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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 7: Study of the problems of raw materials and development (concluded) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee of the Sixth Special Session	1
Completion of the work of the sixth special session	9
Agenda item 2: Minute of silent prayer or meditation	13
Closing of the session	13

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 7

**Study of the problems of raw materials and development
(concluded)**

**REPORT OF THE *AD HOC* COMMITTEE OF THE
SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION (A/9556)**

1. Mr. KASASA CINYATI MUTATI (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Zaire has followed very closely and with great interest the statements made by representatives who have preceded me in this discussion, and we believe that these can be summed up in the three following categories.

2. The first category consists of the statements of those who from the outset have reserved for themselves the interpretation of the events that take place in the world from the simple standpoint of their own interests and who see in the documents adopted in the Assembly no positive aspects since in the long-term those documents challenge their own hegemony in the world and inevitably must lead to the birth, in the political and economic fields, of partner States equal to themselves.

3. The second category covers the statements of those who wish to slow down the new shaping of the world economic map as much as possible.

4. The third category is the category of statements by those who have understood that no human being was created to live under the yoke of his fellow man and therefore decided to follow the trend of history and to place their feet on the road to the economic development of the world. To these last and true men my delegation wishes to offer its support and its encouragement, since

they are the yeast that will raise the standard of human nature.

5. Thus my delegation wishes to congratulate the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the spokesmen of the Group of 77, for the endurance, patience and particularly good faith that they have shown in the course of the lengthy meetings and consultations.

6. Speaking in the general debate on 15 April 1974 [2215th meeting], Citizen Umba-Di-Lutete, Commissioner for Political Affairs and State Commissioner for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of the Government of Zaire, hoped that our work would lead to the following six solutions.

7. First, concerning the new international economic order to be devised, he felt that the present session should urgently and radically transform the structure of international economic relations. This new structure would rest on the basis of equality and the mutual interest of the partners, bearing in mind the existing disparity in the levels of development of the industrialized and the under-equipped countries. Pursuant to that, he suggested a revision of the principles of the international economic institutions, and, with regard to the International Monetary Fund, he felt that the right of vote should be granted to all countries equally, while its resources would primarily contribute to assisting the development of the under-equipped economies, rather than meeting the deficits in the balance of payments of the well-equipped countries. He made the same comments about the World Bank.

8. Second, considering the deterioration in the terms of trade, he felt that it was imperative that the present special session of the General Assembly on raw materials should lead once and for all to the establishment of equitable relations between, on the one hand, the prices of raw materials and semi-manufactured and manufactured goods from the under-equipped nations and, on the other, the prices of the manufactured equipment and consumer goods that those countries import from the more equipped countries. As far as he was concerned, therefore, we had to devise some machinery for indexing the prices of commodities with a view to keeping them at remunerative levels taking into account the levels of prices of the manufactured goods imported by the under-equipped countries.

9. Third, when speaking of the strategy of the raw-materials producing countries, he suggested that the solidarity of the producer countries, to be specific and effective, should go through a grouping by type of product. In other words, he was proposing producers' associations that would allow a considerable improvement in the

participation of such groups in international conferences so as better to defend their interests.

10. Fourth, in order to exercise effective control over price fluctuations, he suggested the setting up of a fund to protect the prices of raw materials that would be intended at one and the same time to maintain prices at a satisfactory level and also to contribute positively to the processing of raw materials to increasingly manufactured goods.

11. Fifth, he expressed the hope that the Charter of Economic Rights and duties of States, at present being drafted in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], would ensure the full sovereignty of all States over their natural resources and their right to set up economic and social institutions in keeping with their aspirations.

12. Sixth and finally, he advocated that the international community should not remain indifferent to the destiny of the under-developed countries least favoured by nature and deprived of all means of combating the twofold dangers of, on the one hand, the increase in the prices of raw materials and, on the other, the ever-rising cost of manufactured goods.

13. In the light of these principles that were stated by the head of my delegation, the two resolutions adopted last night express the consensus of the special session of the General Assembly—a consensus from which some of us wanted to dissociate ourselves and which to many of us seemed somewhat weak and diluted. This fact diminishes my delegation's enthusiasm and gives it food for thought. Nevertheless, in an effort to co-operate, my delegation felt that a consensus should be the result of our work rather than a confrontation. But in so doing, my delegation felt that we were giving our total and frank support to all those who felt and who proclaimed that the two documents adopted laid the groundwork of a new international economic order intended to modify, over the next few decades, the unjust and obsolete structures of an international economic order based on centuries of pillage of the natural and human resources of our continents, a pillage supported by an international policy of systematic de-personalization and degradation of our peoples.

14. My delegation, however, found it encouraging that some voices were raised in this General Assembly to admit and to proclaim the principle of the need to transform the economic structures of the world so as to allow the new States like my own to speed up our economic build-up, and in the more or less foreseeable future, to accede to economic adulthood. Our support for the two documents adopted at the special session, although subject as they were to many regrettable reservations, should nevertheless, we feel, be also accompanied by a real political will to implement the decisions called for by the implementation of the resolution on the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] and also the resolution dealing with the implementation of the Programme of Action [resolution 3202 (S-VI)], without overlooking section X entitled "Special Programme". The legal foundations for an international economic order have now been laid; whether we

like it or not, the provisions will have to be decided upon for a wholesale implementation of the Programme of Action, particularly those parts relating to the creation of producers' associations, to nationalization as the expression of the sovereignty of each State and to the setting up of a link between the prices of the raw materials, and semi-manufactured and manufactured goods exported by the under-equipped nations and the prices of their imports. These basic aspects of the Programme of Action have already been applied in a number of countries of the third world and we express the hope that the other nations will also take appropriate means to allow the setting up and the true growth of a real, new international economic order.

15. Thus, the Governments of the States present here will be able to reply affirmatively to the appeal that my head of delegation launched from this rostrum, and thus each State, each Government, should feel itself committed resolutely and scrupulously to comply with the resolutions and recommendations adopted in the interests of the entire international community.

16. As far as my own country is concerned, we shall continue on our course, the one that was laid down on 24 November 1965, by our well-beloved guide, President Mobutu Sese Seko and consolidated by measures of Zairianization accompanied by just compensation to the one-time proprietors of the nationalized enterprises. These measures, embodied in the law of 30 November 1973, round out the programme of economic and social action to ensure for the people of Zaire the full exercise of their sovereignty over their natural resources and effective and over-all control of our entire production. Thus we see these measures are intended essentially to consolidate the economic independence of our country and to ready us to become increasingly equal partners in international co-operation, which President Mobutu wishes to see increase, free of domination and with respect for the legal equality of the partners and for their mutual advantage. Mr. Mobutu, the President of Zaire, is convinced that the development of international trade on a balanced scale is a vital necessity for the prosperity of all peoples and for peace in the world.

