

1921st meeting

Friday, 2 August 1974, at 5.30 p.m.

President: Mr. A. KARHILO (Finland)

E/SR.1921

AGENDA ITEM 21

Programme and co-ordination (*concluded*):

(g) Priorities in the economic, social and human rights fields (*concluded*)

REPORT OF THE POLICY AND PROGRAMME CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE (E/5562/Add.3 (Part II))

1. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to take a decision on draft resolution II, entitled "Priorities in the economic, social and human rights fields", appearing in paragraph 31 of the report of the Policy and Programme Co-ordination Committee (E/5562/Add.3 (Part II)). An oral amendment to operative paragraph 3 had been submitted by the representative of the United States of America at the 1920th meeting.

2. Mr. YAMADA (Japan), speaking on behalf of the delegations which had taken part in the preparation of the draft resolution, stated that, after consultations, those delegations had decided that they could accept the United States amendment. He hoped that the Council would now be prepared to adopt draft resolution II, as amended, by consensus.

3. The PRESIDENT asked whether the Council wished to adopt draft resolution II, as amended, without a vote.

It was so decided.

4. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) said that in the Policy and Programme Co-ordination Committee his delegation had abstained in the vote on the original text of draft resolution II. The present version seemed to him to be a more positive text, including elements which would facilitate the taking of decisions.

5. Mr. DUMAS (France) expressed his gratitude to the sponsors of the draft resolution for the understanding they had shown; they knew what the French delegation meant by "Programme of Action".

6. Mr. ROUGET (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. CAVAGLIERI (Italy), Mr. MACKENZIE (United Kingdom), Mr. MASSONET (Belgium) and Mr. SULLIVAN (Canada) made comments similar to those of the representative of France explaining their delegations' interpretation of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

AGENDA ITEMS 4, 6, 7 AND 14

Programme of action on the establishment of a new international economic order (*concluded*)

Special session of the General Assembly devoted to development and international economic co-operation (*concluded*)

Collective economic security (*concluded*)

Second United Nations Development Decade (*concluded*):

(a) Development planning and projections (*concluded*)

(b) Special measures in favour of the least-developed countries (*concluded*)

(c) Special measures related to the particular needs of the land-locked developing countries (*concluded*)

(d) Preparations for the mid-term review and appraisal of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, including further consideration of the machinery for review and appraisal of the strategy (*concluded*)

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE (E/5579 (Part II))

7. The PRESIDENT drew the Council's attention to the draft resolution on agenda items 4, 6, 7 and 14 and to an amendment to that draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom, as annexed to the report of the Economic Committee (E/5579 (Part II)).

8. Mr. CORDOVEZ (Secretary of the Council) drew attention to the financial implications of operative paragraph 10 of section A of the draft resolution before the Council. The *Ad hoc* Committee on the Special Programme could meet at Headquarters from 9 to 13 September 1974. Interpretation costs for a one-week meeting would amount to \$12,356 if the team of interpreters was recruited outside the United States of America, or to \$5,006 if the team was recruited locally. In view of the fact that the schedule of conferences would be heavy at that period and that the major part of the permanent or temporary staff would be assigned to other meetings, the Secretary-General would find it difficult to provide the necessary services for the *Ad hoc* Committee to meet beyond 13 September 1974. He would nevertheless endeavour to make it possible for the Committee to hold some meetings during the two weeks following that date, but would be unable to give a date for those meetings until the *Ad hoc* Committee met in New York.

9. In addition, should the draft resolution be adopted, the *Ad hoc* Committee, in accordance with the same paragraph, would have to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session through the Economic and Social Council at its resumed fifty-seventh session. In that case it would be necessary to add a further item to the agenda

which had already been adopted for the Council's resumed fifty-seventh session.

10. The PRESIDENT announced that the United Kingdom delegation would not press its proposed amendment.

11. Mr. TANK (United States of America) declared that the "omnibus" draft resolution now submitted to the Council dealt with what should be regarded as the major feature of the Council's work in 1975. The text affected the whole structure of the United Nations system. It was fortunate, from that point of view, that the United Nations had a frame of reference such as the International Development Strategy, and machinery such as that provided for review and appraisal. The activities envisaged would reach their culminating point at the 1975 special session of the General Assembly.

12. The United States accepted the concept on which the draft resolution was based but had serious reservations regarding the content, in particular because there were references, in a wide-ranging text, to features of the Programme of Action which had not yet been examined. His delegation was therefore unable to accept certain parts of the draft resolution, namely, the tenth and eleventh preambular paragraphs and operative paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 in section A. It asked for a separate vote on those paragraphs.

