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AGENDA ITEMS 12, 28, 29 AND 30

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Social Council (A/4898)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.2/
L.554 AND ADD.1-3) (continued)

1. Mr. TOMEH (Syria) thought that the sponsors of
the draft resolution concerning the United Nations De-
velopment Decade (A/C.2/L.554 and Add.1-3) should
consult with the sponsors of the numerous amendments
which had been proposed with a view to producing a
revised text.

2. Mr. NATORF (Poland) explained the amendments
(A/C.2/L.589), which his delegation had submitted; it
had done so in a constructive spirit, hoping to ensure
that the measures to be taken during the Development
Decade would indeed accelerate the progress of the
under-developed countries. The first amendment con-
sisted of a reminder that the gap between the under-
developed and the developed countries continued to
widen; it was logical to give in the preamble an in-
dication of the current situation if, as proposed by the
representative of Nigeria (761st meeting), a statement
was to be included in the operative part to the effect
that the target at the end of the Decade was a minimum
annual rate of growth of 5 per cent in all under-devel-

oped countries. The second amendment referred to the possibility of utilizing for development needs part of the funds released through disarmament; the question should be viewed with some optimism, in the hope that the efforts which had been made would be crowned with success, and the long-term programme envisaged should include provisions for ambitious undertakings of that order. The third amendment took account of the fact that an improvement in the situation of the under-developed countries during the Decade would be possible only if world economic relations were radically changed and all countries really co-operated in the interest of the under-developed countries. Accordingly, the draft declaration on international economic co-operation, which had been under debate for over a year, should be adopted as quickly as possible and the principles set forth therein should be applied without delay. He hoped that the sponsors of the draft resolution would accept the amendments he had proposed.

3. Mr. AYARI (Tunisia) thought that the sponsors of all the amendments, some of which overlapped, should meet and agree on a final list of amendments to be submitted to the sponsors of the draft resolution.

4. Mr. LAVRICHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he did not share the views expressed by various delegations concerning the draft resolution, and he refused to believe, as did the United Kingdom's representative, that the United Nations should not embark on new tasks during the Development Decade, but should merely put in order and consolidate the existing data. By adopting a number of important draft resolutions since the beginning of the session, the Committee had demonstrated its interest in the various problems affecting the economic and social development of the under-developed countries. It was now considering a draft resolution designed to establish a ten-year programme which, if worded with the necessary care and realism, would enable the under-developed countries to take a great step forward and would halt the deterioration of their situation in relation to that of the industrialized countries. The USSR had made several recommendations for the establishment of economic development programmes for the under-developed countries, including the proposal put forward by the Soviet delegation at the fifteenth session of ECAFE and its proposal concerning measures for the liquidation of the consequences of colonialism.

5. The essential thing was to reduce the existing gap between the level of economic development of the industrialized countries and that of the under-developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Several representatives had expressed their fears for the future arising from the present trend of the world economic situation. For instance, the representative of India had stated that the per caput income in his country, which had been \$53 in 1939, had risen only to \$63 ten years later; in other words, it had increased by only 20 per cent while, during the same period, the per caput income had increased by 48 per cent in the United States of America and by 28 per cent in the United Kingdom. Thus, the gap between India and the two great industrial Powers had widened still further. If that gap was to be reduced in the next ten years, the target must be precisely determined on the basis of scientific data, and such measures must be adopted as would accelerate the pace of development of the under-developed countries to a point where it exceeded that of the industrialized countries and was higher than the rate of increase of the population. He felt therefore that the Nigerian representative's proposal to establish

a target expansion rate of 5 per cent, or double the rate of population growth, deserved attention.

6. The under-developed countries must also be enabled to attain economic independence, which was vital to their progress and to the true exercise of their political independence. A number of countries which were politically independent were still dominated economically by foreign monopolies and capitalist countries which, in many cases, made their economic co-operation conditional on the maintenance of military bases in the territories of the less privileged countries. The economic development of the newly independent countries depended 90 per cent on the liquidation of the consequences of colonialism, and he therefore submitted an amendment (A/C.2/L.593) to the effect that the proposed decade should be called the "United Nations Decade of Development and of Elimination of the Economic and Social Consequences of Colonialism".