17. This is the light in which my delegation sees the possible implementation of the resolutions which we adopted by consensus and which, I am sure, the authorities of Zaire will hasten to apply to the full in the measure that they proceed in the direction of helping the under-developed and under-equipped countries to mature in an economic sense rapidly.

18. Finally, I wish to thank you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, for the effective way in which you have led the work of this first session devoted to the study of raw materials and development.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words.

20. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish to express the gratification of my delegation at the auspicious outcome of this historic special session. I say "historic" because, beyond its practical effects in meeting the emergencies of the present economic crisis and more particularly in

providing for urgent relief to the more hard-hit and needy peoples of the world through the special measures adopted, its essential meaning and import lie in the deep realization that has emerged from all sides during this session of the rapidly growing interdependence of nations and peoples in our world, which constitutes the very axis around which world developments have to turn.

21. This special session has marked the first courageous step by the United Nations since its establishment in the direction of adapting itself to the realities of our times in our technologically transformed world and to its imperative demands for true co-operation in a spirit of mutual understanding, equality and justice in order to meet the global and ever-threatening problems of our days.

22. Notwithstanding the differences that unavoidably emerged between the developed and the developing countries in their varying approaches to the problems during this session, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action, as modified through the relevant discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Committee, have been adopted by consensus and without objection in the General Assembly. This is an indication Mr. President, of the spirit of accommodation that has prevailed and we wish to congratulate you on guiding our deliberations during this session so wisely, and also the Secretary-General for having summed up, before and after, the main points in the discussion at this session.

23. Furthermore, I wish to say how much we appreciate the initiative taken by the President of Algeria in calling for the convening of the special session, and we pay a tribute to him and his nation for that action.

24. In addition, I should like to say that we greatly appreciate the work done by the Chairman of the Group of 77, Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran, in his dedicated efforts towards reaching the required consensus.

25. Reservations have been expressed and are on record on a number of issues. That was unavoidable. But we feel confident that such reservations and differences will in time be ironed out in a spirit of justice and mutual understanding and in that true co-operation which is in the common interest in our world of today.

26. The special session has dealt effectively and judiciously with a variety of related problems in respect of dwindling world raw materials and their wise and equitable utilization, the growing food shortages and other inter-connected aspects, among which due attention has been given to the importance of constructively assisting the developing countries by providing them with the transfer of the necessary techniques and know-how and economic means for their development. In that respect, my delegation feels particularly happy that the vital problem of the environment and the importance of due ecological protection in the developing countries in the course of their industrial development has not been overlooked or left out. It is to our humble satisfaction that the relevant provision in the Programme of Action is a consequence of the amendment proposed by my delegation, with the support of the delegations of Kenya and the Sudan, to revise the relevant text by the addition of the ecological aspect to the

economic and social conditions that will be provided to the developing countries for appropriate specific economic, social and ecological conditions in their varying states of development.

27. My delegation has always felt that the environmental aspect is a very important one which acquires more and more significance as world development continues in our industrialized and moving-towards-industrialized world. We hope that in this spirit the world will move forward on a wise course towards the development of the developing countries, which is really the main essence of this great session.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Cyprus for his kind words.

29. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): We are now very near the end of this very important special session of the General Assembly, and as far as my delegation is concerned we think it is perhaps time for us to try and assess where we now are and what exactly we have achieved in the last four weeks.

30. On the face of it, we have reached a consensus. May I say how much I agreed with Mr. Bouteflika this morning [*2230th meeting*] when he used, I thought, very wise words to this Assembly, and indeed, to the world, when he said consensus is not unanimity. Perhaps what we have achieved could better be described as a collective acquiescence in most of the two documents before us. We have avoided confrontation, we have avoided a vote, and to that extent we are together. But it would be wrong for anyone to assume that the avoidance of a vote is necessarily the same thing as total agreement. My Government has serious reservations on parts of these documents, and our agreement to the procedure we have adopted is, as I made clear yesterday at the 21st meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, without prejudice to those views. As the newly appointed representative of a new Government in Britain which is committed to the strengthening of this Organization—and also, may I say, as a representative making his maiden speech from this rostrum—I should like, if I might, to clarify my Government's position.

31. May I first of all, Mr. President, pay a public tribute to you for the skill and good humour with which you have presided over our proceedings. May I also join in the very well deserved tributes which have been paid to Ambassador Hoveyda, who has worked so hard to achieve this result?

32. From the outset the United Kingdom welcomed the timely initiative of the President of Algeria. The world we knew had changed and we, together with others, shared President Boumediène's desire that the United Nations should give shape and direction to this new age of economic interdependence. Before the session started, therefore, we made several efforts to launch a detailed dialogue which we believed to be essential if we were going to succeed. In doing so we emphasized that new approaches were required. We stressed our collective responsibility for guiding our debates towards partnership and towards co-operation and away from the divergence and the discord which have characterized so much of the past. We agree that the new order which has to be achieved must be not only one in

which the developing world will emerge economically but also one in which those countries come to play their proper and rightful role in international decision-making. That means change, but we at least came to this session in what we believed to be a genuine and a realistic attempt to face the new realities as we saw them and to try to assure our collective future. The debate in the plenary Assembly was wide-ranging, serious and constructive. The theme of interdependence and co-operation became the keynote for this session. A break-through indeed seemed close. And yet, at the end of the day now, the result is not a total success despite the very considerable measure of agreement that has been reached.

33. I do not propose to go back over the last three weeks and analyse every turn that our discussions took. I will come straight to what I see as the core of the problem. The Assembly will, I know, expect me to speak frankly on these matters. They are much too important for me to do otherwise.

34. In all honesty, I think the main problem we have to face here is a difference of views on what the concept of economic interdependence should mean in practice. This divergence has been symbolized by the fact that the drafting of a general declaration of principles caused little difficulty, but when we went on to the details of the Programme of Action we immediately ran into serious problems. In brief, I think the difference is this. Some see our future interdependence in terms of the relative strengths of various groupings of interest—developed countries versus developing countries, producers of commodities versus their consumers, and so on. Others put co-operation and partnership first, not envisaging a balance of economic forces but rather—to use an expression which emerged in the Economic and Social Council last year—a collective economic security. As a result of that divergence we were faced with the task of trying in three weeks to negotiate and agree on a document which sometimes looked more like a catalogue of every possible remedy that has ever been advocated for every conceivable economic ill. In the circumstances, it is remarkable that we made the progress that we did, but it is not surprising that we could not really finish in the time that was available.

