



President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania).

AGENDA ITEM 7

Assessment of the progress made in the establishment of the new international economic order and appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation (concluded):

- (a) New international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade;
- (b) Global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development;
- (c) Other matters

1. Mr. HACHANI (Tunisia), Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Eleventh Special Session (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to present to the plenary meeting of the General Assembly the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Eleventh Special Session, established at the first meeting, held on 25 August 1980. The report appears in document A/S-11/25 dated 13 September 1980.

2. May I recall that the Assembly asked the *Ad Hoc* Committee to consider item 7 of the agenda. In order to carry out that responsibility, the Committee set up two working groups and one contact group, which worked unceasingly to reach agreement on the issues under discussion. To that end, untiring efforts were made by the representatives of Member States, by the Chairmen of the three groups, by the Chairman of the Committee and, of course, by yourself, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General.

3. As a result of these efforts, the Committee adopted two draft resolutions and one draft decision, which are submitted to the plenary Assembly for approval. At the same time, it decided to inform the Assembly of the outcome of discussions on the matter of global negotiations.

4. The two draft resolutions, adopted without a vote, cover, respectively, "Suggestions by the Secretary-General to overcome the critical economic situation of many developing countries" [A/S-11/AC.1/L.5] and "Measures to meet the critical situation in the least developed countries" [A/S-11/AC.1/L.4].

5. The draft decision concerns the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. It is proposed that the General Assembly should take note with satisfaction of the consensus reached on the text of the Strategy, which will come into effect and be implemented as from 1 January 1981. The text in question appears in document A/S-11/AC.1/L.2 and Corr.1 and Add.1-3 as revised which will appear later as a document of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

6. As for the important matter of global negotiations, I venture to draw the attention of the General Assembly to paragraph 18 of the report where we read, in partic-

ular, that the Committee agreed to inform the General Assembly as follows:

"With the exception of three delegations, all members of the Committee expressed their readiness to accept the text contained in document A/S-11/AC.1/L.1/Rev.1 as the procedural framework for the global negotiations on the basis of an agenda to be agreed upon at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly."

7. Mr. MISHRA (India): As will be clear from the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, while it has some recommendations in regard to the International Development Strategy for the third United Nations Development Decade and the two draft resolutions, there is nothing of that kind in relation to the global negotiations.

8. On behalf of the Group of 77, I should therefore like to propose that the Assembly take the following decision in that respect:

"The General Assembly,

"(a) Takes note of paragraph 18 of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Eleventh Special Session; and

"(b) Decides to transmit to the thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly all its documents relevant to the global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development."

9. Mr. MacGUIGAN (Canada): I listened very carefully to the words of Mr. Mishra of India speaking on behalf of the Group of 77 and my delegation believes that they are a positive approach. In a slightly more general vein, I should just like to add a few words of concluding reflections.

10. It has been almost three weeks since I last had the opportunity of addressing this Assembly. Then we were embarking with hope on the first steps of this important special session. Now, with mixed emotions and, I know, physical exhaustion on the part of many, we are seeing it draw to a close.

11. I have come here in this closing phase in order to demonstrate personally the importance Canada attaches to the session and to the issues it has faced. I should also like to pay a tribute to all those, representatives and members of the Secretariat alike, who have laboured with such intensity and dedication over the past three weeks. Although not all of our hopes have been met and although compromises by definition never satisfy the goals of everyone, we must always bear in mind that this session is part of a longer-term process, where the objectives are not the drafting of words but the instigation of action. Indeed, it seems to me that, sealed in negotiating forums, we run the risk of becoming overwhelmed by artificialities and of forgetting that huge global problems remain unsolved. It is not surprising that the world's poor do not always understand the intricacies of our verbal exchanges.

12. I—like I am sure, all other representatives—am particularly disappointed that the Assembly could not reach agreement on procedures to launch the global

negotiations. While I fully realize that genuine differences of principle were involved, I regret that in a spirit of compromise those differences could not all be bridged. I should like to compliment, however, all those who sought to build that bridge, including our Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Dupuy, in his role as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Whole. But, as I said earlier, this is part of a larger process. I therefore have to hope that the nations represented here will gather up their strength once more and make a renewed effort in the coming months to complete the bridge between them. Through compromise and dedication, this can, I believe, be done. For the sake of us all, I believe it must be done.

[*The speaker continued in French.*]

13. The other major aspect of this special session has been the attempt to reach agreement on a new international development strategy. We, like others, are therefore very pleased that agreement has been reached on this important document—one which can serve as a benchmark for the efforts of the global community over the coming decade. Those who have laboured hard and long to achieve this success deserve our deep appreciation. Canada believes that the strategy can and should stand on its own merits. I appreciate that during the negotiations the section on official development assistance became the symbolic centre-piece of such a document. When I spoke to this Assembly three weeks ago, I did not specifically address the question of aid volume. However, under the positive influence of this special session we have intensified our examination of the issue in Canada and I am now in a position to make the following statement.