13. Mr. NESTERENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his delegation requested a separate vote on operative paragraph 9 of section A of the draft resolution.

14. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan) said that his delegation asked for separate votes on operative paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 10 of section A, and on sections B and C each taken as a whole.

15. The PRESIDENT said that, in accordance with the wishes expressed by a number of delegations, various parts of the draft resolution would be put to the vote separately.

The tenth preambular paragraph was adopted by 45 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.

The eleventh preambular paragraph was adopted by 44 votes to 1, with 6 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 1 of section A was adopted by 43 votes to 1, with 7 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 2 of section A was adopted by 45 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 of section A was adopted by 50 votes to 1.

Operative paragraph 4 of section A was adopted by 50 votes to 1.

Operative paragraph 6 of section A was adopted by 51 votes to none.

Operative paragraph 7 of section A was adopted by 51 votes to none.

Operative paragraph 8 of section A was adopted by 46 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 9 of section A was adopted by 46 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 10 of section A was adopted by 51 votes to none.

Section B as a whole was adopted by 51 votes to none.

Section C as a whole was adopted by 46 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions.

16. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to vote on the draft resolution as a whole.

The draft resolution on agenda items 4, 6, 7 and 14 (E/5579 (Part II) annex), was adopted by 44 votes to 1, with 6 abstentions.

17. Mr. DUMAS (France) said that his delegation had abstained, with regret, in the vote on the draft resolution. His Government, whose attitude towards the aspirations of the third world was well known, endorsed the general objectives of the new economic order. It would have liked to support the measures proposed in the text for their attainment if it had found those measures reasonable.

18. The joint efforts made to arrive at a text acceptable to all delegations had unfortunately not succeeded. There were, however, grounds for satisfaction with the substance of the discussions which had taken place; although they had so far led to no satisfactory conclusion, agreement had been reached on a number of points.

19. His delegation maintained the reservations it had expressed in the Economic Committee (696th meeting) because it feared that some of the steps proposed would do nothing to promote the order which it was desired to establish. It had abstained in the vote on the eleventh preambular paragraph, on operative paragraph 1 of section A and on the draft resolution as a whole in order to show that its reservations still stood. Its abstention was, however, an amicable one which represented an invitation to continue the efforts embarked upon with a view to achieving the co-operation called for in the Programme of Action.

20. On behalf of the countries members of EEC, he said that that body maintained the reservations expressed on its behalf at the sixth special session of the General Assembly by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany (2229th plenary meeting). The Community nevertheless viewed with sympathy the establishment of the new economic order; it had had an opportunity to give practical proof of that sympathy at Kingston (Jamaica) two days earlier.

21. Mr. BREITENSTEIN (Finland) said that his country had made no formal reservation on the Declaration and the Programme of Action at the sixth special session of the General Assembly; although both texts had caused it some difficulties, it had supported them in a desire to contribute to the establishment of the new economic order. His delegation would therefore have liked the Council to reach a consensus on the draft resolution. Much goodwill had been shown, however, and some positive results had been achieved.

22. Mr. NESTERENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the injustices which characterized present economic relations were obstacles to progress; they were the result of the activities of monopolistic capitalism and of the exploitation which it had practised throughout history. From that angle, the draft resolution just adopted demonstrated a true desire for improvement.

23. While he commended the attitude of the Group of 77, which had agreed at the sixth special session of the General Assembly to take the wishes of the socialist countries into account, he regretted that the draft resolution in question had failed to give complete satisfaction to his country. His delegation had abstained in the vote on operative paragraph 9 of section A, firstly because it had not considered that there was sufficient justification for the action proposed, and secondly because it had not received precise instructions from its Government. In other parts of the draft resolution, too, his delegation would have liked to be able to take a decision on more precise wording; it had explained its position on that point in the contact group. It was now to be hoped that, rising above the differences of opinion, the necessary goodwill for the development of international economic co-operation, and in particular for the economic and social progress of the third world, would be forthcoming.

24. Mr. WANG Tzu-chuan (China) said that his delegation endorsed the substance of the draft resolution submitted by the Group of 77 and wished to indicate the points of which it particularly approved. Firstly, China associated itself with the appeal to Governments of Member States (section A) to take the necessary specific measures for the implementation of the provision of the Declaration and the Programme of Action, which meant, in essence, putting an end to the pillage to which the developing countries were subjected through colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. China also agreed that the organizations, institutions, subsidiary bodies and conferences of the United Nations system should take measures to implement those provisions within their respective fields of competence and should submit reports to the Economic and Social Council at its fifty-eighth session.