35. May I turn now to the three main aspects of our work, and first to the Declaration of principles. We support that Declaration because we endorse its broad approach and particularly its commitment to a new international economic order based on co-operative interdependence. We do not, however, interpret the Declaration as in any way affecting international obligations in relation to States' sovereignty over natural resources, nor do we accept the apparent obligation for compensation referred to in paragraph 4 (f), and I think it is very well known that we have great doubts about the practicability of price indexation.

36. The Programme of Action we found a less satisfactory document and one upon which we do have a number of major reservations which I would like to state briefly. May I say, first, that I recognize with deep appreciation the concession made in the negotiations which I turned this document from a Programme of Action into one which could more accurately be described as a statement of aims for possible future action. The British Government for its

part will continue to work towards those many common goals on which agreement has been reached at this session. We will also continue to work towards solutions to the questions on which some difficulties inevitably remain.

37. I should perhaps emphasize that our inability to accept the Programme of Action in its entirety does not mean that we will not implement as much of it as we have been able to accept in the exhaustive discussions that we have had.

38. Turning to the specific reservations, with regard specifically to section I, paragraph 1 (a); section VII, paragraph 1 (b), and section VIII, subparagraph (a), of the Programme of Action, we accept, of course, the right of permanent sovereignty over natural resources. But we are not able to accept these subparagraphs in their present form since we believe that this right should only be exercised with due regard for international law.

39. With regard to section I, paragraph 1 (c), I am afraid, in respect of that provision and also in respect of section VII, paragraph 1 (a), we cannot agree that it is in the real interests of the expansion of the world economy to encourage the formation of what would be in effect producers' cartels. We still believe that successful economic relationships must hinge primarily on greater co-operation between producers and consumers.

40. With regard to section I, paragraph 1 (d), as delegations will know, this is being studied at UNCTAD and we do not wish in a document of this sort to prejudice the results of those studies.

41. With regard to section I, paragraph 1 (e), we find it difficult to believe that it is really in anybody's best interests actively to promote pricing arrangements which are unrealistic.

42. With regard to section I, paragraph 3 (a) (viii) and (ix), we could not now enter into arrangements of that nature. Furthermore, this matter is already being considered in other international consultations. We feel that the inclusion of these paragraphs would prejudice that work.

43. With regard to section I, paragraph 4 (a), (b) and (d), as is well known, we do not find ourselves able to accept the code of conduct for liner conferences, nor can we accept proposals which would involve the subsidizing of shipping.

44. Finally, with regard to section IV, under our existing official aid programme, the United Kingdom already provides significant assistance in the field of transfer of technology. Beyond this we do not accept that commercial transfers of technology should be on terms inconsistent with normal commercial practice.

45. I turn, finally, to the Special Programme in Section X, and particularly to the emergency measures. This special session was called at a time of very real economic difficulty for both developed and developing countries. But some developing countries are suffering grievously, and in our view this was from the start of the Assembly, and still remains, the most urgent of the problems facing us. We

therefore welcome the moves that have been made towards emergency relief. They are a concrete expression of the spirit of international co-operation with which my delegation approached this session. We cannot, however, commit ourselves unreservedly to all the recommendations in the document.

46. We should have preferred to see emergency aid directed through established international development institutions which already have the necessary machinery and the necessary expertise, but we do understand and recognize the desire of the developing countries for there to be a new channel under United Nations auspices. In this connexion, I would like to associate myself with the remarks of the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany relating to the European Economic Community contribution to emergency help for the hardest hit countries [2229th meeting]. As he said, any contribution would be conditional on the willingness of others to participate.

47. I have felt it right to speak frankly about my delegation's reactions to these proceedings. This session has not achieved as much as we had hoped. Perhaps we all tried to do more than was possible in three weeks. But let us not end this session without recognizing what has in fact been achieved.

48. This session has made us all reassess our economic relationships. It has made many of the attitudes of the past irrelevant. I believe that this Assembly will, in later years, be seen as a turning-point: the United Nations is committing itself to a serious attempt to create a new world economic structure through the processes of rational discussion and orderly change. We have thus proclaimed the agenda of much of the international community's business for the next decade. Things will never be the same again.

49. I believe, too, that this session has done something else. It has demonstrated that the Members of the United Nations need each other's understanding and help more than ever before. Whether we are developed or developing, whatever point of the compass we come from, the last three weeks have shown that it is only as partners and as equals that we can hope to make real progress.

50. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, may I state the appreciation of my delegation to you for the impartial and skilful way with which you have presided over the deliberations of this special session of the General Assembly, thereby allowing us to arrive at the successful conclusions that the Assembly approved yesterday.

51. My delegation wishes to express its full support for the Declaration on the Establishment of A New International Economic Order, and the Programme of Action that the General Assembly adopted yesterday afternoon by consensus.

52. We do feel that these two documents constitute a consensus arrived at in the Assembly on both the form and the substance and the procedures adopted for their preparation and approval.

53. We all know the laborious process of discussion and negotiation that took place. We also know that in the course of those negotiations, the developing countries made numerous concessions, and sometimes went even further than other members of the Assembly avowed themselves ready to go in the search for these negotiated solutions.

54. To deny that such efforts were constantly preceded by a desire to arrive at a consensus and that the consensus was in fact the result of this session would be to blink away the reality of the lengthy hours of discussions that were held in the United Nations during these last few days. It would also be to overlook the effort made by the vast majority of delegations of Member States.

55. So, we wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Hoveyda, the Permanent Representative of Iran to the United Nations, for the patience, wisdom and perseverance with which he presided over the negotiations to which I referred earlier.

56. My delegation feels that the documents that the Assembly has adopted do in fact constitute an important foundation upon which to continue the process of the creation of a more just international economic order in keeping with the general interests of mankind but primarily with the rights of the peoples of the third world.

57. I should like to stress some aspects of both these documents to which my delegation attaches the greatest importance.

58. First of all, the Declaration and the Programme of Action are intended to lead to the transformation of international structures in order to establish a new order governed by equality among States. The decisions on the reaffirmation and strengthening of the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources and all economic activities of States which includes the inalienable right to nationalization, brings this out. My delegation feels that the exercise and the implementation of that right can only be interpreted as part and parcel of the domestic jurisdiction of the nationalizing State, and thus through the appropriate machinery it is up to that State—and that State alone—to decide upon the appropriateness of so-called compensation. And it is up to that state—and that State alone—to assess the amount and form of such compensation.