[*The speaker resumed in English.*]

14. As a result of Cabinet deliberations in recent days, the Government of Canada has decided to reverse the trend of the past few years under which Canadian official development assistance was declining as a proportion of our gross national product. We shall now move upwards once again and our official development assistance will reach a level of 0.5 per cent of gross national product by the middle of the decade. Our intention thereafter is to accept the need to reach an official development assistance level of 0.7 per cent of gross national product by the end of the decade, and we shall employ all our best efforts to reach that objective. With these comments in mind, I want to state that Canada is prepared to support paragraph 23 of the draft International Development Strategy for the third United Nations Development Decade [*see A/S-11/2 (Part III)*]¹ concerning the official development assistance target for developed countries.

15. Mr. President, in conclusion, I should like to express my thanks to you for your guidance of this session and to the Secretary-General for the stimulating ideas he put forward at the Economic and Social Council and which are to be considered at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Finally, I wish to thank all delegations for the efforts they have made over recent weeks to point us in the direction of a better world. Let us use these final hours to pledge ourselves to make ever greater efforts in the future.

16. Mr. WEYLAND (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): The European Economic Community and its member States consider that this special session, which is coming to an end today, has done some extremely important work.

17. While, from a technical standpoint, it has not been possible to achieve immediately complete agreement on all the issues requiring decisions, there can be no doubt that, viewed from a political standpoint, this session has reconfirmed that, in the extremely difficult political and economic circumstances now confronting the international community, continuation of the North-South dialogue along broader lines is more than ever necessary in order to ensure stability in international relations and meet the needs of development.

18. With regard to the global negotiations, the point of view of the Community and its member States has already been given in detail during the last meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee [*5th meeting*]. I do not wish to repeat what was said at that time, but I should like the full text of that statement to appear in the records of the present special session.

19. It is true that we have not yet been able to reach complete agreement on the framework and the procedures for carrying out the global negotiations. We have not had time to draw up an agenda. The work of the present session however has made it possible for us to note the political desire of all the parties concerned that these global negotiations be started as quickly as possible. The Community and its member States are particularly wedded to this idea. We trust that the clarifications emerging from the present special session will do much to help reconcile positions when the matter is once again taken up during the thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly. We venture to hope that it will then be possible to reach a consensus, which we believe cannot exist if formally opposed by one or more States Members of the United Nations.

20. That part of our work has been particularly difficult. I should like here to pay a tribute to the tireless efforts of Mr. Dupuy, Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, and Mr. Crnobrnja, Chairman of Working Group II, whose bold initiatives have undoubtedly made it possible for us to define the problems and make the necessary progress towards a positive result in the near future.

21. Regarding the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, we are particularly gratified at the atmosphere of co-operation which permeated our work. We note with great satisfaction the drafting of a text which seems acceptable to all delegations here. We consider the defining of this Strategy to be an undeniable success of this special session of the General Assembly. As far as the Community and its member States are concerned, we intend to formulate a complete statement on that text when it is submitted to the thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly for adoption. At this stage, I can nevertheless state that the guidelines and the approaches contained in this new Strategy will not fail to inspire the Governments of the member States and the institutions of the European Community when they take the necessary decisions to promote development policies.

22. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a particular tribute to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Mr. Naik, who, by his personal commitment, his even-handedness and his diplomatic experience, has made it possible for us on a number of very difficult issues to identify mutually acceptable concepts and formulations.

23. Lastly, we are particularly gratified that this session should have made it possible for us to adopt a

¹The full report will be issued as *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Supplement No. 2.*

resolution providing for a number of positive actions to be undertaken to promote the interests of the least developed countries.

24. Mr. President, the end of the eleventh special session also marks the end of your term of office as President of the highest forum of the United Nations. I believe that, while the present special session has not been able to reach agreement on all the items on its agenda, it has certainly made it possible for substantial progress to be achieved and without doubt constitutes the basis for important decisions to be taken at the thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly, on which will fall responsibility for having the new Strategy formally adopted and making further efforts to set the global negotiations in motion.

25. Members may rest assured that the Community and its member States will work towards that goal and make every effort to ensure that the thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly can take positive decisions on these two matters.

26. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations with respect to the recommendations contained in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Eleventh Special Session to the General Assembly are reflected in the relevant summary records of the Committee's meetings.

27. The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution I, entitled "Suggestions by the Secretary-General to overcome the critical economic situation of many developing countries" [A/S-11/AC.1/L.5]. This draft resolution is recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee in paragraph 25 of its report [A/S-11/25].

28. The *Ad Hoc* Committee adopted draft resolution I without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do that?

Draft resolution I was adopted [resolution S-11/3].

29. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will next take a decision on draft resolution II, entitled "Measures to meet the critical situation in the least developed countries" [A/S-11/AC.1/L.4]. This draft resolution, too, is recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee in paragraph 25 of its report [A/S-11/25].

30. The *Ad Hoc* Committee adopted draft resolution II without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do that?

Draft resolution II was adopted [resolution S-11/4].

31. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the recommendation contained in paragraph 26 of document A/S-11/25. The *Ad Hoc* Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft decision:

"The General Assembly takes note with satisfaction of the consensus reached on the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade to come into effect and be implemented as from 1 January 1981".

