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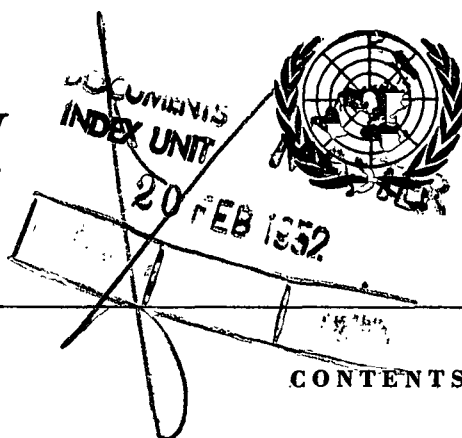
Official Records

SECOND COMMITTEE 185th

MEETING

Thursday, 17 January 1952, at 10.30 a.m.

Palais de Chaillot, Paris



CONTENTS

Page

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter II) (A/1884, A/C.2/L.134/Rev.1, A/C.2/L.135, A/C.2/L.136, A/C.2/L.137, A/C.2/L.140, A/C.2/L.141, A/C.2/L.143, A/C.2/L.144 and A/C.2/L.145) (continued)..... 245

Chairman : Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand)..

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter II) (A/1884,¹ A/C.2/L.134/Rev.1, A/C.2/L.135, A/C.2/L.136, A/C.2/L.137, A/C.2/L.140, A/C.2/L.141, A/C.2/L.143, A/C.2/L.144, A/C.2/L.145) (continued)

[Item 11]*

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that the sponsors of the Philippines draft resolution (A/C.2/L.140) and the joint draft resolution submitted by Belgium and France (A/C.2/L.144) would be given the opportunity of presenting their proposals and that the Committee would then take up the various draft resolutions in the order of their submission. The Chilean-United States revised joint draft resolution (A/C.2/L.134/Rev.1) incorporated the Burmese-Thai (A/C.2/L.138) and Israel (A/C.2/L.139) amendments and covered certain points included in the Indian amendments (A/C.2/L.145).

2. Mr. ARNALDO (Philippines) recalled that at its thirteenth session, the Economic and Social Council in resolution 414 B.I (XIII) had recommended the discontinuance of the Economic, Employment and Development Commission² and that its work would be taken over by the Council itself, its committees, its regional commissions or *ad hoc* bodies as appropriate. His delegation had made strenuous efforts at the thirteenth session of the Council to maintain the existence of the Commission which was of great importance to the under-developed countries in particular.

3. The Commission consisted of eighteen members, including some countries which were not represented on the Economic and Social Council and which had hitherto been able, thanks to their membership on the

Commission, to express their views on matters directly affecting their countries' economy and hence vote in a United Nations organ dealing with economic affairs.

4. It was hard to reconcile the Council's decision to retain the Social Commission with the contrary decision in the case of the Economic, Employment and Development Commission, which had been set up by the General Assembly to encourage economic development and, so far as possible, eliminate discontent in the world. The Council itself had recognized the value of the Commission's efforts to give effect to Article 55 of the Charter.

5. As reported in chapter II of its report, the Council had stated its desire to organize its procedure in a way designed to produce the best results in the shortest time. In Mr. Arnaldo's opinion that objective could not be attained since, with the discontinuance of the Economic, Employment and Development Commission, the Council would, on the contrary, be obliged to prolong its sessions.

6. The subjects which the Commission had dealt with could not be referred to the regional commissions, as they dealt with regional problems only and thus could not be expected to consider economic problems which affected the world as a whole. Nor could the Commission's functions be transferred to *ad hoc* bodies of experts, for they did not represent governments and hence lacked the necessary authority to adopt and implement decisions.

7. The General Assembly had the previous week adopted ten resolutions relating to economic matters³ and requesting the Council to undertake extensive studies in various fields. That action was eloquent proof of the need for retaining the Economic, Employment and Development Commission so that it might continue to assist the Council. He therefore commended the Philippine draft resolution (A/C.2/L.140) to the attention of the Committee.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 3.*

* Indicates the item number on the General Assembly agenda.

² *Ibid.*, paragraph 190.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 360th meeting.