59. Thus it is somewhat surprising in this year of 1974 to hear the expressions of some representatives who seem to be yearning still for an era which the creation of this Organization and subsequent events seemed to have cast into the limbo of forgotten things. Some do in fact consider this question of nationalization as though they were attending the Congress of Berlin and carving up Africa among the colonial Powers. They seem, in an Olympian fashion, to have overlooked the radical changes in international law that culminated in the establishment of this Organization and the General Assembly by the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) and by the recognition of the emergence of new independent States in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

60. With regard to the so-called compensation, we would, I think, have to ask ourselves, who is to compensate whom

and what is the purpose of such compensation? Who is to compensate the deprived peoples of the third world victims of misery, backwardness and exploitation that are the basic result of centuries of exploitation and pillage? On the basis of what legal and ethical tenets are the exploited peoples to be the ones to compensate the immense interests that build their wealth and power specifically by exploiting these peoples?

61. The vision of the world of today which is shared by the vast majority of the membership of the Organization can be seen reflected in the consensus of the General Assembly, for that consensus is the consensus of mankind. Anyone denying it not only seems to be far away from the feelings of the immense majority of the membership of this Organization but also to be wandering even further afield from what is daily becoming world-wide opinion.

62. In the documents that we have approved we also set forth other matters of basic interest to the developing countries which share the common hope that a world of equality can now emerge. I would refer primarily to the defence of prices of raw materials and manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by our countries; to the statement of the right of countries producing raw materials to organize in order to safeguard their interests and encourage more just terms of trade; to the statement of the right of the members of the third world to control and regulate the activities of multinational corporations; to the radical transformation of the international monetary system; and, finally, to the special programme of assistance, part of the Programme of Action approved yesterday. I think it wise to recall here that the Special Programme is a direct result of initiatives voiced in this Assembly by the representatives of the third world, first among them the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, President Houari Boumediène, when he pronounced the keynote statement at this special session [2208th meeting], and a similar statement made on behalf of the Government of Iran [2209th meeting].

63. It was the countries of the third world which, with a spirit of unity, from the very beginning offered concrete proposals to assist those who are afflicted by the effects of the present international economic situation. Those ideas did not reflect eleventh-hour demagogic manoeuvres intended not to solve the problems but to try to introduce divisive elements in the lines of the third-world nations.

64. No, we consider that the balance-sheet obtained yesterday by the adoption of the Programme of Action and the Declaration bears out our contention regarding the historic importance that we attach to this special session of the General Assembly. That importance was highlighted from the very beginning of our debate when President Boumediène, speaking on behalf of all the non-aligned nations, presented the list of the third world's claims to the right to a change in international trade relations. His voice spoke the thoughts in the minds of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which met at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers last year. He spoke out echoing the unanimous desire of those countries to go together to seek a radical transformation of the present system of trade

relations and to achieve the establishment of a world based on justice and equality.

65. We believe that this Assembly has shown a strengthening of the role of the non-aligned countries. It has brought out the importance of the role we are called upon to play on the international stage, the decisive role that we can play in the international picture at the present moment and the suitable, appropriate and effective way in which Algeria has been able to implement the programme adopted at the Fourth Conference.

66. This Assembly, furthermore, has proved that the third world as a whole, the developing nations, have emerged united and with their unity strengthened. Those who thought they could divide us to perpetuate their oppression and exploitation of our peoples have found in the constant unity of the nations of the third world the best possible answer.

67. And this Assembly, as Mr. Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, pointed out this morning, has strengthened the alliance between the third world nations, the socialist countries and other nations eager to set up a new world order based on justice and equality.

68. Someone yesterday tried to minimize the importance of the documents that the General Assembly had approved, referring to them as though they were mere verbiage. I think it would be wise to remind those who thus assessed the results of this Assembly that that verbiage, those words, bespeak the efforts of the third world, that those words have their roots deeply embedded in centuries of colonialism, that those words bespeak the sacrifice and the sweat of peoples subjected far too long to monopolistic capitals, and that behind those words can be heard the march of history. Let no one be mistaken that, with our solidarity and our consistent struggle, the third world with those words will build its future.

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Cuba for his kind words.

70. We have now heard the last speaker on the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on agenda item 7 entitled "Study of the problems of raw materials and development".

71. I shall now call on those representatives who have indicated a desire to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

72. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): With regard to the statement made yesterday from the lofty rostrum of the General Assembly by one particular representative, with his routine slanderous attacks and his customary fabrications in the field of international politics about the so-called two super-Powers, and particularly about détente and disarmament, the Soviet delegation does not consider it necessary to enter into polemics with him concerning these fabrications. All that can be said is that, if he really believes everything he has said here on the subject, one can only feel sorry for him. And if anyone is so naive as to believe what was said by that speaker on these matters, one can only feel sympathy for such naive people.

73. I shall confine myself to a few comments, not by way of polemics but in order to state more accurately the true situation in matters of peace and disarmament. The experience of the work of the sixth special session of the General Assembly on raw materials and development has confirmed once again that the country represented by that speaker is fanatically opposed to the improvement of the international situation, to international détente, to the strengthening of peace and security and to disarmament.

74. The same experience has once again convincingly demonstrated that the Soviet Union, like all the countries of the socialist community, firmly and consistently stands for and fights for peace, opposes the threat of war and supports progress and constructive action. We do not go along with those who oppose peace and who consequently favour war, annihilation and destruction and the perpetuation of chaos in the world.

75. The world-wide system of socialism—the historic achievement of the international working class—is a decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and a bulwark of peace, democracy and social progress. The experience of the work of the special session of the General Assembly has also confirmed the fact that the world-wide system of socialism and the international community of non-aligned and developing countries, representing the overwhelming majority of mankind, take the same stand on the need to ensure and strengthen peace for all mankind. This was clearly and convincingly confirmed in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted by the General Assembly [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*]. This Declaration stressed, in the name of 95 developing countries—that is, on behalf of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations—that the main purpose of establishing a new economic order and new international economic relations among States is the noble ideal of ensuring economic and social development for present and future generations in conditions of peace—and I emphasize this—in conditions of peace and justice. But peace and the need for economic development inevitably and inexorably require both détente and effective disarmament. The very fact that this session of the General Assembly was convened is a positive result of détente. Under cold-war conditions such a session would have been inconceivable.