32. The text of the strategy referred to in that draft decision has been issued in document A/S-11/2 (Part II).

33. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft decision in paragraph 26 of document A/S-11/25?

The draft decision was adopted [decision S-11/23].

34. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn to proposal A/S-11/L.2 of the representative of India, reading as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"(a) Takes note of paragraph 18 of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Eleventh Special Session;

"(b) Decides to transmit to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session all its documents relevant to the global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development."

35. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that proposal?

The proposal was adopted [decision S-11/24].

36. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their position.

37. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The eleventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly is drawing to a close. In the course of this three-week session, various delegations have stated their views on how to solve the various problems in international economic relations, and representatives have been engaged in constant discussions and consultations both within and outside the *Ad Hoc* Committee and its Working Groups.

38. The Chairmen of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the Working Groups have made a tremendous effort to promote progress in our work. You, Mr. Salim, as President of the General Assembly, have taken a personal interest throughout the session in the progress of our work and have given timely encouragement. Officials and staff of the Secretariat have also worked diligently, day and night, to ensure that the session could proceed smoothly. Here, in the name of the Chinese delegation, I wish to express our sincere thanks to you, Mr. President; to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Dupuy of Canada; to the Chairman of Working Group I, Mr. Naik of Pakistan; to the Chairman of Working Group II, Mr. Crnobrnja of Yugoslavia; and to the Chairman of the contact group, Mr. Illueca of Panama. We wish also to express our great appreciation for the work done by the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, Mr. Dadzie; Under-Secretary-General Ripert; and Assistant Secretary-General Cordovez; as well as by other United Nations officials.

39. During this special session, the representatives of the vast majority of countries have been engaged in a serious dialogue, in a constructive spirit. As a result of our consultations, we have now reached agreement on an international development strategy for the 1980s, found common ground on many questions relating to the organization of and procedure for the global negotiations, and achieved a consensus on the question of the least developed countries, as well as the two draft resolutions proposed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. All this has thus laid the foundation for further negotiations and opened up new horizons for progress.

40. In our opinion, this session has achieved certain results. However, no one can fail to see that, for various reasons, we have not been able to reach agreement on some key questions relating to the preparatory work for the global negotiations.

41. The task we face in the next stage is extremely arduous. In order to live up to the requirements of our time and the hopes of the people of the world, all sides must continue to exert efforts to overcome obstacles to our progress. The Chinese delegation is of the view that the objective of establishing a new international economic order is irreversible. We must move unswervingly in that basic direction. However, such an objective cannot be achieved overnight; it can be achieved only step by step and by gradually building on the basis of past achievements. Therefore, we should all approach future negotiations in a positive and practical spirit, in order

to promote progress in our dialogue and to strive for positive results.

42. In our view, in order to achieve greater progress in the negotiations on international economic co-operation, it is primarily up to the major developed countries to display an even greater sense of responsibility and political will. All developed countries, regardless of their economic systems, bear an unshirkable responsibility. No one can fail to see that the economic situation in the 1980s will be grave and that, as a result, the political situation will be turbulent and unstable. To promote gradual progress in the North-South dialogue, to improve the economic situation of the developing countries and to develop new economic co-operation between the North and the South, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, would help to promote the stability and development of the world economy and would also serve to safeguard world peace and security.

43. We hope that all parties will renew their efforts to break the stalemate on certain questions in the North-South dialogue. In our opinion, the plight of the least developed countries should be given special attention in international economic relations. The international community and the developed countries in particular should as a matter of course bear even greater responsibility, and, among the developing countries themselves, those countries which are better off need to do more to help those with greater difficulties. The timely and appropriate solution of the problems now facing the least developed countries would help not only to improve the international economy but also to strengthen the unity among the developing countries.

44. During the present session the Chinese delegation has had extensive contacts with the representatives of all sides, and we have done our share to promote agreements on the basis of consensus. We feel that there has existed a spirit of co-operation and understanding. We are convinced that as long as all parties continue to exert their efforts, it should be possible to achieve even greater results on the existing bases. In the future, as in the past, we shall strengthen our co-operation with other delegations and join in the common struggle for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

45. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): At this final meeting of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, on behalf of the delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I should like to make the following statement.

46. The delegations of our countries share the disappointment that has been voiced by the representatives of many developing countries that at its eleventh special session the General Assembly has been unable to fulfil the tasks before it and has not taken any final decision on the substance of the items on the agenda. It is quite clear that the adoption of final decisions has been blocked simply because of the positions taken by the delegations of certain Western countries. The delegations of our countries have in the course of this session made every effort to promote the adoption by the Assembly of positive decisions on the most important problems which are of great significance for the restructuring of international economic relations along just and democratic lines.

47. Regarding the question of procedures for the global negotiations, as the Assembly is aware, our delegations were ready to be part of a consensus, had there been one, on the basis of the document that was distributed by the Chairman of Working Group II, Mr. Crnobrnja [A/S-11/AC.1/L.1/Rev.1], which was supported by the Group of 77.