8. Mr. KAYSER (France) hoped that the draft resolution (A/C.2/L.144) which he was submitting jointly with the Belgian delegation would be adopted, if not unanimously, at least by a large majority, as had been the case in the other bodies in which the same question had been raised by the same delegations in 1950. On several occasions previously the United Nations had considered the problem of the shortage of newsprint and printing paper, which had assumed tragic proportions in certain countries after the war. The problem had been considered in particular by the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information held in Geneva in 1948.

9. Since then the situation had deteriorated seriously. Early in 1951 the Belgian and French delegations to UNESCO had pointed out that the shortage was affecting not only the free dissemination of information but also the cultural activities of UNESCO itself, particularly its campaign against illiteracy. In June 1951, on the initiative of the Belgian and French delegations, the General Conference of UNESCO had adopted a draft resolution on the subject. Some months later the Economic and Social Council had considered the problem and, by 15 votes in favour with 3 abstentions, had adopted resolution 374 (XIII) on the production and distribution of newsprint and printing paper. The resolution advocated, firstly, measures designed to produce immediate results and, secondly, action to be taken on a long term basis; it also requested the Secretary-General to keep the problem under continuous review in order to ensure the necessary co-ordination of effort of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The Council had further agreed to place the item on the agenda of a session during 1952 when it would study the Secretary-General's progress report.

10. Paragraph 1 of the joint draft resolution concerned the long-term programme to supply the world with newsprint and printing paper, and paragraph 2 referred to the Secretary-General's report covering the problem as a whole. One reason for the somewhat irrational order of the paragraphs was that the long-term programme had already been established. The Economic and Social Council, at its thirteenth session⁴, basing itself on the resolution on the production and distribution of newsprint and printing paper which the General Conference of UNESCO had adopted at its sixth session, had referred the question of long-term action to FAO. At its General Conference in Rome in October 1951 FAO had drawn up a systematically planned long-term programme which was already under way. He felt that that exceptionally rapid and effective co-ordination of the activities of the United Nations and specialized agencies—from the birth of the idea in June to its fulfilment in November—was a matter for satisfaction.

11. Paragraph 2 of the joint draft resolution also expressed appreciation of the Council's decision to study the Secretary-General's report on all the measures taken to improve the newsprint and printing paper situation. The immediate measures contemplated by the Council were perhaps not so effective as those relating to long-term action. With a view to an immediate alleviation of present shortages, the Council had appealed to consumers of paper temporarily to reduce

consumption, and to producers of paper to increase production; it had further appealed to the governments of the States Members of the Woodpulp and Paper Committee of the International Raw Materials Conference, and had asked the regional economic commissions to encourage trade which would provide the paper industries with adequate supplies of raw material.

12. He hoped that those appeals had not fallen on deaf ears, that they would be acted upon and that the Economic and Social Council at its fourteenth session would be able to express satisfaction at the information contained in the Secretary-General's report. He added that he was ready to enlarge on the subject matter of the joint draft resolution when it came up for discussion.

13. Mr. WOULBROUN (Belgium) said the French representative had fully explained the ideas underlying their joint draft resolution. There was little need to emphasize the importance of maintaining an adequate supply of raw materials for the dissemination of information; the producing countries were well aware of the situation. It should be noted that the vote on Council resolution 374 (XIII) had been unanimous and he hoped the Committee would also unanimously adopt the joint draft resolution.

14. Mr. SAKSIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) pointed out that approximately six months had elapsed since resolution 374 (XIII) had been approved by the Council and some action must have been taken on it since then. Hence there was little need to reaffirm or to reintroduce the text approved by the Council, particularly since the General Assembly's agenda already included a large number of more vital issues. In any case the matter would come up for further action at the fourteenth session of the Council.

15. Mr. KAYSER (France) replied that the joint draft resolution had been submitted under the relevant item of the agenda and that, if the General Assembly remained silent on such an urgent matter, its silence might be misconstrued as indifference. Moreover, the General Assembly had frequently emphasized the need for better co-ordination of the activities of the United Nations and specialized agencies; it was therefore appropriate to draw attention to the good and effective co-ordination of the efforts of the United Nations, FAO and UNESCO achieved in this particular instance.