76. The non-aligned and developing countries, like the General Assembly itself, did not go along with that speaker, who, in the Assembly and in the course of consultations with the contact group of developing countries, exerted persistent efforts to exclude from the text of the Declaration the very word “peace” or any reference to peace.

77. With regard to disarmament, we fully share the view of President Boumediène of Algeria, at whose initiative the present session of the General Assembly was convened. Speaking on behalf of the non-aligned and developing countries, in a statement of great importance and rich in content, in the general debate in the Assembly, he said:

“... it is the aim of the non-aligned countries, with a view to ensuring conditions for true world-wide security, to arrive, through a world-wide conference, at general and

complete disarmament, which implies not only the prohibition of nuclear testing and the destruction of nuclear stockpiles but also the dismantling of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from all the regions of the world.” [*2208th meeting, para. 16.*]

Accordingly, despite the assertions of the speaker I have mentioned, the position of the third world and that of the genuinely socialist countries on the question of disarmament are identical—I emphasize this again: they are identical—for both groups of countries favour peace, security and disarmament. And in this connexion we note with satisfaction that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference set up by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session to prepare for the convening of the Conference will begin its work during the next few days. We join other members of the Committee in expressing the hope that Mr. Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, will open the Committee’s first session in person.

78. Despite the stubborn opposition of the country represented by the speaker I have mentioned, the United Nations approved the Soviet proposal to convene a world disarmament conference and also approved the establishment at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to prepare for it. It is quite clear from all this that disarmament is opposed only by the dark forces of imperialist reaction and by Maoism. In the light of these facts, the view has become widespread among delegations that the delegation of the country represented by that speaker suffered a defeat at the Assembly. It wanted disorder in the Assembly but in fact there was order and co-operation among delegations, and particularly close co-operation between the group of genuinely socialist countries of the socialist community and the group of non-aligned and developing States. It tried to remove the word “peace” from the Declaration, but the non-aligned and developing countries defeated that attempt.

79. It is also appropriate in this connexion to mention that the working people of the whole world are currently celebrating their glorious holiday—1 May—the day of international solidarity of the working people. The May Day message to the Soviet people from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, published yesterday in the Soviet press, is a new and striking confirmation of the fact that a constant and tireless concern for the strengthening of peace and the freeing of mankind from the threat of war underlies the policy of the Soviet Union.

“Today, the first of May”—the message states—“on behalf of the Soviet people, we call on all fighters for peace and progress in the world to strengthen international solidarity in the struggle against the dark forces of imperialist reaction which are striving to sabotage the easing of international tension and to revive the atmosphere of the cold war... The struggle for just and lasting peace in the world and against oppression and exploitation, against the omnipotence of monopolies, social injustice, political reaction, fascism and the threat of war, is the cause of the whole of progressive mankind.”

80. In conclusion, I should like once again to stress particularly that, as the great Lenin said and wrote, socialism means peace. This session of the General Assembly has once again confirmed that imperialism and Maoism mean war.

81. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of China, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

82. Mr. HUANG HUA (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Just now, the Soviet representative here, Mr. Malik, once again confounded black and white, confused right and wrong, and made deceptive propaganda.

83. As stressed by the numerous third-world countries in the plenary meetings and in the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Sixth Special Session, the prerequisite and top priority for the developing countries to achieve liberation and development are that they should safeguard their political independence, oppose all forms of colonialist and imperialist plunder and exploitation, and gain permanent sovereignty over their own resources. This was also stressed in the final documents adopted at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.¹ However, in direct opposition to this, the Soviet representatives have concocted and feverishly peddled the theory of the so-called “three D’s”, describing “détente” and “disarmament” as the prerequisite for the attainment of “development” by these countries. Is this not a mockery of the common sense of the numerous third-world countries? Is this not asking the third-world countries to give up their struggle for the defence of their national independence and against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism and submit the destiny of their countries and peoples to the political deals between the Soviet Union and the other super-Power? This, of course, is of no avail.

84. Furthermore, the Soviet representatives have energetically advertised at the current session the need to “extend détente to all parts of the world”. As is clear to all, there is no real détente in the world today. The contention between the two super-Powers has spread all over the globe, and they have ceaselessly engaged in aggression, subversion, control and interference against the Asian, African and Latin American countries. In Europe, they have all along been locked in tense confrontation; in the Middle East last October they went so far as to confront each other with daggers drawn; in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific they are both frantically expanding their naval forces, contending for maritime hegemony. One may ask, is there any trace of “détente”? The representatives of many third-world countries have rightly said that as long as the majority of the world’s people remain in an impoverished state of being exploited, there can be no talk about peace and détente. To describe the temporary and partial compromise and collusion between the Soviet Union and the other super-Power as “détente” and to ask everyone to extol it would be nothing but a fraud designed to cover up the daily aggravating contention between them. In talking about extending their so-called “détente” to all parts of the world, the Soviet representatives mean, in effect, to extend

their contention and hegemonism to all parts of the world. This is, of course, impermissible.

85. We are in favour of genuine détente and against sham détente. Who is opposing détente in the world today? It is the two super-Powers which are really opposing détente. Hawking disarmament day in and day out, they are daily engaged in arms expansion. Prating about détente daily, they are actually engaged in fierce trials of strength every day. Either one overpowers the other or is overpowered. Therefore, in order to attain genuine détente and peace, it is imperative for the third world countries and peoples and the people of the whole world to intensify their struggles against the two hegemonic Powers.

86. The Soviet representatives have also advertised the use of “resources released from the progress of disarmament for assistance to the developing countries”. This is all the more a sheer hoax. They have bragged about it for a decade and more. One may ask, over the past decade and more, what amount of arms has the Soviet Union reduced and how much money has it saved therefrom? China is in favour of disarmament, but we are in favour of genuine disarmament and against sham disarmament. While contending for world hegemony and carrying on frenzied arms expansion and war preparations, the two super-Powers try to cover up the true state of affairs. How can they succeed? As pointed out by President Houari Boumediène in his statement at the 2208th plenary meeting of the current session, the discussions on disarmament are aimed solely at reconstructing power relations. In fact, it is precisely these two Powers which are against genuine disarmament. If disarmament is to be carried out, the two super-Powers should be the first to do so. While daily expanding their arms, they ask the third world countries which are constantly under their armed threat and are inadequate in their defence capabilities to carry out general disarmament. Is this not asking the third-world countries to disarm themselves completely before the aggressors who are armed to the teeth and thus leave the door wide open for their aggression? One may ask, can there be any talk about “disarmament” being applied to the Arab peoples who are subjected to Israeli Zionist occupation and frantic aggression or to the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania who are subjected to brutal suppression and domination by the Portuguese and other colonialists?