48. As regards the new international development strategy, despite a number of substantial shortcomings in the document on this matter which was agreed on during the unofficial consultations under the chairmanship of Mr. Naik, that too presented us with no difficulty. We were prepared not to object to the adoption of that document by consensus at the present session, while at the same time—as has been the case in many similar instances in United Nations bodies—expressing our own particular understanding and interpretation of a number of its points, and making reservations on some of them. The differences of principle between the socialist and the capitalist countries so far as their relationship with the developing countries is concerned are well known. Our countries are prepared to continue to participate actively in seeking solutions within the United Nations aimed at supporting the legitimate efforts of the developing countries to accelerate their economic development and to eliminate inequality and exploitation in international economic relations.

49. Our countries will continue to expand their economic co-operation with the developing countries according to the principles of equality and mutual benefit and along the lines and according to the forms which correspond to the socio-economic structures of our countries and which have been set out in the joint declaration of the delegations of our countries on the contribution to the achievement of the goals of the International Development Decade [A/S-11/AC.1/4], which was distributed as an official document of this session.

50. Mr. GÖKÇE (Turkey): In its statement in the Assembly my delegation elaborated its views on the subject of international co-operation for development, and, as a concluding remark, indicated that we had come to this special session with great expectations and that we had come here to consider our future—not just the future of the developing world, but the future of all of us, developed and developing countries, together.

51. As we are now about to conclude our extended deliberations, it is indeed difficult for my delegation to come out and say that our expectations have been fully met. However, given the highly commendable efforts and work put into the deliberations by individual delegations with a view to reaching a consensus, and, in particular, the energetic and constructive initiatives taken by the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the Chairmen of the two Working Groups, my delegation considers the tone set at this special session of the General Assembly as constituting a broad basis for the work yet to be undertaken before we reach an agreed conclusion.

52. In view of the foregoing, my delegation welcomes the document concerning the procedures and time-frame for the global negotiations and that on the new development Strategy, to which we give our full support. In our view the Strategy is designed to reflect the concept of integrated development and the differences existing between the phenomenon of economic growth and actual development. In appraising the International Development Strategy we must always bear in mind that integrated development cannot be achieved through

partial efforts in particular sectors of the economy but only through concerted progress in all aspects.

53. Last but not least, I should like to express my delegation's satisfaction at the agreement reached on the resolution concerning suggestions by the Secretary-General to overcome the critical economic situation of many developing countries [*General Assembly resolution S-11/3*], as well as on the resolution concerning measures to meet the critical situation in the least developed countries [*General Assembly resolution S-11/4*]. In our view, the adoption of those two resolutions is yet another indication that we can look into the future with more than just guarded optimism. We are fully cognizant of the importance of those two resolutions for the developing countries, and we wholeheartedly support them.

54. Mr. MISHRA (India): I should like to make a statement on behalf of the Group of 77.

55. The eleventh special session will long be remembered as yet another episode in the turbulent North-South relations. We cannot but profoundly regret the fact that we have missed here the historic opportunity for tackling the great issues of the day arising from the interdependence of problems and interdependence among nations in the field of development in an organized political manner. This session therefore bears the heavy responsibility of not having been able to carry out the mandate of the thirty-fourth session.

56. But in reality the responsibility is that of a few—very few—delegations. Their perceptions are not global but parochial. They do not want to deal with the problems in an integrated and coherent manner, but sectorally. They are more interested in maintaining their entrenched position than in an orderly change in the common interest of all.

57. The sooner they realize the cost of not embarking on global negotiations, the better for all of us. By their failing to arrive at that realization, not only do they expose themselves to grave consequences, but it is the entire international community which suffers at their hands.

58. It is our view that the opportunity and choice are there; what is needed is the statesmanship to grasp the opportunity and make the choice. Otherwise, history will record its judgement as to how unfortunately the acts of a few, unnecessarily and at so much cost, delayed an irreversible process that is for mutual benefit and in the common interest of all.

59. The Group of 77 has, during this session, made an extensive assessment of progress towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order as well as of prospects for the future. The Minister for External Affairs of India and Chairman of the Group of 77, in his statement to this Assembly on 25 August [*2nd meeting*], dealt exhaustively with this subject. Our deliberations here since then have only confirmed us in our belief that the main impediments to bringing about the New International Economic Order are the absence of political will and the inability to muster and exercise that will, even in cases where it exists, because of unfounded doubts and lack of faith.

60. The perceptions of our partners in the developed countries continue to be influenced by considerations of short-term gains, and they still consider international economic co-operation as a zero-sum gain. On the other hand, the Group of 77 has all along during this session approached the most important problems of the global negotiations in a sincere manner. We have endeavoured to ensure that international economic co-operation is

harnessed for promoting the accelerated development of developing countries in the context of bringing about the progress of the world economy as a whole.

61. We deeply regret that the response of the developed countries has fallen far short of our expectations and has been totally inadequate, compared to the magnitude of the task before the special session.

62. Our Ministers will be assessing the situation in detail when they meet towards the end of the month in New York and they will draw appropriate conclusions in regard to the failure of this session and the future course of action by our Group.

63. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): It seems a long time ago that we began our work in this special session of the General Assembly on the international economic order. It was in fact just three weeks ago. Had it been three months or three years ago, instead of just three short weeks, one wonders whether there would have been enough time to address, study and resolve the economic problems that have been evolving for decades and even centuries.

