs 12 tons.

196. But let us revert to the critical situation that countries such as mine are experiencing in their international trade.

197. Since 1977 Guatemala and Latin America have suffered a steady and growing deterioration in the balance of trade. We can remember the unprecedented boom between 1973 and 1974 and the slump registered in the

first half of 1975, but the markets of the major export commodities of our countries in Latin America and the Caribbean soared from mid-1975 to mid-1977. Since the middle of last year our trade situation has deteriorated to so low a point as to constitute what can be called a "crisis" in our markets, particularly in Latin America. It is an alarming crisis that will have economic and social repercussions in our countries.

198. Among the main factors contributing to the fluctuation in our markets are, first, the shrinking of external demand in 1974 and 1975 after the high rate of economic growth of the chief exporting countries; secondly, the world energy crisis, and thirdly, the sharp fluctuations in the output of some of the main producers in our developing countries.

199. The main results of this deterioration in the commodity markets, in my delegation's opinion, are unstable prices, slow economic development both in our countries, and the increase in international monetary imbalance. The fluctuation of prices for our products has sometimes played a significant role in the growth of inflation in our country and it has been thought that international agreements on individual commodities might stabilize prices.

200. As market conditions for commodities worsen the peoples of the third world want to see the Integrated Programme of UNCTAD become a reality as soon as possible. This is part of our desire to achieve a new international economic order, but this Programme is not working satisfactorily either. The crux of the UNCTAD Integrated Programme is the negotiation of international agreements to stabilize commodity prices. This activity was indeed successful in some cases but in the broad majority of cases it has suffered from a lack of common guidelines for the producer and buyer countries. Progress in negotiations has been very slow and has often led to further unproductive meetings being held.

201. We are concerned about the lack of progress registered in the drafting of international agreements to stabilize commodity prices. We can see that the International Tin Agreement is in difficulty. The International Coffee Agreement is proceeding smoothly but the International Wheat Agreement is not operating. In October 1977 we were able to reach an agreement on terms and conditions for the International Sugar Agreement, but now we hear that this Agreement may indeed be still-born. To begin with, the countries of the European Community did not wish to participate and it now appears that the United States does not wish to ratify it. Without the participation of our main buyers, there is no point in having an agreement.

202. If the doors to our export commodities are closed, how do the developed countries think we are going to survive? A viable solution is to be found in co-operation, where each of us would sacrifice a little for the welfare of the broadest majorities.

203. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): In past years it became quite clear to the international community as a whole, and to the developing world in particular, that the existing economic system was mainly dedicated to the interests of a

small number of members of the international community and, consequently, it was deemed necessary to bring about fundamental structural changes to ensure the participation of the developing countries in international economic relations and their benefit from such activities on an equitable basis.

204. This requirement led to the convening of the sixth special session of the General Assembly. As a result a Declaration and a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order were adopted. Many of the industrialized countries expressed a reaction to the decisions of that special session. At the seventh special session of the General Assembly the industrialized countries committed themselves to negotiations for the attainment of these aims. However many discussions and attempts toward this end have produced disappointing results. An attempt was made to negotiate at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation. That Conference was convened outside the framework of the United Nations, and the composition of its members was limited and selective. The Conference clearly showed the unwillingness of many participating industrialized countries to engage in constructive negotiations toward the achievement of the aims and purposes of the New International Economic Order as envisaged in the decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly. During the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, after intensive consultations, it was finally agreed that a Committee of the Whole should be established under the auspices of the United Nations to remedy the imbalances and provide for the full participation of the developing countries.

205. The task of that Committee was to secure the establishment and implementation of the New International Economic Order, primarily because it was evident to the developing countries that it was necessary to have a central body within the United Nations system that would have the right to bring together the elements necessary for the creation of a just and equitable world economic system, and also to reaffirm the supremacy of the United Nations with regard to all negotiations pertaining to the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

206. Much to our regret the Committee of the Whole was not able to complete even the first of its three sessions projected for the current year, and the work of the Committee ended in a deadlock. The main reason for this was a fundamental disagreement with respect to the scope of the rights and mandate of the Committee to negotiate and recommend decisions. The industrialized nations mainly responsible for the prevailing unjust international economic structure, underestimating the importance of the Committee of the Whole, advanced the view that the mandate of the Committee was primarily to serve as a forum for an exchange of views, while the developing countries were of the opinion that matters should be negotiated substantively so as to bring about the necessary structural changes in the economic system on the basis of the principles of the New International Economic Order.

207. It should also be borne in mind that the continued failure on the part of the Members of the Organization to negotiate constructive structural changes in the present

order will certainly lead to instability in international economic relations and consequently threaten the welfare of both the developed and the developing countries. My delegation strongly believes that the competence of the Committee to negotiate and adopt decisions on outstanding international economic issues should not be questioned. That is precisely why this issue has been rightfully brought to the attention of the General Assembly. We are confident that the General Assembly will be able to arrive at a solution that will get the work of the Committee out of the present stalemate.

208. We are encouraged by the fact that the General Assembly has already been able to work out a solution to this problem so that the Committee will find it possible to continue its vital functions and fulfil its mandate in the near future.

209. Afghanistan, as a least-developed and land-locked country, hopes that the Committee will adopt concrete measures in favour of such countries and that its recommendations will be effectively carried out. We believe that the economic problems of the least-developed and land-locked countries are basically structural; they can be lessened only through the restructuring of the international economic system as envisaged in the decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly as well as in other relevant decisions adopted by the United Nations system and they must be discussed in a forum in which all the members of the international community have the right to participate.