87. It can be seen clearly that so-called use of “resources released from the progress of disarmament for development” as so indefatigably advertised by the Soviet representatives is nothing but cheap propaganda and fraud, pure and simple. Everyone is aware of the fact that during the Middle East war last October you took advantage of others’ difficulties and extorted hard currencies by selling arms at high price. You are the merchant of death in the world. Instead of making propaganda about using the “resources released from the progress of disarmament for development”, would it not be more practical for you to cancel at one stroke the huge debts incurred by those countries from purchasing the arms which you sold to them at high price under the name of “assistance”?

88. Finally, I would advise Mr. Malik not to boast about his pink cheeks after having been slapped. As is clear to the

¹ See document A/9330 and Corr.1.

representatives attending the meetings, it is the Soviet representatives who—when they time and again insisted on squeezing their deceptive stuff of “disarmament” and “détente” into the documents of the session—repeatedly met with the strong resistance, opposition and criticism by the representatives of many third-world countries at the meetings of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and who were thus finally compelled ruefully to pack up these shoddy goods. This is a fact for all to see. Of what use is it for Mr. Malik to come up here now and boast about those things again? However, Mr. Malik did do something good. He gave another performance of reversing the right and wrong and confounding black and white. As a teacher he gave us all another lesson by negative example, enabling the representatives of the third-world countries to see for themselves just how hypocritical and shameless this super-Power is.

Completion of the work of the sixth special session

89. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who have expressed a desire to speak at this stage of our proceedings.

90. I call first on the representative of Sierra Leone, who wishes to speak on behalf of the African group of states.

91. Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone): For the past three weeks the majority of the world's nations have been discussing and studying the problems of raw materials and development at this sixth special session of the General Assembly. The quick and positive response of many of those nations to the Secretary-General's request for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to debate the present deteriorating world economic situation is a testimony to the high priority they attach to the active involvement of the United Nations in the search for solutions to the problem. The presence here during the special session of several Heads of State and Ministers of Government is a further testimony of the urgency and importance the members of this world body attach to the problem.

92. No one had expected that within these past three weeks all the answers to the questions would be found. Nor had anyone expected that within these past three weeks solutions would be found and a sound world economic system and social order would be established. Rather, what we had hoped to achieve and what we believe has been achieved is that we have to a large extent been able clearly to identify the problems confronting both developing and developed countries, and we have been able to point out their possible solutions. Within these three weeks also, as the debates unfolded and discussions in the Committees progressed, we faced the stark realities of our interdependence. It will not therefore be an exaggeration to say that because of these past three weeks the world will never be the same again.

93. We realize that consensus does not necessarily mean unanimity. That has been amply proved by the reservations that were expressed both yesterday and this morning. However, the adoption by consensus of the draft principles and Programme of Action before the General Assembly marks an important step—that of having been able to obtain substantial agreement on a set of guidelines for future

action that would give the United Nations a central role in the continuing battle against inflation, poverty and economic inequilibrium.

94. We believe that this world body can justifiably say that it has at last found that essential factor which has been absent in the past—a common political will. And it is precisely through such a common political will that we have been able to adopt by consensus the important documents before the General Assembly, documents that are the product of long hours of consultations, negotiations, compromises and co-operation. Further manifestations of this political will have been illustrated by the very important resolutions presented by various Member States, each of them highlighting or calling for implementation of some of the provisions of the Programme of Action. Given the political will that has been achieved during this session, we believe that this special session will be a landmark in the development of true international co-operation.

95. The documents produced during this session of the General Assembly have in various ways given adequate consideration to the fundamental issues of mass poverty, world population, food, energy and the world monetary system. For, as the Secretary-General has rightly said, these are the fundamental issues which are now increasingly threatening economic relations between all Member States and which all too easily could lead to political disaster and intensify still further the conditions of social injustice which have always plagued this world. These documents, in calling for concerted efforts by the world community in seeking solutions to the economic problems confronting the world body today, have gone a long way towards fulfilling one of the most important of the objectives of the Charter—namely, the employment of international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

96. In concluding this brief statement, permit me on behalf of the African group of states to pay a tribute to the Heads of State and Government and the Ministers of State whose active participation in and valuable contributions to the deliberations of this session have made the precedent of devoting an Assembly session to economic matters well worthwhile.

97. Our thanks go also to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran, and the officers of the Committee, and to the Chairman and officers of the working party for their tireless efforts in harmonizing various views and opinions which have resulted in the final documents before this Assembly.

98. We pay a tribute to those Member States to whom it has been a sacrifice in financial terms to send delegations to follow the proceedings of this special session.

99. We thank the Secretary-General and the members of the Secretariat both visible and invisible whose devotion to duty and hard work has made it possible the holding of this special session.

100. Last, but not least, our thanks go to you, Mr. President, for the masterly way in which you have directed the deliberations of this session. Whatever the outcome of this

special session, and we are optimistic about that, it will be said that it was under your presidency that a common political will among the community of nations made it possible for sterile antagonism to give way to co-operation which will be lasting, as it will be just and mutually beneficial.

101. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am sincerely grateful to the representative of Sierra Leone, who spoke on behalf of the African States.

102. I now call on the representative of the Philippines, who will speak on behalf of the Asian States.

103. Mr. VERCELES (Philippines): The Philippine delegation is privileged to speak on behalf of the Asian group at the closure of this historic special session of the General Assembly.

104. The members of the Asian group are happy to have had a modest share in the formulation and in the negotiations on the Declaration of principles and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. We are particularly glad that one of us from the Asian region—the representative of Iran, Ambassador Hoveyda—was Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

105. Mr. President, the members of the Asian group pay you a warm tribute for the skill and most effective leadership you have brought to bear at this watershed session.

106. We are all aware of these qualities, qualities that you possess in great measure and which were manifested at the last session of the General Assembly. The faith and confidence we have again reposed in you to preside over this most demanding and difficult session have been amply rewarded.

107. To the Secretary-General, the Asian group extends its deep appreciation for the invaluable role which he has played in the special session. During the opening meeting of this session, Mr. Waldheim pointed out the path that the Assembly would follow in its deliberations. His suggestions and exhortations have been most useful and inspired many of us to work in concert in the attainment of our common goal of international economic and social progress.