16. Paragraph 2 of the joint draft resolution was intended to show to the Economic and Social Council how keenly the United Nations as a whole was interested in the question of newsprint and it would thus stimulate the Council's interest when it discussed the Secretary-General's report.

REVISED JOINT DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY CHILE AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (A/C.2/L.134/Rev.1)

17. The CHAIRMAN invited discussion on the revised Chilean-United States joint draft resolution (A/C.2/L.134/Rev.1) and said that a vote would not be taken until the text had been circulated in all the required languages.

18. Mr. MARINO PEREZ (Cuba) remarked that the Burmese-Thai amendments (A/C.2/L.138) had been incorporated in the revised draft resolution (A/C.2/L.134/Rev.1). He pointed out that it was always more econo-

⁴ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirteenth Session*, 549th and 550th meetings.

mical to produce food at home in order to avert famine than to import it. It was therefore of the greatest importance to increase supplies of agricultural implements and fertilizers for small farmers, so as to increase food production.

19. He felt that the words "at reasonable cost" in paragraph 8 (d) of the revised joint draft resolution were inadequate. Surely the necessary agricultural implements and fertilizers should be placed within the reach of the poorest farmer and even at a "reasonable cost", they might prove prohibitive for him.

20. Referring to the Indian amendment (A/C.2/L.145), which had also been incorporated in the joint draft resolution, he said he appreciated the importance of food reserves for cases of emergency, but felt that it should be made clear whether the reserves were to remedy outbreaks of actual famine or also chronic food shortages. In his opinion, food reserves should be stockpiled solely for the purpose of relieving real emergencies or famine. Throughout the joint draft resolution, it was not clear whether it referred to real emergencies or to normal food scarcity. He therefore suggested that the scope of the resolution should be limited to famine, since food shortages were chronic in certain parts of the world.

21. Mr. REBELLA (Uruguay) announced his support of the Chilean-United States revised joint draft resolution, which referred to two main types of situation: famine emergencies created by crop failure due to plague, drought, flood, blight, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and similar natural disasters; and the widespread conditions of undernourishment which prevailed in many parts of the world.

22. Uruguay had contributed one million dollars to UNICEF as assistance to the victims of an earthquake in a neighbouring country; it had also made substantial contributions to UNRWA and to United Nations relief in Korea; draft legislation proposing a further contribution to UNICEF was at the moment pending in the Uruguayan Congress.

23. The volume of Uruguay's food exports had declined as a result of heavier domestic consumption, but every effort was being made to improve the quantity and quality of food production, most of which was intended for export. Uruguay would continue to augment the world's food supply. He agreed with the Argentine representative that food prices should be high enough to ensure that food producers were not at a disadvantage as compared with the producers of other commodities.

24. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom) said his delegation would support the revised Chilean-United States joint draft resolution. It was also in sympathy with the remarks of the Cuban representative.

25. He had been glad to hear the USSR representative express the interest felt by his country in overcoming the general world food shortage since the vast fertile areas of the Soviet Union could contribute substantially to the better nourishment of mankind. Nevertheless, some of the figures quoted by the USSR representative at the 183rd meeting were somewhat disappointing. For instance, the total of 137,000 tractors which he had stated had been distributed among farmers in the Soviet Union, over an area of 146 million hectares, in the course of the past year, was low in comparison with the

number of 180,000 tractors produced by the United Kingdom alone in 1951, about one-third of which had gone to farmers in the United Kingdom cultivating a total arable area of 7 million hectares. It could thus be seen that there was still great scope for more rapid mechanization of agriculture in the Soviet territories.

26. A comparison between the yields and agricultural production generally of the Soviet Union and Western Europe showed similar results. The Committee would welcome the assurance that the USSR Government was devoting urgent attention to the possibilities of increasing food production. The time might well come when the Soviet Union might make a tremendous contribution to raising nutritional standards in overcrowded areas elsewhere in the world.

27. His delegation did not find the amendments proposed by the USSR delegation (A/C.2/L.137) satisfactory. The wording of the amendments showed a certain similarity with the Czechoslovak draft resolution (A/C.2/L.135) on which his delegation reserved the right to speak when it was discussed by the Committee. His delegation supported the amendments which had been submitted by certain other delegations to the revised joint draft resolution. He hoped that the great humanitarian purpose of the revised joint draft resolution would meet with the Committee's unanimous acceptance.

28. Mr. TOBIAS (United States of America) wished to reply to the attack made by the USSR representative on the United States Government's motives in trying to relieve the famine in the Soviet Union in 1921 and 1923. He recalled that the USSR representative had asserted that in his statement made at the 181st meeting, he (Mr. Tobias) had charged the USSR Government with having created the famine in 1921 and that he had issued such a statement to the Press by giving a Press release to all correspondents attending the General Assembly. It was regrettable that the USSR representative himself had not read that statement more carefully since he would have seen that it contained no such assertion.

29. The extent to which the USSR representative had misinterpreted the state of mind of his own Government at that time was evident from the following resolution adopted on 10 July 1923 by the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, as reproduced in *The Famine in Soviet Russia* by H. H. Fisher:

"In the trying hour of a great and overwhelming disaster, the people of the United States, represented by the American Relief Administration, responded to the needs of the population, already exhausted by intervention and blockade, in the famine-stricken parts of Russia and Federated Republics.

"Unselfishly, the American Relief Administration came to the aid of the people and organized on a broad scale the supply and distribution of food products and other articles of prime necessity.

"Due to the enormous and entirely disinterested efforts of the American Relief Administration, millions of people of all ages were saved from death, and entire districts and even cities were saved from the horrible catastrophe which threatened them.

"Now when the famine is over and the colossal work of the American Relief Administration comes to a close, the Soviet of People's Commissars, in the name of the millions of people saved and in the name of all the working people of Soviet Russia and the

Federated Republics, counts it a duty to express before the whole world its deepest thanks to this organization, to its leader, Herbert Hoover, to its representatives in Russia, Colonel Haskell, and to all its workers, and to declare that the people inhabiting the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will never forget the help given them by the American people, through the American Relief Administration, seeing in it a pledge of the future friendship of the two nations.

(Signed) : L. KAMENEV
Acting President of the Council
of People's Commissars

30. That resolution would provide the necessary commentary on the motives of the American people in their efforts to render assistance to those in need throughout the world; they were inspired by purely humanitarian and not political considerations.

31. Mr. STADNIK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that his delegation would support the constructive amendments submitted by the USSR delegation in document A/C.2/L.137.

32. It would greatly ease the situation if the armaments race were stopped and the food and chemicals now being stockpiled for war purposes were released. It was essential that inter-governmental machinery to relieve shortages should be established as, in view of the magnitude of the problem, existing voluntary organizations, however valuable they were, could not adequately cope with the situation.

33. The USSR amendment recommending that assistance should not be made subject to demands for political, economic or military privileges for the countries according such assistance gave a practical tenor to the draft resolution.

34. Mr. NARIELWALA (India) noted that the United States representative had agreed to incorporate the substance of the first amendment submitted by the Indian delegation (A/C.2/L.145). He hoped that his other amendments would likewise prove acceptable to the United States representative.

35. He suggested that the second part of paragraph 1 of the revised joint draft resolution should be amended to read: "that the rate of increase of world population, and especially in these areas, is greater than that of food production"; that the words "of hunger" should be inserted after the words "widespread conditions" in paragraph 2; that in paragraph 5, the words "and annexed herewith" should be added at the end of the paragraph; and that, in keeping with the views expressed by the Cuban representative, the phrase "and made available promptly to Member States threatened or affected by food shortages or famine" should be inserted after the words "whereby an emergency food reserve can be established" in paragraph 12.

36. His delegation would maintain its second amendment contained in document A/C.2/L.145 which it considered to be of the greatest importance.

37. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia) said his delegation would vote in favour of the USSR amendments to the revised joint draft resolution.

38. Mr. JACOME (Ecuador) would vote in favour of the revised joint draft resolution although it considered

that the problem would have been more appropriately divided into two parts: chronic food shortages and emergency famines, since they called for different measures.

39. Mr. COLIACOPOULOS (Greece) would also support the revised joint draft resolution. A planned increase in the volume of agricultural production would improve the general food situation and, consequently, the economic situation of the world. He particularly wished to pay tribute to the constructive work of the FAO.

40. The Committee should study economic questions impartially and should avoid any expressions which might give rise to political controversy. The USSR amendments, as also the Czechoslovak draft resolution, included precisely such terms and consequently he would be unable to support them.

41. Mr. LUBIN (United States of America) said that subject to agreement by the Chilean delegation, his delegation would accept the amendments submitted by the Indian delegation, with the exception of the amendment contained in paragraph 2 of document A/C.2/L.145, to insert a new paragraph between paragraphs 7 and 8 of the revised draft.

42. It would be inequitable if only exporting countries were to be asked to establish food reserves, since that was necessarily an expensive process and, moreover, it would principally be the importing countries which would benefit in an emergency. Accordingly he suggested to the Indian representative either that the words "which are normally food-grain net-exporting countries" in the second Indian amendment should be deleted, or that the words "and net-importing countries" should be inserted after the reference to exporting countries.

43. Mr. SCHNAKE VERGARA (Chile) said that his delegation was also prepared to accept the Indian amendments with the exception of that contained in paragraph 2 of document A/C.2/L.145. With regard to the latter amendment, he supported the suggestion made by the United States representative.

44. Mr. NARIELWALA (India) said he could not accept the United States representative's suggestion. The object of his amendment was to ask the FAO to discover ways and means for the exporting countries, which were obviously the only countries which could be asked to do so, to establish stocks. They were not being asked to establish such stocks immediately. He was prepared to amend that paragraph of his amendments to read "Requests all States Members of the United Nations, and especially the normal food-grain net-exporting countries to offer their fullest co-operation to the FAO...".

45. The CHAIRMAN called upon the representative of FAO.

46. Mr. McDOUGALL (Food and Agriculture Organization) said he was glad that the text contained in document A/C.2/L.134/Rev.1 was not asking the General Council of FAO to report to the Economic and Social Council before its fifteenth session, for it would have been unable to complete a thorough study in time for the fourteenth session.

47. FAO had experience of the difficulties connected with establishing emergency food reserves. One question that should receive special attention was the protec-

tion of food reserves against insects, fungi, and rodents. The Director-General of FAO had instructed the FAO secretariat to prepare a report for the next meeting of the Council of problems of emergency food stocks and the Council would then decide upon the measures it would recommend to governments.

48. Mr. AREAN (Argentina) agreed with the views of the representatives of the United States and Chile regarding the Indian amendment contained in paragraph 2 of document A/C.2/L.145. His delegation believed that all countries should collaborate with FAO in its studies. The problem of conservation of food stocks was of greater interest to the importing countries which would benefit from such stocks than to the food exporting countries. Moreover, food importing and exporting countries would have to discuss jointly how the stocks were to be utilized and how the storage costs should be shared.

49. Mr. MARINO PEREZ (Cuba) pointed out that the Spanish translation of the Indian amendment should, like the English text, refer solely to food-grains.

50. He suggested that in cases of emergency, it should be possible for food importing countries to restrict their imports so as to leave greater quantities of food available to meet the emergency.

51. The CHAIRMAN said the Spanish text of the Indian amendment would be corrected as requested by the Cuban representative.

52. Mr. SAKSIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said the Russian text of the amendments just proposed to the joint draft resolution had not yet been circulated, and requested that voting on the revised joint draft resolution should be postponed until his delegation had had an opportunity of studying the Russian text.

53. Mr. SCHNAKE VERGARA (Chile) formally proposed that, as suggested by the United States representative, the words "and net-importing" should be inserted after the words "net-exporting" in paragraph 2 of the Indian amendment (A/C.2/L.145).

54. Mr. LUBIN (United States of America) proposed inserting the word "either" after the word "normally" in the same amendment.

55. The CHAIRMAN announced that the revised joint draft resolution and the amendments thereto would be put to the vote at the following meeting when the Russian and Spanish texts had been circulated. In the meantime, the Committee would consider the Czechoslovak draft resolution (A/C.2/L.135).

DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY CZECHOSLOVAKIA
(A/C.2/L.135)

56. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia) said he would like to deal with the remarks made by some speakers in the general debate with reference to his delegation's statement (181st meeting). The Australian representative had accused the Czechoslovak statement of being political (182nd meeting). Obviously, however, economic and political questions were interdependent. The Australian representative had also said that the rearmament programmes placed before the western countries the alternative of guns or butter. That alternative had first been mentioned some fifteen years previously, when Nazi Germany was preparing for its criminal attempt at world domination. Everyone knew how that attempt had ended.

57. The Belgian representative had also claimed (183rd meeting) that the Czechoslovak statement was political and even aggressive in nature. Yet the statement was a documented analysis of the situation in capitalist countries where the ruling circles were, through growing inflation, heavy taxation and other anti-social measures, lowering the standard of living of the workers merely in order to increase the profits of the capitalists. Nor, to judge by an article in *Le Monde* of 15 December 1951, had the Belgian representative correctly gauged public opinion in Belgium on the question of new expenditure on armaments.

58. The United States representative had said earlier that he rejected the slanderous attacks by the Czechoslovak delegation upon the American people. But the Czechoslovak representative had in no way attacked or slandered the people of the United States. He had merely analysed the war policy and economy of ruling circles in the United States, where capitalists were enriching themselves at the expense of the standard of living of the American workers. The United States representative himself had admitted that the American standard of living was declining as a result of armament production and had also announced that the United States Government in its foreign trade policy discriminated against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, thus confirming the Czechoslovak delegation's statements.

59. In quoting from the statement by the Czechoslovak Prime Minister to the Czechoslovak National Assembly on 31 October 1951, the United States representative had purposely omitted what the Prime Minister had said with regard to the Government's supply and distribution policy. Mr. Nosek quoted certain figures from that statement to illustrate the rise in the standard of living in Czechoslovakia and the substantial increase in consumption over the pre-war period. Under the new system workers' wages and pensions were regulated and speculators and parasites had been eliminated. It was due to the increase in the purchasing power of the broad masses of the people that some demand was still unsatisfied and bread was still rationed in his country.

60. The United States representative had said that the average monthly wage in Czechoslovakia was \$70 to \$80. The exchange unit in Czechoslovakia was not, however, the dollar but the crown and workers' wages had risen from 2,663 Czechoslovak crowns in 1946 to 4,543 crowns in 1950, or more than 80 per cent. In addition, the Czechoslovak worker benefited from an extensive national insurance system, free medical service and free recreational facilities and his average rent amounted to only 5 to 6 per cent of his living costs. Nor had the Christmas bonus been abolished in Czechoslovakia, as the United States representative had said; wages were such that workers in Czechoslovakia did not need charity in the form of Christmas bonuses.

61. In submitting his delegation's draft resolution (A/C.2/L.135) he wished to explain the reasons underlying its recommendations. In the capitalist countries rising prices, heavier taxation, lower living standards, lower expenditures for cultural and social needs and systematic violation of trade union rights were steadily depressing the workers' standard of living. The governments of those countries were unsuccessfully endeavouring to find relief from their economic crises in rearmament. However, although armaments production might give

temporary relief, the United Nations recent study *Measures for International Economic Stability*⁵ hinted at the possibility of a post-rearmament recession, particularly in the United States, and further stated that immediate economic problems arose chiefly out of the mass rearmament programme being undertaken in the United States and elsewhere.

62. He felt that his delegation, as that of Poland, had quoted sufficient figures to prove the necessity of the recommendations in paragraphs 2 and 3 of his delegation's draft resolution.

63. Mr. BORGES (Norway) said his delegation was in favour of any steps designed to raise the standard of living of the working population. It could not however support the Czechoslovak draft resolution, the motives of which could be clearly gathered from the preamble.

⁵ United Nations Publications, Sales No : 1951.II.A.2.

64. The Czechoslovak representative in speaking of an armaments race in a number of countries was obviously referring to the defence preparations which had been forced upon the western world. The allegation that those preparations had led to a decline in real wages, to a reduction of expenditures on cultural and social needs and to violations of trade union rights was not in accordance with the facts, as evidenced in his own country.

65. In spite of the expenditure necessary to repair war damage and the burdens assumed for defence purposes, it had been possible steadily to raise the living standard of the Norwegian population, an improvement which was generally acknowledged and expected to continue.

66. That being so, his delegation considered that the views expressed in the Czechoslovak draft resolution were not in accordance with the facts.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.