64. We have, however, done all that we can be asked to do in the limited time available to us to tackle such an ambitious task. Our efforts in recent weeks have been greatly facilitated by the dedication and hard work of a number of people: by Mr. Salim, who served as President of the General Assembly during this special session; Mr. Dupuy, the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee; Mr. Naik, the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and of Working Group I, on the international development strategy; and Mr. Crnobrnja, who chaired both the Committee of the Whole and Working Group II, on global negotiations. Their tireless efforts were abetted by the able work of the Secretariat staff and on behalf of my delegation I want to thank them all for their patience, their understanding and their good offices.

65. This special session has not been all that we had hoped; yet it has not been without its successes. We have reached consensus on an international development strategy that will guide us as we deal with the most pressing problems of our decade. We shall have more specific comments on this aspect of our work when the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly takes the definitive action we expect it to take on the international development strategy. We have passed a resolution urging all countries that are able to do so, North, South, East and West, to increase official development assistance to the least developed countries by the mid-decade [*A/S-11/AC.1/L.4*]. We have agreed that the General Assembly, at its thirty-fifth session, should undertake the task of studying and evaluating suggestions made last summer by the Secretary-General to overcome the critical economic situation in many developing countries.² And we have made some progress towards resolving important differences on global negotiations.

66. But if we cannot count our efforts a failure, neither can we deem them an unalloyed success. We gathered here hoping to launch a round of global negotiations and we have not yet reached a consensus on how to do so. The differences that have kept us from finding a formula for global negotiations are substantive: they reflect a fundamental disagreement over the role that the central forum for global negotiations should play vis-à-vis the specialized agencies within the United Nations system which has guided our global economic

²See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 24-29.*

development for 35 years. Our admittedly difficult task in developing procedures for global negotiations is to strike a balance between the central forum and the specialized agencies that does not impair the integrity of any forum.

67. The United States agreed to participate in talks leading to the convening of global negotiations with the understanding that global negotiations would neither interrupt nor adversely affect the functions of established organizations. We believe that in the main the specialized agencies have served the world well. They have proved that they have the ability to grow and adapt to changing conditions. They do not do so as rapidly as they need to or as rapidly as they should. My country, however, believes that there certainly is room for improvement but it would be neither wise nor efficient to ignore their expertise or undercut their ongoing work.

68. The report that has come before the special session today [A/S-11/25] contains language that can be interpreted as permitting the United Nations conference on global negotiations to renegotiate agreements reached in the specialized agencies without any further involvement of those agencies.

69. We are concerned that such an approach would do far more than adversely affect the functioning of the specialized agencies; it might result in an adversary relationship where co-operation is essential. Frankly, I do not understand why it was not possible to affirm the integrity of the specialized agencies. Such an affirmation, most probably, would have led to success in launching global negotiations.

70. We should not, however, be quick to trumpet our inability to reach consensus on procedures for global negotiations as the end of the North-South dialogue or to impute insincerity to any of the participants, for this is clearly not the end. The North-South dialogue is a complex, multifaceted process. It began years ago and it will continue as long as there are developed and developing countries that believe it is important to keep up serious discussion and negotiation.

71. The United States believes in the importance of the North-South dialogue. We are buoyed by its successes: the responsiveness of the World Bank to evolving development needs; the agreement to reduce tariffs and eliminate anti-competitive trade practices reached at meetings of GATT; completion by UNCTAD of the Common Fund negotiations; and the liberalization of IMF lending policies. We are discouraged when progress in the dialogue is delayed by differences among the participants, but we refuse to admit that the existence of differences constitutes defeat. We will continue to participate in the dialogue.

72. That is why my delegation views the admittedly mixed results of this special session as a step forward. We have succeeded in reaching some of our goals. We have pledged to continue to work towards those we have not met. We shall do so in the coming General Assembly session, in the specialized agencies and in other global forums. In particular, the United States will keep trying to find a satisfactory procedure and agenda for global negotiations. We must remember that global negotiations have never been tried before and that they must have the support of all participants if they are to be successful.

73. As we continue to negotiate about preliminary matters, we hope gradually to build the confidence of both the North and the South in this new medium for addressing the urgent issues related to development. If

we are to succeed, however, in further discussions of procedure or agenda, and if we are to make progress on the global negotiations which will follow, we must improve the process of our deliberations so that a true consensus can be reached. Our efforts will not be advanced by the procedures used in paragraph 18 of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee [A/S-11/25]; in fact, we wonder now what the word "consensus" means in paragraph 7 of the proposed procedures.

74. At the outset of this special session, Secretary of State Muskie reminded us that the common future of mankind depends on common success throughout the complex of relations known as the North-South dialogue [2nd meeting, para. 126]. In our interdependent world his words are indisputably true. We therefore hope that all of us assembled here will keep searching together for solutions to the economic problems that plague all of us, for only by searching together can we hope to succeed.

75. Mr. GELAGA-KING (Sierra Leone): It is my duty to say a few words of behalf of the African Group at the United Nations as this eleventh special session of the General Assembly comes to a close.