210. Before concluding I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole for his untiring efforts and leadership, and also to express our appreciation to the Ambassador of Jamaica, the outgoing Chairman of the Group of 77, for the able manner in which he guided the important work of the Group during the past year.

211. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin, I wish warmly to thank and to extend fraternal greetings to the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, our brother Idriss Jazairy of Algeria, who with a high degree of political responsibility conducted the work of that Committee. He showed much patience, and that prevented a total and fatal break-down of the work of that Committee.

212. My delegation also wishes to thank Mr. Mills of Jamaica and to express our support for him. He very lucidly expressed the feelings of the Group of 77, of which Benin is a full-fledged member.

213. The position of my country, the People's Republic of Benin, on problems related to development and international co-operation is very well known. However, it may be useful to recall that the present state of the world economy is still characterized by negative features. They are: first, unequal terms of trade, in particular in regard to commodities, the mainstay of the economies of the developing countries; secondly, the growing indebtedness of the developing countries; thirdly, the increasing distortion of assistance for development, both in its fundamental

concept and in its application—and here it should be pointed out that the volume of development assistance has decreased consistently in recent years; and fourthly, the increasingly critical situation of the least-developed of the developing countries, which are hardest hit by the aggravations of the persistent and increasing world economic crisis.

214. All these problems are very well known. They have been very seriously and thoroughly studied, and as a result three fundamental documents have been produced: the Lima Declaration; the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session; and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

215. Those documents, which were adopted by all, indicate that the present interdependence in the economy is simply a relationship of the domination and exploitation of an overwhelming majority of impoverished States by a minority of privileged nations that continue to perpetuate an injustice that has become unacceptable and unbearable.

216. My delegation wishes here to denounce the persistence of the structure and the organization of a world economy based on relationships of domination, exploitation and inequality. My delegation deplores the attitude of certain developed nations that have obstructed the implementation of salutary measures decided upon by this Organization to establish a new international economic order that would be more equitable and just.

217. My delegation wants to congratulate the socialist countries on their support for our cause, and we want to exhort them to take specific unilateral long-term actions to help in the promotion and development of the developing countries and to correct the present economic imbalance.

218. Through certain manoeuvres developed nations have tried to impede the implementation of the new measures necessary for the establishment of the new international economic order. This causes among the developing countries a legitimate concern that continues to persist. That concern has been aggravated by the very limited success of the deliberations and negotiations between the majority of the exploited and plundered nations and the other nations that represent a minority with deeply-rooted privileges. This is a very serious and grave situation. It helps us to understand why there is so much stagnation in the work of the Committee of the Whole which was established under resolution 32/174.

219. How can one not deplore this situation and condemn the stratagems which have been employed to keep the overwhelming majority of mankind in poverty and misery?

220. International conferences continue to be held, but their results are very scanty, in comparison with the enormous concessions which were actually made by the Group of 77.

221. My delegation regrets this situation and we feel that the time has come for all countries to understand that our just aspirations for economic and social equality are very deeply rooted.

222. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its support and approval of the contents of the statement made by the Chairman of the Group of 77, Mr. Mestiri of Tunisia, and we hope that the mandate of the Committee of the Whole will be redefined, as some delegations have requested, so as to resolve definitively the procedural questions which have prevented the adequate functioning of this Committee and so that it can begin more effective work.

223. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): During this debate, the General Assembly has heard expressions of well-deserved support for the Committee of the Whole, established under Assembly resolution 32/174. Because of the procedural difficulties encountered in the course of its work this year, the Committee has submitted a provisional report [A/33/34]. In this connexion I should like, as President of the Assembly, to make the following statement:

“Consultations held with the Member States on the question of the clarification of the mandate of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 led me to the conclusion that in fulfilling its mandate as set out in resolution 32/174, paragraph 4, essentially under subparagraphs (b) and (c), the Committee will negotiate with a view to its adopting guidelines on central policy issues as well as achieving agreement on the resolution of fundamental or crucial issues underlying problems related to international economic co-operation. The results of the negotiations will be expressed in the form of action-oriented agreed conclusions of the Committee addressed, in accordance with paragraph 5 of resolution 32/174, through the General Assembly, to States and international organizations concerned.

“The rules of procedure of the General Assembly will, of course, continue to apply to the Committee.

“I take it that this is the only clarification to be given with respect to the mandate of the Committee.”

224. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Idriss Jazairy of Algeria, and to the members of the Committee who, by dint of very arduous effort, have reached agreement on how the Committee should continue its work, that agreement being reflected in part in the statement I have just made. With respect to the future work of the Committee, again after having consulted its members, I am submitting to the Assembly for its consideration a draft resolution, the text of which appears in document A/33/L.4.

225. In this connexion, I wish to indicate that after consultations a small change has been made in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, namely, the deletion of the words “priority for the provision of” so that the paragraph would now read as follows:

“4. *Decides* that, in view of its importance, the Committee should receive all necessary facilities to enable it to hold meetings as and when required, together with the facility of summary records of its proceedings”.

226. In my opinion, the draft resolution reflects the terms of the consensus reached after intensive informal consultations. For that reason, I hope that this draft resolution will be adopted and will constitute a sound basis on which the Committee may continue its work for the benefit of the international community as a whole. It is clear that the General Assembly accords the highest priority to the objectives pursued by the Committee and that the establishment of a new international economic order is a constant concern of all Governments represented in this Assembly.

227. I now invite the Assembly to take a decision on the draft resolution A/33/L.4, as orally modified. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/33/327. May I consider that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution?

The draft resolution, as orally modified, was adopted (resolution 33/2).

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.