



STATEMENT BY M. NIRUPAM SEN, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE, ON AGENDA ITEM
109 – REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION
ON OCTOBER 08, 2007

Mr. President,

We thank the Secretary-General for his first Annual Report to the General Assembly. We appreciate the comprehensive nature of the Report and have studied its contents on the Organization's main achievements and challenges during the past 12 months. As the Secretary-General states in the very beginning of the Report, the challenges before our world remain daunting and the need for collective action continues. The world therefore continues to place high expectations on the UN.

The Report is somewhat optimistic and MDGs remain achievable but the Statistical Annex to the Report tells a slightly different and grimmer story especially if we take a disaggregated look. In the case of those living on \$ 1 or less a day, there has been a substantial decrease in GRULAC and Asia, the figures are static or show marginal improvement in sub-Saharan Africa but in CIS and Southeast Europe, there is a significant increase. The share of the poorest quintile in national consumption has fallen everywhere. The population below the minimum level of dietary energy consumption remain static or shows only marginal improvement. Maternal mortality ratios in sub-Saharan Africa remain 920 compared to 14 for the developed world. Incidence of tuberculosis has increased everywhere (except in Asia and GRULAC) and in sub-Saharan Africa and CIS it has doubled. Access to safe drinking water shows only marginal improvement if any. The market access figures in the Annex are misleading because the duty free column excludes arms and oil and there is overlap between quota free and duty free; introducing the necessary corrective means that the position of LDCs has remained static. Again, tariffs on agriculture and textiles paint a deeply misleading picture because of agricultural subsidies. Even the average level of tariffs is bad enough: Angola pays as much when exporting to USA as does Belgium. Economists have calculated that developed countries tariffs and subsidies mean that developing countries lose three times as much by way of trade restrictions as they receive in aid; as a result of the Uruguay round, sub-Saharan Africa lost \$ 1.2 billion annually while the developed world gained \$ 350 billion annually. As T.S. Eliot asks in one of his poems, "After such knowledge what forgiveness?" The Report and the

Annex have a relationship also summed up in one of Eliot's poems, "Between the idea and the reality falls a shadow".

The Report correctly highlights the adverse impact of climate change on achieving MDGs – the impact of degradation of forests, pastures and land on extreme poverty and hunger; of extreme weather conditions in terms of damaging homes and health (through increasing disease vectors); the impact of using school children to care for parents and fetch water on achieving universal primary education; and above all, the impact of climate change and environment on the most vulnerable, namely women, in terms of not just gender but all MDGs. The Report however fails to analyze in any depth the financial problems. For instances, it mentions ODA commitments but not that of 0.7%, only 0.35%. Moreover it does not mention the composition of even any ODA increases – for disaster and debt relief rather than directly for economic development. The ODA figures would miss the \$ 50 billion target by \$ 30 billion. This creates the serious problem of finding the extra \$ 50 billion required to tackle climate change. The Report says "We cannot win the fight against development if we do not reverse HIV/AIDS. Africa suffers destitution caused by poverty, disease and violent conflict and lags behind in achieving these goals". Exactly the opposite is the case. It is not poverty, disease, violent conflict and AIDS that hold back development; it is lack of economic development that prevents our tackling these problems. MDGs are palliatives. In acute pain, palliatives are necessary but unless the disease is cured, pain would come again. Palliative economics replaces development economics which is left to the Bretton Woods Institutions who do not practice it anyway. Instead of development, Africa gets mosquito nets, instead of the capacity to service debt, debt cancellation, instead of the Marshall Plan, the Morgenthau Plan which would have de-industrialized Germany after World War II and was rejected. Without industrial policy ensuring economic development with the tariff structures that would promote this, MDGs run the danger of becoming what one economist called "welfare colonialism". Hence also we have a reverse flow of resources out of developing countries amounting now to \$ 650 billion. It is a crushing irony that we seek to increase ODA and look for innovative financing for development with such a huge net outflow of resources from developing countries.

An international environment conducive to development is necessary for assisting developing countries achieve the MDGs and other internationally agreed development goals. A comprehensive reform of the international financial architecture is a key ingredient in this process. The failure of the existing architecture is apparent. The United Nations must therefore play an important role in overseeing the reform of the international financial architecture. This should include measures to ensure a greater voice for and participation by developing countries in the BWIs. A fundamental reform of the quota structure is an absolute necessity for addressing the democratic deficit in the international financial architecture and for maintaining the credibility and legitimacy of the international financing institutions. The UN should encourage time-bound steps for the second stage of IMF quota reform without delay, involving a basic revision of

the formula, subsequent increase of quotas for all under-represent countries and the amendment of the Articles of the IMF. The strengthened ECOSOC should play a key role in stimulating this reform through carrying out a periodic external audit of the IMF as well as play a key role in debt restructuring since the IMF has a vested interest as a creditor and cannot be at the centre of such a process. The UN could also consider setting up an International Debt Commission. Young economists should be recruited to the DESA to strengthen the development pillar and provide the requisite expertise and technical backup for the UN and especially the ECOSOC to play such a role.