25. Secondly, his delegation endorsed the over-all review of the implementation of the International Development Strategy and of the Programme of Action and the Declaration (section B). Thirdly, the seventh special session of the General Assembly would be as important for the third world as the sixth special session had been and should be the subject of serious preparation (section C). Lastly, although some of the provisions of the draft resolution submitted by the Group of 77 had been weakened to satisfy the developed countries, the resolution as adopted fundamentally expressed the aspirations of the developing countries.

26. Mr. BERLIS (Canada) said that his delegation, much to its regret, had been obliged to make reservations on certain aspects of the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly (2229th plenary meeting). His country maintained its reservations and had abstained in the vote which had just been taken.

27. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan), speaking on behalf of the delegations of the Group of 77, said that it was regrettable that it had not proved possible for the draft resolution to be adopted by consensus, despite the efforts of the sponsors. They had made substantial concessions during the informal consultations in order to take account of the views of other delegations. He thanked the Swedish representative for the way in which he had led the deliberations of the

contact group and he commended the President for all he had done to try to make a consensus possible.

28. The Group of 77 nevertheless hoped that, in the context of the resolution just adopted, the world community would take steps to carry out the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly. It also hoped that all States members of the Council would show a spirit of co-operation at the inter-sessional meetings of the Council, at the resumed fifty-seventh session and in the General Assembly.

29. Mr. CORKERY (Australia) said that his delegation maintained the reservations which it had expressed on certain points at the sixth special session of the General Assembly (2229th plenary meeting).

30. Mr. MASSONET (Belgium) said that he wished to explain why his delegation had abstained in the vote on the draft resolution which had just been adopted. It had not voted against the draft resolution, because it included a number of provision of which it approved, but it had been unable to vote in its favour for various reasons. In the first place, the draft resolution had been negotiated in somewhat inequitable conditions, since the sponsors had taken only partial account of the observations and proposed amendments of other countries. Furthermore, the draft resolution failed to recognize the existence of many important reservations which had been expressed by the Governments of sovereign States at the time of the adoption of the Programme of Action. Moreover, a number of the preambular paragraphs expressed incomplete and one-sided views on basic issues which it was unnecessary to evoke in a resolution submitted by the sponsors as a procedural proposal; that was the case in particular with the paragraphs on collective economic security. Lastly, his delegation was not convinced of the need to establish a preparatory committee for the 1975 special session of the General Assembly at the present stage, although it recognized the necessity of preparing for the session in the most serious manner and in an atmosphere of true co-operation.

31. Mr. ROUGET (Federal Republic of Germany) said that his country's delegation to the sixth special session of the General Assembly had declared its agreement with the broad aims set forth in the Declaration and the Programme of Action (*ibid.*). It had always been the policy of his Government to encourage economic development and to promote greater integration of the world economy. In that spirit, it was determined to support all steps calculated to improve the international economic order. That attitude of his Government was reflected in the fact that over the past 20 years it had provided more than DM 31,000 million in official development assistance to over 100 developing countries. Over the past ten years, the developing countries had consistently had an annual trading surplus of DM 2,000 to 3,000 million with his country.

32. In the general debate at the present session (1906th meeting), his delegation had reaffirmed his Government's intention to continue that policy, which meant that some of the proposals in the Programme of Action met with its entire approval. His country had nevertheless expressed reservations on certain parts of the Programme at the time

of its adoption by consensus, since they were incompatible with the legal framework on which the economic order of his country was based. It would be highly regrettable if the reservations expressed were interpreted as a desire to jeopardize the results of the sixth special session of the General Assembly; on the contrary, they were the expression of an honest effort to reach a realistic compromise by means of negotiation. His delegation would have been glad if its reservations had been taken into account specifically in the draft resolution just adopted, for they had obviously not disappeared since they had been made in May 1974.

33. Those were the reasons why his delegation had abstained in the vote which had just been taken; the same reasons applied to all the resolutions adopted at the fifty-seventh session of the Council in which mention was made of the Declaration and the Programme of Action in terms which took no account of the reservations to which he had referred. However, as the French representative had stated on behalf of the countries members of EEC, those comments did not apply to section X, paragraph 2, of the Programme of Action, since the emergency measures proposed therein represented a realistic and practical effort towards the establishment of a new international economic order.

34. Mr. CAVAGLIERI (Italy) said that his delegation had abstained in the vote because the draft resolution failed to take account of the reservations made by the Italian delegation at the sixth special session of the General Assembly on the Programme of Action (2230th plenary meeting); Italy would nevertheless continue to co-operate with the developing countries in all fields of economic and social development.