76. I recall that when the General Assembly adopted its resolution 34/138 on 14 December 1979, it was its intention to launch within the United Nations a round of global negotiations which were to include five subject areas—raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance—which we believe are of crucial importance for the development of the developing countries.

77. Three weeks have elapsed since the beginning of this special session, and during that period we have had very intensive discussions and sometimes frustrating negotiating sessions. Nevertheless, everyone persevered in the hope that in the end we might achieve the long sought-after consensus. However, although there has been very welcome agreement on the international development strategy, we find that, despite strenuous efforts by most groups and Member States, the special session has failed to achieve complete agreement on the global round of negotiations.

78. We note from the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee that only three delegations have found themselves unable to go along with the vast majority of the members of the international community in agreeing to the terms proposed for the global round of negotiations. For developing countries, the international development strategy is a conceptual framework for development over the next 10 years. The implementation of that strategy is dependent on the agreement reached in the global round of negotiations. It is therefore regrettable that agreement was not reached on the global round of negotiations because these three countries had some difficulty in accommodating the views held by the vast majority of mankind.

79. The Group of 77, of which the African Group makes up a substantial part, went to considerable lengths to ensure agreement on both the procedures and time-frame for the global negotiations and the framework for the international development strategy. This involved a great deal of compromise which effectively meant that what we have achieved falls far short of the targets we had envisaged. Notwithstanding this, the African Group will continue to work with the rest of the international community with a view to finding lasting solutions to the problem of poverty and development. What we would like to stress is that the African Group in particular sets great store by the ideas we have developed in

the Lagos Plan of Action [A/S-11/14, annex I]³ and that we will continue to be inspired by that Plan and to reach for those targets which, to some States in this Organization, seems like asking for too much.

80. I ought perhaps to take this opportunity to appeal to the international community for understanding of the aims and aspirations enunciated in the Plan and to ask for its firm support. It is our hope that when the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session considers the procedures, the time-frame and, in particular, the agenda for the global round of negotiations, the discussions will reflect and be consistent with agreements already arrived at on the substantive goals and policy issues of the new international development strategy, because we believe that there is an organic and functional relationship between the two.

81. However, we think it is right frankly to admit the failure to achieve total agreement on the global round of negotiations, for by this admission we can reappraise the situation and make one more effort to come to agreement in the hope that the dissenting three will use the opportunity for constructive reflection.

82. In furtherance of the decisions taken at the level of the Group of 77, we of the African Group will continue to express our concerns and to do all in our power to ensure that the terms of the global round of negotiations, which are now almost universally agreed upon, become universally accepted. If the three countries are genuinely committed to ensuring an acceleration of development in the developing countries, then they must clearly understand that the compromise texts of the strategy and arrangements for the global round which we are now considering reflect the absolute minimum requirements of the Group of 77, to which we belong.

83. Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to express the Group's appreciation to the chairmen of the various working committees and the *Ad Hoc* Committee, and to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for all your efforts in trying to ensure the success of this special session.

84. Mr. MIYAKAWA (Japan): First, I should like to associate my delegation with the expressions of gratitude by the United States representative for the tireless efforts of the chairmen of the working groups, the chairman of the contact group, the chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, and you, Mr. President.

85. Secondly, my delegation is gratified that two consensus resolutions have been adopted on measures to meet the critical situation in the least developed countries [*General Assembly resolutions S-11/3 and S-11/4*] and that a consensus text on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [A/S-11/2 (Part III), annex]⁴ has been found. My delegation was happy to join in the consensus. Since it is understood that the draft international development strategy is to be approved at an appropriate time in the future, my delegation will then state its position on that document.

86. Lastly, with reference to the global negotiations, as was stated in the *Ad Hoc* Committee, my delegation is extremely disappointed by the failure to reach consen-

sus at this special session. However, listening to the statements of various delegations, we are heartened that there is still a willingness to continue the dialogue to resolve the existing differences and I hope that that further effort will in due course produce a happy conclusion. For its part, my delegation is ready to participate in those efforts.

87. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 7. I call on the Secretary-General.

Statement by the Secretary-General

88. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The outcome of this session is a constructive one, although not all the objectives which we set at the beginning of this session have been achieved.

89. I am gratified to note that the text of a new international development strategy has been agreed upon. It provides a useful framework for the efforts which have to be undertaken both at the domestic and at the international levels to accelerate the pace of development for the great majority of mankind. In support of ambitious targets for growth, it formulates objectives for structural changes in the areas of aid, trade, agriculture, industry, money, finance and energy, as well as related policy measures.

90. Recognizing the critical situation in the least developed countries, the General Assembly adopted on 15 September 1980 a resolution urging Member States to take urgent steps in order to assist those countries in their efforts and in particular to ensure the success of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, to be held in 1981 [*resolution S-11/4*]. In another resolution, I have been requested by the General Assembly to elaborate further the suggestions I have made for overcoming the critical economic situation of many developing countries, in order to enable it to take appropriate action at the coming regular session [*resolution S-11/3 of 15 September 1980*].