There is also need for the UN to continue its focus on the implementation of the relevant Programmes of Action of the LDCs, SIDS and Landlocked developing countries. India supports the focus on the special needs of Africa and has extensive assistance programmes for various African countries as part of South-South cooperation initiatives. India supports the efforts undertaken by African countries themselves such as New Partnership for Africa's Development [NEPAD].

The Secretary General's Report mentions the main facts regarding market access in the Doha round but says nothing on what the UN should do about this. The agricultural subsidies of the developed countries amount to burying the Punta Del Este Declaration. At most they could have said, "We shall protect our agriculture and you can protect your industry" but they actually say, "We shall protect our agriculture but you should not protect your industry". Developing countries have made a huge contribution and reduced their tariffs but those developed countries who have not reduced their tariffs by even one percent since the Uruguay Round are posing as demandeurs. The principle of Special and Differential Treatment has been ignored by them. We can deal with a flood of goods but not with a flood of subsidies. The trade resolution had called for hundred percent quota free access for LDCs and not ninety seven percent (with the three percent covering all their essential exports!) The IPR regime does not protect traditional knowledge or access to cheap generic medicines. Without freely available science and technology, one cannot achieve increasing returns, the real secret of economic development. In the biblical phrase, the developing countries have not just been shut out from the Pasture but from the Presence. We need to therefore have a much stronger trade resolution this year.

India shares the Secretary-General's assessment that the UN, through its framework convention on climate change, is the appropriate forum to address the global challenges of climate change. The impact of climate change and environmental degradation falls disproportionately upon developing countries, particularly on the LDCs, small island developing states and other countries vulnerable to climate change. Measures to address climate change must be based on mitigation and adaptation strategies with fair burden sharing and measures to realize sustainable patterns of consumption and production. The process of burden sharing must also take into account where the primary responsibility for the present state of GHG concentration in the atmosphere rests and not foreclose rapid and sustained economic development for

the developing world, which, in any case, is an imperative for adaptation. Towards this end, India underlines the need for developed countries to commit to and implement deeper GHG emission reduction targets in the post 2012 Kyoto Protocol commitment period. Further, critical clean technologies must be made available and affordable for developing countries and the IPR regime must balance rewards for innovators with the common good of humankind. In addition, adaptation needs to be adequately resourced without diverting funds meant for development.

Mr. President,

Central to the objectives and purposes of the United Nations is the process of conflict-prevention and peacemaking. In principle, there can be no gainsaying the need to strengthen these efforts. However, conceptual clarity is essential, with regard to the means to reach this laudable end. India will constructively engage with other member States in a process of strengthening the capacity of the United Nations, on the basis of a programme that has clearly-defined goals and objectives, and maintains the essential administrative principle of organizational clarity and non-duplication of work. Equally important is ownership. For instance, the special political mission in Nepal should not be expanded either spatially or temporally but stick to its mandate of ensuring free elections and arms management.

We appreciate the increasing complexity and growing challenges faced by UN peacekeeping, especially the surge in peacekeeping activity in recent times. Taking that into account, we approved the Secretary-General's proposals aimed at strengthening the capacity of the UN to mount and sustain peacekeeping operations. We are eager to see the impact of the restructuring of the DPKO; establishment of DFS, headed by the USG; and augmentation of resources in both departments and other parts of the Secretariat. In view of the apprehensions of the major management challenges that the proposed peacekeeping structure could pose, it would be imperative to have effective monitoring and evaluation of the evolution of the new structure, to enable Member States to review it in the future. It is vital that more resources should not be asked for to integrate what has been divided and in any case reform should not be an unorthodox means for raising resources.

We are still concerned that the Office of Military Affairs (former Military Division), which was bypassed in terms of augmentation of resources in the SG's reform proposals, still hasn't integrated the lessons learnt from the creation of the *ad-hoc* Strategic Military Cell (SMC) for UNIFIL. The SMC was created on the pretext that the DPKO, particularly the Military Division, did not have the resources to manage and sustain a complex mission like the UNIFIL. Given the new peacekeeping missions on the horizon, which appear equally complex, it would be in our interest to integrate the lessons learnt from the functioning of the SMC since its inception and move from *ad-hocism* to a unified

and integrated military structure which is essential for any successful field operation. This is all the more necessary because UNIFIL seems to have more general staff officers than Field Marshall Montgomery needed for running the entire Africa campaign.

The adoption of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy last September was a noteworthy development, signaling the will of the international community to combat this menace in a holistic and coordinated manner. Welcome as the strategy is, there is much more that needs to be done to combat the menace of international terrorism. Without the early adoption of the Comprehensive Convention against International Terrorism, the global struggle against terrorism will remain incomplete and likely to succeed only partially. We must ensure that there is zero tolerance for all forms of terrorism.

Despite some progress, the world remains far from achieving the objective of total elimination of nuclear weapons. India's long-standing commitment to universal, non-discriminatory and comprehensive nuclear disarmament remains undiminished. The vision for a "nuclear-free and non-violent world" put forward by late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is even more relevant today as peaceful uses of nuclear energy can address the growing demand for new and non-polluting sources of energy that is crucial for economic development. India will bring forward proposals to see how we can refocus on general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. As stated by India's External Affairs Minister, it is disarmament that is our agreed goal, and that subsumes arms control and non-proliferation. India is also ready to work with the international community to develop a new international consensus on non-proliferation. The international community needs to intensify efforts to address the very real threat posed by the link between proliferation of WMDs and related material and technologies to non-state actors. The interconnection between proliferation and terrorism remains a real and serious risk. It is necessary to ensure that the solidarity of the international community is translated into action.

Mr. President,

We welcome the determination of the Secretary-General to continue to step up efforts to equip the Organisation and support Member States in their efforts to consolidate the respect for human rights, the rule of law and democracy. One of the priorities in this endeavour should be to enhance the UN commitment to make the Right to Development a reality sooner than later. We should look at the Bretton Woods Institutions from the point of view of the Right to Development as advised by the Working Group on the subject. While integrating human rights in the work of the UN, the development agenda pursued by UN funds and programmes in programme countries should not be undermined by way of introducing new conditionalities to implement national developmental strategies and goals or in provision of development assistance itself. Here let me say that the greatest struggle for human rights in world

history are the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles that established the human rights of the oppressed while recognizing the humanity of the oppressor.

We support the activities of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in enhancing capacity building and provision of technical assistance to Member States at their request. However, attempts to realign institutional linkages between OHCHR and other UN bodies through system-wide coherence should be carefully thought about, and should be consistent with GA resolution 48/141 which created the OHCHR, and also institution-building exercise undertaken by the HRC. We find that there is no reference in the SG's Report to the demand of many developing countries to ensure greater geographical diversity in staffing of the OHCHR with greater representation from developing countries. Rationalization and streamlining of the system of special procedures should continue to avoid duplicity and redundancy in mandates as well as their functioning on the ground.

Mr. President,

The international system cannot be reordered meaningfully without comprehensively reforming the United Nations. If the Organization is to remain the cornerstone of the international architecture in this century, it cannot remain mired in the realities of the 1940s. Despite substantive implementation of the UN reform agenda that emerged from the Outcome Document of the World Summit in 2005, such reform will inevitably remain incomplete without comprehensive reform and expansion of the Security Council, and revitalization of the General Assembly. Elements and ideas on the reform of the Security Council have been discussed for well over a decade, through numerous reports and interminable consultations. It is now time for inter-governmental negotiations to commence in order to make the Security Council more democratic, representative and responsive. India, along with partners from Africa, Latin America and Asia, tabled a resolution on September 11, 2007, spelling out the elements on which reform ought to be based if it has to be meaningful. These are: expansion in both permanent and non-permanent categories of membership; greater representation for developing countries, including representation for developed countries that is reflective of contemporary world realities; and comprehensive improvement in the working methods of the Security Council, including ensuring greater access to island and small states.

The Open Ended Working Group Report on "the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters related to the Security Council" of the 61st Session endorsed holding of "inter-governmental negotiations" during the 62nd Session of GA "so that further concrete results may be achieved building on the progress achieved so far, particularly in the 61st Session, as well as the positions and proposals made by Member States". The Secretary-General's conclusion about the main recommendations of this Report can only be described as an

error. The decision on the future course of action can only be that of the Member States. No report can prejudge an outcome, still less try to shape a predetermined outcome. India looks forward to constructive exchanges with all Member States during inter-governmental negotiations in the near future. We also welcome recent statements at the United Nations GA Plenary by the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other world leaders on the need for UNSC reform and expansion in both permanent and nonpermanent categories. It is high time that we collectively bring these ideas to implementation.

The revitalization of the General Assembly continues to remain necessary and relevant especially given the lack of meaningful progress in the reform of the Security Council. A strengthened and revitalized General Assembly would ensure that there is no encroachment by the Security Council on its agenda. The General Assembly cannot be revitalized unless we muster the will to take political decisions. Despite continued engagement amongst Member States on this issue, we still have a long distance to cover. We look forward to a constructive process in this regard in the 62nd session.

India looks forward to meaningful discussions of the various items on the agenda of the General Assembly. We shall provide more detailed comments during discussions of the respective agenda items in the General Assembly and its main Committees.

Thank you Mr. President.

[BACK TO TABLE OF CONTENTS](#)

[BACK TO TABLE OF CONTENTS](#)