35. Mr. KAUFMANN (Netherlands) said that his delegation had associated itself with the consensus when the Declaration and the Programme of Action had been adopted. It had voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole and of the paragraphs and sections which had been put to the vote separately; it regretted that it had not been possible to adopt the draft resolution by consensus and that the reservations expressed (2230th meeting) after the adoption of resolution 3202 (S-VI) were not explicitly referred to in the text. His delegation hoped that at the resumed fifty-seventh session of the Council and at the seventh special session of the General Assembly efforts would be made to rectify the situation and to make it possible to undertake a close study of the steps to be taken for the implementation of the Declaration and the Programme on a universally acceptable basis.

36. Mr. MACKENZIE (United Kingdom) said that it was regrettable that so many resolutions, some of them directly concerned with the Declaration, had been adopted by consensus. His delegation had abstained in the vote which had just been taken because it maintained the reservations which it had expressed at the sixth special session of the General Assembly (2231st plenary meeting) and which had not been properly taken into consideration in the draft resolution just adopted. Moreover, the text was a poor reflection of the objectives adopted in New York.

37. There was a difference between universal approval and the consensus as defined at the sixth special session. A real consensus was necessary in the case of a text which called upon nearly all countries to undertake to attain certain objectives. He hoped that the next series of discussions on that important question would take place on a better and more realistic basis and that more progress would be made than at the present session.

38. Mr. LAGERFELT (Sweden) said that his delegation had voted in favour of the draft resolution although it maintained the reservations it had expressed regarding the Programme of Action at the sixth special session (2229th meeting).

39. Mr. KUNIYASU (Japan) said that he had voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, although operative paragraph 1 of section A had raised some difficulties. Japan had approved the Declaration and Programme of Action, which it intended to implement as soon as possible, but the reservations formulated by the Japanese delegation on their adoption at the sixth special session were maintained (2230th plenary meeting).

40. Mr. FERGUSON (United States of America) said that he would once again outline his delegation's position regarding the Declaration and Programme of Action. In his opinion, those resolutions had not been the subject of a true consensus; their adoption had really been a matter of acquiescence with reservations, whereas the procedure proposed to the delegations at the sixth special session of the General Assembly had been adoption without a vote if there were no objections. The reservations expressed at that time (2229th plenary meeting), however, had been more than a simple statement of opinion or an interpretation of the text. In any case, as far as the United States of America was concerned, the reservations it had expressed had made it known to other Member States that the United States had had no intention of undertaking to implement the Programme of Action. The United States recognized the existence of certain imbalances and certain injustices, as also the need to reform the international economic order to a certain extent in order to correct those imbalances and injustices, but it would not associate itself with the establishment of the new international economic order as envisaged in the Programme of Action.

41. Moreover, the way in which the Declaration and Programme of Action had been adopted called for some reservations. No account had been taken in the Programme of Action of the views of the United States delegation, which had even sometimes been refused the opportunity of speaking. That was why his delegation took every opportunity it had to express its opinion. It maintained the United States reservations, but wished to make it clear that it was not seeking in any way to obstruct the work of the Council or of any other organization in the United Nations system.

42. Mr. BOUDJAKDJI (Algeria) agreed with the representative of Pakistan that certain Member States should withdraw their reservations in the interests of international relations and economic development. His delegation had voted in favour of the draft resolution, but considered that

the text did not show clearly enough the objectives of the new international economic order, which demanded that the highest priority should be given to the vital needs of the developing countries. The decisions adopted by the General Assembly in resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) were in line with historical trends and the evolution of international relations, in both the political and the economic fields, and no procedural contrivance could conceal that fact. The severity of the world economic crisis created the necessary conditions to arouse mankind to the need to transform the present world so as to establish a new order, which would be more viable because it would be more equitable. The General Assembly had merely traced the outlines of that vast enterprise for the development and improvement of international economic relations and it was the responsibility of the Economic and Social Council to study its practical implementation. The agreement reached at the sixth special session of the General Assembly was admittedly not the equivalent of unanimity and some differences of opinion had remained, but it had nevertheless represented substantial progress towards better understanding among the members of the international community and there had been reason to hope that, during the informal talks which would follow, the States which had expressed reservations would modify those reservations with respect to the implementation of the Declaration and of the Programme of Action. Nothing of the sort had happened, however, and those delegations had tried to call into question the historic decisions of the General Assembly, alleging that, in the absence of the agreement of one or two States, the international community should refrain from giving full effect to the resolutions of the General Assembly. Such an attitude would be tantamount to the Council taking a decision annulling the decisions of the General Assembly. The outcome of the vote on the draft resolution, however, showed that the Council refused to adopt such a position, which would run counter to the march of history and to the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries.

Financial implications of actions taken by the Council at its fifty-sixth and fifty-seventh sessions (E/5578 and Add.1; E/L.1613)

43. Mr. SCHLAFF (Secretariat) pointed out that the summaries of financial implications contained in documents E/5578 and Add.1 and E/L.1613 had been prepared before the final decisions of the Economic and Social Council were known and would be revised, if necessary, before their submission to the General Assembly. He would like, however, to amplify some of the information given in those two documents. The addendum to document E/5578 took account of the expenditure necessitated by the provisions of resolution 1842 (LVI) on channels of communication with youth and international youth organizations. Referring to the preparatory committee mentioned in paragraph 3 of section C of the draft resolution which had just been adopted by the Council, he said that the average cost of the interpretation services for that committee would amount to \$6,000 a week and that the cost of documentation, including summary records, would be \$16,000 per 100 pages.

44. The PRESIDENT suggested that the Council take note of the Secretary-General's reports on the financial implications of actions taken by the Council at its fifty-sixth and fifty-seventh sessions (E/5578 and Add.1, E/L.1613).

It was so decided.

Adjournment of the session

45. The PRESIDENT emphasized the arduous nature of the task entrusted to the Council in the present year in the economic and social fields, following the resolutions adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly. The adoption at that session of a Declaration of principles and a Programme of Action was a major first step towards a re-evaluation of past policies and practices in international economic relations. The fact that the international community had adopted those resolutions without opposition showed that it had reached a sufficient degree of maturity to become aware of the need for a reform of international relations and for gradual progress towards a new world economic order. Nobody was more qualified than the Economic and Social Council to consider the practical measures to give effect to those exceptionally important decisions.

46. In addition to the economic and social problems which followed from the implementation of those decisions, the Council had also had on its agenda issues of far-reaching importance, such as the impact of multinational corporations on the development process and on international relations, preparations for the mid-term review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, preparations for the 1975 special session of the General Assembly devoted to development and international economic co-operation, and the question of collective economic security. The interrelationship of all those questions was obvious and it was essential to consider them as one major issue. The starting point for the whole process of re-evaluation was the significantly increased awareness of the interdependence of nations and the interrelationships of the various factors of economic and social development. From that point of view, the resolution which had just been adopted on those four issues, after lengthy negotiations, was without any doubt the most important of the fifty-seventh session. He hoped that it would be given serious consideration by all the Members of the United Nations and by all the components of the United Nations system. The difficulties it had encountered from the outset and the reservations expressed by several delegations should not obscure the positive aspects represented by the great amount of work, goodwill and give-and-take that had gone into its drafting. In recent years, emphasis had rightly been placed on the importance of adopting resolutions by consensus, after informal consultations. That trend was welcome and deserved to be strengthened, since it avoided recourse to a vote and enabled constructive work to be done. It was essential, however, to be realistic and not to expect all difficulties to be overcome by that method or all delegations to abandon their objections.

47. Turning to the specific role of the Economic and Social Council in the implementation of the resolution in question, he said that the Council should be given prompt support by the Governments of Member States and by the United Nations system to enable it to carry out its policy-guiding and co-ordinating functions between its present session and the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. For instance, the organizations in the United Nations system should establish new orders of priority which would enable the Council to carry out its task unhampered by the regular calendar of conferences and the limited availability of services. Member Governments should ask themselves whether the problems referred to the Economic and Social Council were not as urgent as those brought before the Security Council. There was no doubt that extraordinary measures were called for if the Council was to be able to fulfil its role. If the year 1974 could be called the year of re-evaluation of policies and programmes, he hoped that the year 1975 would be the year of decision in the economic and social field.

48. Summing up the Council's work, he emphasized that the fifty-seventh session had above all shown the political will of the countries members of the Council to achieve results worthy of the statements that had been made. Never before had informal negotiations between geographical groups been so important and never before had they made possible such a positive dialogue, in the sense that all the parties had shown themselves willing to accept compromises in order to make progress towards the attainment of the new objectives set in the framework of re-evaluation. If that dialogue could be continued at the political level, it could be said that at its fifty-seventh session the Council had made an important contribution to the implementation of the decisions recently adopted by the international community.

49. After an exchange of courtesies, the PRESIDENT declared the fifty-seventh session of the Economic and Social Council adjourned.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.