91. However, we did not manage to give to the process of North-South co-operation the desired impetus in establishing the new negotiating framework which the present state of the world economy calls for and which is required for the implementation of the strategy. Of deeper concern perhaps is the fact that at this session it was impossible to dispel completely the existing climate of mistrust. I believe that we must face these facts if we are to draw the necessary lessons from this session which will allow us to move on in the near future.

92. Despite the differences which obviously exist and which were expressed so clearly in the various statements that we have just heard, listening to the statements made in the plenary Assembly and in the course of numerous contacts that I have had with political leaders throughout the session, I have gained the distinct impression that the concern about the present trends in the world economy is shared unanimously and that there are indications of a determination to engage seriously in a process of negotiations in order to make them fruitful. I also perceive a willingness to make compromises.

93. It is therefore disappointing that despite the large measure of agreement reached on other issues the divergences that emerged on the procedures for global negotiations could not be overcome and that the question of the agenda was not even addressed.

94. General Assembly resolution 34/138 requires that, in the attempt to address the broad range of interconnected problems involved, a delicate balance should be

³Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, devoted to economic matters, held at Lagos, Nigeria, 28 and 29 April 1980.

⁴The full report will be issued as *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Supplement No. 2*.

maintained between the roles of the global forum and the specialized forums or *ad hoc* groups to which specific issues would be entrusted. All participants recognized that any solution would have to strike such a balance. In spite of all the efforts made, it did not prove possible to reach final agreement on how to reflect this understanding in concrete terms.

95. We cannot ignore the potential dangers deriving from this situation. Let this situation not discourage us and obscure the fact that peace and prosperity depend more and more on effective co-operation among all countries in tackling the critical issues of economic development. There is no alternative but to continue the work of constant dialogue and negotiation. There is no option but to return as soon as possible to the issues that we have left unfinished.

96. The situation will now be evaluated at the political level in all Member States. I appeal to their political leaders to assess thoroughly the present situation and to enter into the contacts needed to remedy it. I hope that the forthcoming session of the General Assembly will provide Governments with an immediate opportunity to do so, and I will spare no effort to help them in this process.

97. Before concluding my remarks, I wish to pay a tribute to all those who have laboured so long and so hard in an effort to make a success of these negotiations. The chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Dupuy of Canada, the chairmen of the two working groups, Mr. Naik of Pakistan and Mr. Crnobrnja of Yugoslavia, and the chairman of the contact group, Mr. Illueca of Panama, have worked indefatigably in pursuit of these efforts. I know also that all the delegations concerned have not spared themselves, working day and night in a determination to try and produce a successful outcome in the limited time which was available for such a complex and difficult task. I extend my deepest thanks also to those delegations, with which I have had so many direct contacts, seeking to contribute to a solution of the problem.

98. I cannot let this session end without expressing my sincere congratulations and deep appreciation to the President, Mr. Salim. Not only this session, but this entire past year, has seen one of the most protracted, demanding and challenging series of meetings in the history of the General Assembly. We have had two emergency special sessions and a special session of the Assembly during this past year. We were indeed fortunate that in such trying times the Members could look to the competent and wise guidance of Mr. Salim. He brought to the conduct of his office great dignity, skill and human warmth. I feel sure I speak for everyone in conveying to him our heartfelt thanks for his unfailing courtesy, patience, co-operation and leadership.

Closing statement by the President

99. The PRESIDENT: At the start of the eleventh special session, I implored all of you to confound the pessimists and to give hope to a humanity that is no longer assured of its survival. We have now come to the conclusion of the session. With the benefit of hindsight, historians will be in a better position than we are, so close to the events, to assess the impact of our work on the struggle for the achievement of a New International Economic Order. But it is possible to attempt a summary evaluation of the extent to which we were able to advance towards our objectives for the session and to delineate the manner in which our unfinished business might proceed.

100. It is beyond question that our work in the past three weeks and the measure of agreement and understanding arrived at on the various issues constitute a valuable contribution to our collective quest to construct a more just and equitable world order. At the same time, the session has eloquently demonstrated the magnitude of the challenges before us—challenges that affect the daily lives of our peoples and have a crucial bearing on international peace and security.

101. This special session was intended to assess the progress made in the establishment of the New International Economic Order and, on the basis of that assessment, to take appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation, including the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and the launching of global negotiations relating to international co-operation for development.

102. The statements made by delegations to the plenary session, together with the assessment provided by Mr. Dadzie, Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation [*A/S-11/5 and Corr.1, annex*], brought out the positive features of developments in international economic co-operation since the adoption, six years ago, of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)*]. But they also underlined the gravity of the current crisis in the world economy and the enormously wide gap that remains to be bridged between the aspirations embodied in the Declaration and the progress registered since then. It was natural to expect, therefore, that delegations would approach the major task of adopting the strategy and launching the global round of negotiations with a new sense of purpose, vigour and political commitment.

103. In meeting these expectations, we can be justly proud of achieving a large measure of success. We have concluded some very difficult negotiations on the outstanding issues of the New International Development Strategy. The strategy establishes a framework for national action and regional and international co-operation for accelerating the development of developing countries and, as such, is an integral part of the effort to establish a New International Economic Order. It is a comprehensive programme under which governments undertake commitments, individually and collectively, to implement a wide range of measures covering the entire spectrum of economic and social development. There are areas in which the desired specificity of commitment proved impossible to attain. No less regrettably, not all countries could accept all the commitments contained in the new international development strategy.