108. With respect to the result of the special session, many of us consider it a qualified success. It has been said that the adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action marks a turning-point in international economic relations. This may well be the case, but we think that the real test, the final verdict on what we have achieved, will depend more in terms of the progress on the implementation of these documents, particularly the Special Programme. It is our hope that the ennobling spirit that animates the Declaration of principles, especially its preamble, and the Programme of Action, will provide the moral and political impetus so necessary in their implementation.

109. On whether all our labours have not been in vain, we shall await the impartial judgement of history which, after all, has no ax to grind.

110. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Philippines, who has spoken on behalf of the Asian States, and I call now on the representative of Poland who will speak on behalf of the countries of Eastern Europe.

111. Mr. KUŁAGA (Poland): Mr. President, as this sixth special session of the General Assembly comes to an end, it gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the group of Eastern European Socialist States, and on behalf of my own delegation, to extend to you our best congratulations on your outstanding presidency of this most important session. You have, Sir, confirmed during these last few weeks, the high praise which was addressed to you during the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your personal qualities and the manner in which you guided the work of the special session were no doubt an important factor in its positive outcome.

112. I am equally pleased to extend our group's thanks and congratulations to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Sixth Special Session, Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran, who has worked so consistently and efficiently towards the success of this session.

113. I should like, on behalf of the group of Eastern European Socialist States which supported the initiative of Mr. Houari Boumediène, the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, to have the General Assembly convene in special session, to underline our group's appreciation of, and satisfaction with, the close and constructive co-operation that we have enjoyed with the Group of 77 and its distinguished representatives.

114. Our expression of consideration goes also to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who I know is well aware of that attitude of ours.

115. Finally, I would wish on this occasion of the First of May, which has just been celebrated and which for the socialist countries is an important occasion, to present our thanks to all of the personnel of the United Nations who have played so great a role in the conduct of the special session.

116. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Poland, who has spoken on behalf of the countries of Eastern Europe, and I now call on the representative of Colombia, who will speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

117. Mr. ZULETA TORRES (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Latin American group of States, and on behalf of my own delegation, may I first of all express the great satisfaction that our region feels at the fact that this special session of the General Assembly has accomplished its objectives under the expert, patient and understanding direction of an eminent Latin American statesman who represents a country which, because of its traditions, 'its culture, its hard-working character, sums up all our people. In you, Mr. President, we see a true representative of our group of nations and an outstanding citizen of the world.

118. I should like also to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim; to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse, and to the entire Secretariat, our thanks for the personal and technical co-operation that have made possible such a positive and promising result. I should like especially to mention all those ladies and gentlemen who, in hidden corners or behind glass panels, have had their patience taxed as well as their talent, their good manners and their resistance, both physical and mental, in enabling us to carry out our work.

119. It is a privilege for me to express, on behalf of Latin America, our collective thanks to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Hoveyda, the representative of what is at once an age-old kingdom and a modern nation, who has stood at the van of the legitimate and just aspirations of fledgling nations which wish to progress within a new international economic order. Ambassador Hoveyda has left a memory in our minds because of his diplomatic tact, his willingness to compromise and his indefatigable desire to work.

120. I should also like to thank publicly the Vice-Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Seignoret, an eminent representative of a sister Republic, Mr. KuJaga, Mr. Arvesen and also the dynamic and industrious Rapporteur, Mr. Diallo, whose efforts enabled our work to culminate in the success we rejoice in, the success which at the outset had seemed impossible.

121. Through this session of the Assembly and by dint of decisions that we believe morally and juridically valid, we have made one of the most serious of collective efforts to fulfil the commitment that we assumed when we adhered to the Charter of San Francisco to promote the economic and social progress of all peoples.

122. I believe that I speak on behalf of the entire Latin American group when I say that consensus, as it has always been understood in the Assembly means that the delegations, in a spirit of compromise, have agreed to a certain degree of sacrifice of the respective positions of their countries in order to arrive at a common agreement that will open the road to a new world economic order.

123. Within the context of that spirit we have adopted a Declaration on that new international economic order and a Programme of Action which will be developed and have consequences. They will not be simple two more documents filled with good intentions; they will be a unanimous expression of the firm determination of the international community.

124. There is a personage in international literature, Molière's *bourgeois gentilhomme*, who discovered too late that he was speaking prose without knowing it. I trust that something of the kind will not be said of any of the Members of this Organization. Let no one discover too late that we are making history without knowing it.

125. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I warmly thank the representative of Colombia, who has spoken on behalf of the Latin American States.

126. I call now on the representative of Denmark, who will speak on behalf of the Western European and other States.

127. Mr. ELIASSEN (Denmark): In these few short weeks I believe that we have focused the concern of Governments and the international community on one of the most vital problems of our time. In reflecting on the plenary debate, the Secretary-General said:

“... the perspectives of different nations or groups of nations vary enormously. Certainly that observation has been amply borne out by the general debate. But the debate has also, and perhaps more significantly, demonstrated a striking degree of agreement among Member States on a number of important aspects of the problem before the Assembly. Clearly, the debate has provided the substance for a process of negotiation, co-ordination and harmonization which will endure beyond the week or so of the special session which remains to us.” [2227th meeting, para. 118.]

128. I believe this has also proved true in the negotiations which have been carried on so intensively and have produced a positive result. We remain prepared in the months ahead to continue our efforts to strengthen international economic co-operation for the well-being and common good of the world community.

129. Mr. President, on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, I have the honour and the great pleasure to extend to you our warmest and most sincere thanks for the impartiality, circumspection and brilliance that you have shown in conducting the proceedings of this special session. The testimonies of confidence already extended to you when you were elected President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly have been most happily vindicated.

130. Our gratitude goes also to the Secretary-General, whose inspiration and most fruitful initiatives, to a considerable extent, have furthered our work.

131. I wish to pay a tribute as well to the skill, talent and tact with which the officers under your guidance, Mr. President, have dealt with the manifold and patently complicated questions in the course of this Assembly.

132. I likewise wish to thank the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and his entire staff.

133. Allow me, finally, to pay tribute to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, the Ambassador of Iran, Mr. Hoveyda, whose tireless efforts and inspiration have been of paramount importance as far as the important results obtained during this session are concerned.

134. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Denmark, who has spoken on behalf of the Western European and other States.

135. I call now on the Ambassador of the United States of America, as the representative of the host country.

136. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): It has been a long day and three busy weeks; I will therefore be brief.

137. It has been an honour to be the host country during these many days of intensive consideration within this General Assembly of some of the most pressing, difficult, yet interdependent problems of the world community. The progress we have made and the high level and broad scope of our debate are due in no small part, Mr. President, to the skill and wisdom with which you have guided our deliberations. My delegation is grateful for your leadership and admires greatly your mastery of the heavy responsibilities you bear.

138. We would also like to express our appreciation for the important contributions made by the Vice-Presidents and the officers, and by leaders in the various Committees. We were once again impressed by the energetic efforts of the Under-Secretary-General and the Secretariat staff.

139. I also reaffirm my delegation's deep appreciation for the major contributions of our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who again has laboured so hard behind the scenes to focus our attention on the priority tasks before us.

140. As we look ahead, my delegation is profoundly impressed by the magnitude of the problems which lie before us. May I suggest that in this final hour of the Assembly we rededicate ourselves to working harmoniously together to respond imaginatively, but realistically, to the challenges facing our interdependent world. Many of us will meet here again in September. May I express the hope that in the intervening months we will strive to achieve the helpful and peaceful change which mankind expects of us.

141. I bid you farewell and Godspeed.

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank Ambassador Scali for his kind words on behalf of the host country.

143. I would now crave the Assembly's patience in order to make a very brief statement.

144. At the opening of the sixth special session which ends today, which was convened at the initiative of the President of Algeria, Mr. Houari Boumediène, I stated [2207th meeting] firstly, that recent events gave reason to hope for a change in international economic relations, the vulnerability of which had been put to the test, and secondly, that the traditional patterns of economic power had proved to be discordant. During the debates, in which we have heard some extremely constructive views expressed, both these facts have been demonstrated. In the first place, there is a general feeling that the relationships of economic power need to be reordered on a world scale. We have heard the words "interdependence of States" used frequently as a way of expressing the basis for this reordering. However, the manner in which the term "interdependence" is understood is practically the key to the difficulties that have persisted, since the very word itself points to a relationship of mutual dependence. Obviously, differences in power relationships mean that this interdependence can turn into dependence. A definition has

now become essential. I should therefore like to state that the new concept of interdependence can gain a generally agreed acceptance only if it is understood in the context of the purposes and principles of the Charter in other words, as being closely linked to the sovereign equality of all States, large and small, to the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, and to self-determination of peoples. These three essential principles of the Charter lead inevitably to reaffirmation of the full sovereignty of States over the natural resources of their territories, subsoil and adjacent seas, including the right to dispose of their living and mineral resources.

145. It is most encouraging that, despite formal disagreements or differences of interpretation, this concept of interdependence has made considerable progress at the present session, as witness the submission of a number of suggestions for the establishment of development assistance funds which will inevitably be put into effect in the near future.

146. The second point which I mentioned at the opening of this session was the need for changes in the traditional patterns of economic power relationships, and this too has been given serious consideration. To determine degrees of development is, of course, a difficult task in itself. But one fact that has become perfectly clear as a result of recent events is that there are intermediate degrees between fully industrialized and less industrialized countries. These degrees cannot be measured simply in terms of the earnings derived from a single commodity; an additional and essential measure is the capacity of each country to process the commodity concerned. This is a point on which stress will have to be laid in the future, since no State can be considered equal if it begins its development by exporting essential raw materials and is forced, because of its lack of industrialization, to purchase the goods produced from those raw materials. These facts made it necessary to reaffirm the solidarity and unity of the developing countries, which has been clearly expressed at this session through the adoption without objection of a Declaration of principles and a Programme of Action.

147. In the first statement which I had the honour to make upon my election as President of this session, I also pointed out that spectacular results could not be expected in so short a time. I should therefore like to express my great appreciation for the work accomplished by the *Ad Hoc* Committee under the expert guidance of its Chairman, Mr. Fereydoun Hoveyda of Iran. I think we all owe a debt of respect and gratitude to him. In his work he had the wise and positive assistance of the Vice-Chairmen—Messrs. Seignoret of Trinidad and Tobago, Kujaga of Poland and Arvesen of Norway—and the diligent and active Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Diallo of Upper Volta. Having overcome innumerable difficulties, the Committee has successfully worked out a set of precepts in the form of a general declaration of principles and a minimum programme of action adopted without objection. The adoption of a new position and the creation of a new awareness of the problems of the relationships between raw materials and development represents the permanent achievement of this session because henceforth the whole conception of economic relations will have to be completely new. I believe therefore that we can be satisfied

with the results obtained and that we can face with confidence the outcome of the problems discussed here which will constitute the beginning of a new concept of solidarity and a new order in economic relations.

148. I would like to sum up my thoughts as follows. Firstly, I believe that 28 years ago the United Nations Charter abolished the idea of *imperium* in political relations and that, after this special session which is now closing, this idea will be abolished from international economic relations through the establishment of the full and sovereign right of states to exploit their own natural resources, either directly or through free and equitable forms of association with State, national or extra-national enterprises subject to their domestic jurisdiction.

149. Secondly, from today onwards, we have become aware that the United Nations is the true centre of organization of the international community in the economic and social field. The forms of this co-operation have to be studied and carefully thought out but it may be asserted that the depredatory forms of exploitation which have maintained three quarters of mankind in a state of hunger and disease, while the other quarter keeps increasing its already substantial profits, have come to an end.

150. Thirdly, the third world or under-industrialized world which has formed the so-called Group of 77 has emerged strengthened by a new and more positive feeling of its unity and solidarity. Henceforth, no cunning wolf can pass among the flock wearing a simple sheepskin.

151. In conclusion, I should like to express my sincere thanks to each and every delegation which individually or through its regional group has spoken so generously about my modest person and to each and every delegation I should like to express my thanks for its broad and generous co-operation. No delegation has tried to exercise any pressure, whether direct or indirect, on the decisions of the presidency. All the decisions I have taken in the exercise of

my functions have been mine, and I have never been compelled to change at the last minute any of my words or concepts. Whether these decisions were good or bad, I alone as President am and have been responsible for them, in strict conformity with the principles of the Charter and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

152. I should like now to address to the Secretary-General my warmest appreciation for his wise and constant help and for his enlightening statements which have been so helpful to the work of the Assembly. My thanks go also to the Secretariat, and especially to Mr. Bradford Morse, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs. It would be unjust not to mention the work done by each and every one of the Secretariat services which have participated in this special session, and particularly the interpreters and the translators, who have worked selflessly and much beyond the limits that may normally be expected, and the often forgotten typing and reproduction staff, whom I had the pleasure of meeting personally. I thank you all.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

153. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I now invite representatives to rise and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

154. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare closed the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.