7. The main objectives of the Decade in the under-developed countries should include development of the various sectors of the economy, diversification of agriculture and industrialization. It was true that the problems of industrialization varied from country to country; in Asia, for example, the various countries should be enabled to establish their own manufacturing enterprises, while in Africa the problem was to promote the domestic processing of some of the raw materials now exported. Agriculture must also be developed and the malnutrition from which the people were suffering must be eradicated; the poverty of many under-developed countries resulted primarily from a lack of machinery and fertilizers and from the perpetuation of feudal systems of land tenure. There must also be an end to the paradoxical situation in some countries which, in view of their climate, should be able to produce two or three good crops each year and to export foodstuffs but which, nevertheless, were obliged to import food. For that reason, during the Development Decade, prices of basic commodities must be stabilized and markets expanded by various means, including the conclusion of international long-term agreements and the holding of international trade conferences.

8. It was clear that any long-term programme should deal not only with economic problems but also with social questions, because economic development was meaningless unless it was accompanied by an improvement in living standards. The USSR delegation believed that the programme should include the creation of national pools of experts—engineers, doctors, technicians, skilled workers, administrators, etc.—in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who would be in a better position than anyone else to contribute to the development of their respective countries. The United Nations and the specialized agencies must assist the under-developed countries in that field.

9. He thought that the absence of any reference in the draft resolution to the need to eliminate illiteracy, a major stumbling block of human progress, was a very serious drawback. According to figures published by UNESCO in 1960, 45 per cent of the adult population of the whole world was illiterate, and illiteracy rates for Africa, Asia and Latin America were as high as 85 per cent, 65 per cent and 44 per cent, respectively. In addition, millions of children of school age had no possibility of attending school; in Asia alone, 87 million children had never been to school. In many countries,

only a small fraction of the school-age population received the rudiments of an education. In sixteen years, the United Nations had accomplished little in that field. The estimated cost of implementing a twenty-year plan for the development of primary education was \$65,000 million; where was that much money to be found? In Africa, under a five-year plan which was to begin in 1960, schooling was to be provided for 50 per cent of all children at a cost of \$4,000 million, half of it to be paid by the African countries themselves. If a large proportion of the present generation was not to grow up illiterate, emergency measures would have to be taken during the Development Decade.

10. The main goals of the Development Decade should be stated in the draft resolution in explicit terms; in particular, an indication should be given of the rate of development which would have to be maintained in order to bridge the existing gap between the developed and the under-developed countries, and an estimate made of the rate of growth in the national income of the latter which would serve to achieve that objective by 1970. At a recent meeting of an organization representing most of the highly developed capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, it had been estimated that their average income would increase in ten years by 50 per cent. It was thus perfectly possible to make fairly accurate estimates, and one should be made for the under-developed countries as well. A programme like that submitted by the sponsors of the draft resolution, which merely enumerated a series of general ideas, could not produce results.

11. Nor was it sufficient to speak of what was to be done; the money required for the purpose had to be found. If some \$65,000 million had to be spent in Asia on primary education alone, how many hundreds of millions of dollars would be required to ensure the economic development of the under-developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America?

12. Draft resolution A/C.2/L.555, for example, mentioned a sum of \$150 million as the target for the year 1962 for the combined budgets of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. It was understandable that Syria had expressed consternation upon learning that that was the target figure, for no appreciable results could be obtained with so modest a sum. To claim the contrary would be wholly ludicrous. If the question was to be discussed seriously, substantial resources would be required for the long-term programme. The Soviet Union believed that such resources existed and that they could be obtained from several sources; the contributions of the industrialized countries and of the various United Nations organs and agencies did not constitute the only source.

13. First, if the terms of trade between the under-developed and the industrialized countries ceased to be unfavourable, the under-developed countries could accumulate very substantial resources. According to the data given by the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, during the year 1960 alone the under-developed countries had lost over \$10,500 million as a result of that inequality in the terms of trade. If it were eliminated, the under-developed countries would obtain, from that source alone, an amount higher than the foreign aid they received each year. On the other hand, if it were not eliminated, the rich countries would continue to grow richer and the poor countries would continue to grow poorer and the Development Decade would become, as the representative of Ceylon said, a decade of decadence.

14. Secondly, the representative of Iraq had mentioned another way of obtaining some of the funds required for financing the programme, namely, by a more equitable distribution of the profits resulting from the exploitation of the resources of the under-developed countries by foreign companies. For example, to take oil alone, Anglo-American companies had received 50 per cent of the profits, whereas an Italian group had set aside 75 per cent of the profits for the producing countries and a Japanese group had allocated even more to the latter. A fairer share of the profit resulting from the exploitation of the resources of the under-developed countries could be devoted to the development of their national economy. It was not a matter of preventing investment of foreign capital, but of ensuring that it did not impair the sovereignty of the producing countries and had no unjustified political, economic or military "strings" attached. That point should be specifically stated in the draft resolution.

15. Thirdly, it should not be forgotten that the colonial Powers had a moral obligation. By drawing their wealth from the very marrow of their colonies, they had contributed to the impoverishment and distress of the countries which now constituted the under-developed areas. Consequently, they should make restitution of a share of their profits in the form of greater financial assistance, long-term, low-interest or no-interest loans and increased contributions to aid programmes.

16. Lastly, general and complete disarmament would make it possible to release substantial resources for use in the economic development of the under-developed countries. To illustrate that point, he would merely point out that the astronomical sums used for military purposes during the first half of the twentieth century would have been enough to provide bread for all the inhabitants of the globe till the end of their days and to house two-thirds of the world's population.

17. Those four sources could be utilized to finance the economic development programme and to increase the rate of progress of the under-developed countries. The Soviet Union considered that the specific task to be accomplished during the United Nations Development Decade called for effective measures and not for speeches. First, all views on the question should be taken into consideration. Then, the Assembly should seek the advice and suggestions of Governments, because it was not the task of the United Nations Secretariat to draw up a development programme on the basis of what had already been done; Governments alone were in a position to determine the scope to be given to the programme.

18. The Soviet Union did not believe that the United Nations Development Decade would bring nothing new; the Decade must indeed initiate a new era, and it would be fruitless to adopt a resolution which would leave the under-developed countries, ten years later, in precisely the same situation as today. The Soviet Union reserved the right to submit other amendments to the draft resolution in due course.

19. Miss SALT (United Kingdom), speaking on a point of order, protested against the Soviet Union representative's interpretation of the statement she had made at the 760th meeting. She quoted a part of that statement, and said she failed to understand how the representative of the Soviet Union could describe that as saying there was nothing new in the draft resolution. She had deliberately refrained from asking for the floor in order to exercise her right of reply, because she agreed that it would not further the Committee's work

to make exaggerated speeches, and she did not wish to follow the Soviet representative's example in turning the Committee into an arena for propaganda. The attitude of the Soviet Union and its friends might be due to the well-known habit of blaming others for faults one committed oneself. Had not Stalin tried to justify beforehand the repression of national independence movements in Central Asia by claiming that the USSR needed to obtain raw materials and food for the central Russian State from the peripheral areas of the Russian Empire? The present strength of the Soviet Union had been built up on the wealth of those countries. She reserved the right to comment on amendments to the draft resolution.

20. Mr. LAVRICHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), in the exercise of his right of reply, noted that, when an adversary could give no constructive answer, he generally resorted to insults. It was understandable that the former colonial Powers should not like to be reminded of their past; it was a fact that fourteen States, including the United Kingdom and France, had once been able to attack Russia, but now the surrounding regions were completely developed, as anyone could see for himself.

21. It would be better for the United Kingdom to deal with the substance of the question in its reply. The Soviet delegation repeated that there could be no question of using traditional resources alone for the Development Decade. A way must be found to use new resources in order to give a new impetus to the development of under-developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

22. Mr. KLUTZNICK (United States of America) said that one might well ask whether the representative of the Soviet Union wanted to reduce the gap between rich and poor countries by raising the under-developed countries to the level of the wealthier countries, or simply to attack the latter and to bring them down to the level of the former. He could find many arguments to refute the allegations of the representative of the Soviet Union, but he wished to avoid polemics, in order that the draft resolution should not serve as a pretext for sterile ideological discussions. If the question was as important as the representative of the Soviet Union had said, it would be best to go forward resolutely. There was nothing Utopian about the proposed draft. Surely it was normal to ask the Secretariat to make recommendations, which would then be considered by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. That was the usual practice. Such a procedure would not prevent the Secretariat from communicating those proposals to the Governments of Member States, as the Soviet Union wished. In any case, once the plan was established it would have to be reconsidered every year in the light of results. The essential thing was to make a beginning; the programme could be improved later. The sponsors of the draft resolution were ready to accept any constructive suggestions, and would carefully consider all amendments.

Mr Mahdavi (Iran), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

23. Mr. CARANICAS (Greece) said he regretted that the general debate on the draft resolution had not ended as soon as he had hoped. He hoped that the Chairman would accept no new amendments at the following meeting. The situation was already very confused, because many suggestions had not been submitted in writing. The texts of the various amendments should be distributed as soon as possible.

24. He had studied the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union, which contained a number of constructive suggestions, with all the attention it deserved. He himself admitted that it might be desirable for the draft resolution to mention social development, the campaign against illiteracy, the training of national technical and higher personnel and the principle that investments should not impair the sovereignty of States. Other parts of the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union had been rather baffling or had related to matters which did not concern the Second Committee. For instance, the representative of the Soviet Union had emphasized the real need to stabilize prices, and the advisability of convening an international conference on the subject: yet those questions had already been considered by the Committee, and a draft resolution on them had been submitted (A/C.2/L.583). The representative of the Soviet Union had also made an impressive reference to all the sums which were unfortunately spent on arms: but the great Powers, such as the Soviet Union and the United States, were responsible for disarmament, and the small Powers by themselves could not solve that question; in any case, it was not a matter for the Second Committee. That also applied to the liquidation of colonialism, which was being considered by another organ, and on which a draft resolution had, he believed, been submitted. The abolition of the single-crop system was desirable, but could not be carried out in a day, or even in ten years; the matter might be mentioned in the preamble, but even then it would not be easy to find the proper place for it. To speak of the elimination of military bases or of the inequity of agreements between under-developed and developed countries would contribute nothing to the discussion of the draft resolution. Lastly, by trying to determine where the necessary funds were to be found and who was responsible for the present situation, the representative of the Soviet Union had raised controversial questions, which might lead to a long debate. The time had come to set aside general subjects, and to study the draft resolution in detail. Since the importance of the question was not disputed, agreement should be possible.

25. Mr. BOIKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) submitted the amendments proposed by his delegation (A/C.2/L.588). The first provided that all material relating to the text before the Committee should be circulated to the Governments of Member States, in order that they might make proposals concerning the contents of an agreed plan of action in connexion with the Development Decade. The Secretariat would then use those replies to draw up the programme, with the help of a group of experts, set up according to the principle of equitable geographical distribution. It was essential that Governments, particularly those of under-developed countries, should help to prepare the plan from the beginning. Since that procedure would take some time, the recommendations of the Secretary-General might not be submitted to the Economic and Social Council until its thirty-fourth session. That was the purpose of the second Ukrainian amendment. He hoped that his proposals would be favourably received by the majority of representatives.

26. Mr. LAVRICHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he also wished to avoid polemics. He was surprised that certain representatives were trying to hurry the work and to divert the Committee's attention from the important matters before it. He hoped that all representatives who wished could speak, since they were entitled to do so.

27. The CHAIRMAN said that the list of speakers was not closed, and that any representatives who wished to speak could do so.

28. Mr. LINGAM (India) thought that the very divergent views expressed had all been useful. Those differences arose from the nature of the subject under consideration, and no speaker had tried to divert attention from the main subject, which was the development of under-developed countries. It was for the sponsors of the draft resolution to accept proposals

which agreed with their idea of the scope of their text, and to reject others. They could also widen the scope of their draft. What was to be avoided at any price was considering the question from the point of view of the cold war, since in that way nothing would be achieved. If members would agree to renounce sterile discussions and to take a positive attitude, it would not be difficult to reach unanimity.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.