104. I nevertheless believe that if the agreed measures and proposals incorporated in the strategy are carried out, significant progress will be made in the course of the 1980s in accelerating the development of the developing countries and in making the international economy function more efficiently and equitably. But this will require a genuine political will on the part of governments actually to do what they have agreed to do. It would be tragic were we to repeat our experience of the Second United Nations Development Decade, whose goals and objectives were, as the new strategy notes, largely unfulfilled.

105. The session has, furthermore, reached agreement on a number of important policy measures to alleviate the rapidly deteriorating economic and social situation of the least developed countries and to help place them

on the road to steady and self-sustained economic development. In addition, the session has agreed that special attention should be given at the thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly to the problem, generated by the world economic crisis, of the immediate balance-of-payments and related development requirements of a large number of developing countries.

106. By contrast, the outcome of the session as regards the global round of negotiations has been disappointing. Agreement was reached concerning the venue and the time-frame of the negotiations, and on the principles to govern the proceedings of the global forum to be established in that context. There was agreement equally on the need for universal participation in the negotiations and on the role of the global forum in establishing objectives and providing guidance in respect of issues for negotiation, as well as in reaching a final agreement package for implementation by governments. Finally, it was generally accepted that the specialized forums of the United Nations system have a part to play in the negotiations, commensurate with their competence. It proved impossible, however, to reconcile the divergencies of view relating to the respective roles of, and the division of responsibility between, the global forum and the specialized forums for negotiation. It was not even possible to begin an examination of the agenda for the negotiations, let alone the allocation of agenda items among the various bodies concerned.

107. It is regrettable that, in spite of the achievements I have noted, the launching of the global round of negotiations has eluded this session. This shortcoming will not help to improve the present climate of mistrust between countries and it certainly does not advance the cause of international political stability. It is encouraging, however, to note that in these very difficult circumstances delegations that wield majority votes under the rules of procedure of the General Assembly refrained from using their voting power to force agreement on the small dissenting minority. This is a recognition at once of the imperatives of interdependence and of the need to correct the prevailing asymmetries of that interdependence through negotiation rather than confrontation. It is therefore all the more unfortunate that despite the understanding and flexibility displayed by these and many other delegations, it was not possible to achieve a breakthrough.

108. I am still convinced that there is no viable alternative to some form of global round of negotiations. The growing linkages in the world economy and the ever closer intermeshing of issues of international economic co-operation leave us few options. The alternative is chaos and anarchy. If, as I am sure, this is not the destiny that our countries seek, then we must expeditiously proceed with the unfinished business of this session at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and beyond. In particular, the decision contained in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee about the global negotiations has two clear implications which will need to be followed up. First is the implication that the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly will establish appropriate arrangements to enable agreement to be reached on the agenda for the global negotiations. Secondly, is that these arrangements should also aim at registering formal and universal acceptance of the procedures and time-frame to be adopted for these negotiations.

109. It is my confident hope that at that session, which will commence in less than 24 hours, as well as in other international forums, we shall work diligently and pur-

posefully to meet the rising—indeed, desperate—expectations of the peoples of the world, in particular of those hundreds of millions who rightly yearn for a world political and economic order which can make possible the elimination of their misery, poverty and deprivation.

110. Before concluding, I wish to pay a tribute to all delegations for their efforts aimed at securing agreement on the issues that confronted this session. I wish in particular to pay a tribute to the chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Dupuy of Canada; the chairman of Working Group I, Mr. Naik of Pakistan; the chairman of Working Group II, Mr. Crnobrnja of Yugoslavia; the chairman of the contact group on the two resolutions, Mr. Illueca of Panama, and the rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Hachani of Tunisia, for their outstanding contributions. I would be remiss if I did not also recognize in this regard the dedicated and untiring efforts of the chairman of the Group of 77, Mr. Mishra of India, whose brilliant stewardship of the Group in the negotiations has earned him the respect of us all.

111. I wish to say how much we have appreciated the tremendous efforts of the Secretary-General. I know how much time and energy he has devoted through many consultations and initiatives with a view to overcoming some of the obstacles in the negotiating process. His interest and concern for the success of the session was always an inspiring factor as we charted a sometimes turbulent course in our deliberations.

112. I wish also to record my personal appreciation and admiration for the important contribution to the work of the session made by the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, Mr. Dadzie. I have had the privilege in the last weeks and days of this session to work very closely with him and I know with what devotion, dedication, commitment and ability he has discharged his responsibilities.

113. Last, but by no means least, I wish to record my gratitude for the invaluable contribution made by the Under-Secretary-General for International Economic and Social Affairs, Mr. Ripert, as well as that of the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Buffum. Naturally, I cannot conclude without also expressing our sincere thanks to all the other members of the Secretariat who have laboured so hard during our session.

114. I extend to all delegations my warmest good wishes for the success of their efforts at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

115. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.

Closure of the session

116. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the eleventh special session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY