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Chairman: Sir Douglas COPLAND (Australia).

Statement by the Chairman on the programmes of technical assistance

1. The CHAIRMAN expressed satisfaction at the work which had been done in but a few years under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, one of the most fruitful enterprises of the United Nations. The \$25 million to be spent on technical aid during the current year would be spent in many countries and through many agencies, all within the scope of the United Nations. The Programme had been unanimously acclaimed, and constituted an act of faith in which contributing countries and recipient countries were closely associated.

2. The amount of money appropriated for the Expanded Programme was comparatively small, but the material results obtained were outstanding. Technical assistance was the advance guard for economic development: it could be regarded as the equivalent of the Commandos in the Second World War, who had occupied small advance posts that would ultimately lead to the massive occupation by the armed forces as a whole. No one had doubted the usefulness of the Commandos, and there needed to be no doubt that, on the civil front of economic development, technical assistance would also yield substantial results. Those participating in the programmes might not perhaps be able to see their work in its correct perspective, but history would regard the technical assistance programmes as one of the greatest enterprises of the post-war period.

3. From the administrative point of view there had never been such a complicated international programme. Recipient and contributing countries were on an equal footing, but the Expanded Programme was operated jointly by certain administrative units of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and many sovereign Governments. Those administering the Expanded Programme had to preserve a balance between their responsibilities to the United Nations and their responsibilities to the sovereign States in which they operated. By virtue of the decisions made at the current session

of the General Assembly, a satisfactory solution of that problem appeared to be emerging.

4. It was to be remembered that the experiment in multilateral international co-operation was a major innovation. It was little more than five years old, but already included sixty contributing and more than eighty recipient countries. The sovereign rights of all countries concerned were fully respected, the authority of the United Nations was recognized, and the autonomous operation of the specialized agencies was maintained.

5. The experiment was working so effectively that the number of requests for assistance far exceeded the resources available. Some might regard that position as regrettable, but it could equally well be considered a healthy manifestation; the Expanded Programme would not be static. If the contributing countries saw that the Expanded Programme had produced good results they would be encouraged to make increasingly larger contributions.

6. In such an extensive and complicated international enterprise adjustments in the respective spheres of authority could only be made in the light of experience. That experience could be gained only by testing the existing administrative structure over a period of time. If the wrong procedure had been adopted, it would become evident in a short time. Mistakes might be made, but in order to learn from the lessons of experience there had to be time to realize just what those mistakes were. For that reason it would be advantageous to allow the existing administrative structure to operate without interference for a short period.

7. Finally, the discussion had shown that there was a certain fear that pledged resources would not be available over a sufficient time to allow commitment to be made far enough ahead to enable certain projects to yield the most useful results. That fear was understandable, but the Committee should not be misled by its search for security. There could be no doubt that the Governments which supported the Expanded Programme would continue to do so on a growing scale.

AGENDA ITEM 25

Economic development of under-developed countries (A/2686, A/2702): (continued)

(d) Land reform (A/C.2/L.234/Rev.1 and Corr.1 and Add.1, A/C.2/L.239) (concluded)

8. Mr. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland) explained his delegation's reasons for proposing amendments (A/C.2/L.239) to the revised joint draft resolution (A/C.2/L.234/Rev.1 and Corr.1 and Add.1).

9. First, the Secretary-General's report entitled *Rural Progress Through Co-operatives* (E/2524)¹ contained errors and lacked objectivity; in particular it gave an

¹ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1954.II.B.2.

incorrect picture of the development of co-operatives in the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. The Polish delegation accordingly felt that the report should not be mentioned in the first paragraph of the preamble.

10. The purpose of the second Polish amendment was to emphasize that land reform should be carried out in the interest of landless small and medium farmers, an idea which had already been expressed in Economic and Social Council resolution 370 (XIII) and General Assembly resolution 524 (VI). Paragraph 1 of the operative part of the draft resolution referred to only one aspect of land reform. It was undoubtedly necessary for the rural population to own their land, but other measures of reform were also necessary: for example, farmers had to be provided with the equipment and credit facilities they needed. The Polish delegation had not thought it necessary to enumerate in detail all the steps which should be taken, as they were already mentioned in the previous resolutions; it had merely proposed a general formula covering every aspect of land reform.

11. Mr. EL-TANAMLI (Egypt) pointed out that the sponsors of the revised draft resolution had simply referred to the Secretary-General's report entitled *Rural Progress Through Co-operatives*, in the first paragraph of the preamble without expressing any opinion on it. They could not accept the first Polish amendment, as the reference to the Secretary-General's report could hardly be omitted.

12. The idea embodied in the second Polish amendment was already expressed, in more general and less explicit terms, in operative paragraph 1. The sponsors had tried to produce a text that could be unanimously adopted, and could not agree to the introduction of such an explicit wording as that proposed in the Polish amendment.

13. The sponsors of the revised draft resolution had decided to amend paragraph 5 of the operative part by the insertion of the words "its support for Member States which are carrying out land reforms in conformity with General Assembly resolutions and" between the words "Expresses" and "the hope".

14. Mr. A. P. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) expressed approval of the Polish delegation's two amendments. It was essential that action be taken on behalf of landless small and medium farmers, who formed the greater part of the population of the under-developed countries. Such reforms were essential to the raising of standards of living in the under-developed countries, and their importance had been recognized by the Economic and Social Council at its thirteenth session and by the General Assembly at its sixth session. All that was needed, therefore, was to promote and facilitate the implementation of recommendations already made. The original draft resolution (A/C.2/L.234) had referred to such reforms, and it was regrettable that the text had been changed. The USSR delegation would accordingly support the two Polish amendments and, if they were not adopted, would be unable to vote for the revised draft resolution as a whole.

15. Mr. BEREZIN (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) supported the two Polish amendments. He was astonished that the Egyptian representative found the second amendment too explicit and too categorical; it merely reproduced the terms of operative paragraph 2 of resolution 370 (XIII), in which the Economic and Social Council had indicated the policy that should be followed. If the Committee did not approve the Polish amendment it would in fact be taking a retrograde step.

For that reason the Byelorussian delegation would vote for the Polish amendments, and would be able to vote for the revised draft resolution as a whole only if the amendments were adopted.

16. Mr. DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN (Belgium) said that he approved the idea expressed in the second Polish amendment; the concept in question in fact formed the basis of the general policy of a group of countries to which Belgium belonged. However, the idea was also embodied in the revised draft resolution, in which it was, in his opinion, expressed better. The Polish amendment referred specifically to landless peasants, while the joint draft said it was desirable to try to increase the holdings of small farmers. It was certainly desirable that peasants be enabled to derive better advantage from their land, but, from the social, economic and even political points of view, it was essential to help them to own the land they farmed. The Belgian delegation would vote against the Polish amendment.

17. Mr. STANOVNIK (Yugoslavia) said that his delegation had already pointed out (314th meeting) that it was impossible to find a universally applicable formula in the matter of land reform, owing to differences in agrarian structure and economic conditions in the various countries. It had also emphasized that the question of land reform could not be considered apart from the question of economic development and political conditions in the countries concerned. He repeated that the sponsors of the revised draft resolution had not accepted the idea that land reform should be considered within the broader context of economic development and industrialization policy, but would accept the six-Power text as the sponsors had probably thought that the proposed wording would apply to certain countries only.

18. The position was similar with regard to the second Polish amendment. His delegation approved the amendment in principle but felt that, if it was incorporated in the draft resolution, it might be regarded as being too narrow and as not being applicable to all countries. His delegation would abstain from voting on the amendment.

19. With regard to the first Polish amendment, his delegation also considered that the development of agricultural co-operatives in Yugoslavia and various other countries had not been properly described in the report entitled *Rural Progress Through Co-operatives*, which it was therefore unable to approve. However, the report on co-operatives had been prepared by the Secretariat in collaboration with a number of specialized agencies, and his delegation saw no objection to a mere reference to the report in the first paragraph of the preamble.

20. His delegation considered that the wording of operative paragraph 5 of the revised draft resolution was not completely satisfactory. It was for Governments to decide what priority should be given to the various fields of economic development in which they wished to receive assistance. If, however, the sponsors of the draft resolution considered it necessary to emphasize that land reform should be given priority his delegation would not object.

21. Mr. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland) asked that a separate vote be taken on his two amendments (A/C.2/L.239) and, if his first amendment was rejected, on the first preambular paragraph of the revised draft resolution (A/C.2/L.234/Rev.1 and Corr.1 and Add.1).

22. Mr. GARCIA (Philippines) asked for a separate vote on the fourth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 2 of the revised draft resolution.

The first Polish amendment was rejected by 44 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions.

The second Polish amendment was rejected by 32 votes to 5, with 13 abstentions.

The first preambular paragraph of the revised draft resolution was adopted by 47 votes to 5.

The fourth preambular paragraph of the revised draft resolution was adopted by 49 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 2 of the revised draft resolution was adopted by 48 votes to none with 3 abstentions.

The revised draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

23. The CHAIRMAN observed that, since the change made by the sponsors of the draft resolution in operative paragraph 5 had not been presented in writing, the members of the Committee would be free to make observations on the drafting when the text had been distributed in the various languages.

24. Mr. SAENZ (Mexico), explaining his vote, said that although Mexico had already advanced beyond the stage of land reform, his delegation had enthusiastically supported the joint draft resolution. Mexico had not forgotten that its formerly semi-feudal economy owed almost all its modern features to the measures taken to redistribute land to the communities which had been dispossessed of it. As the President of the Republic had said on 1 September 1954 in his annual message to Congress, land reform was not simply a matter of land distribution: it implied far-reaching economic, social and legal changes whose supreme purpose was to free the peasant and provide him with a decent standard of living.

25. Mr. ENCINAS (Peru) said that he had voted for the revised draft resolution because he was in full agreement with its spirit, although he had a number of reservations to make with regard to the letter. The main object had been to produce a generally acceptable text, and the sponsors of the draft were to be congratulated on the conciliatory efforts they had made.

26. Land reform was a matter of direct concern to countries like Peru, where 60 per cent of the population found their livelihood in agriculture. As his delegation had already stated in the Economic and Social Council and at earlier sessions of the General Assembly, Peru did not regard land reform as a simple and isolated operation; on the contrary, its programme of land reform had been planned with due regard to the many complex and changing factors which governed economic development as a whole. Its programme had had two main objectives: the development of new land and the better use of land already under cultivation, and the protection of the Indian communities.

27. With regard to the change made by the sponsors of the draft resolution in operative paragraph 5, he said that he wished the text had not been amended to include what was tantamount to a commendation of States Members which, in carrying out land reform, were merely acting in accordance with the recommendations of the General Assembly. The practice might lead, by extension, to the adoption of motions of censure against countries which did not comply with the General Assembly's recommendations; that course was a dangerous one and should be avoided.

28. Mr. BUENO DO PRADO (Brazil) said that his delegation had voted for the joint draft resolution because it attached great importance to the question of

land reform, as it had already shown by associating itself with the sponsors of General Assembly's resolutions 524 (VI) and 625 (VII). As part of its economic development programme, Brazil had already instituted a programme of agricultural development aimed at increasing production and raising the standard of living of the rural population. There was no shortage of land in Brazil. The Government's main concern was to ensure that every rural holding, whatever its size, constituted an efficient economic unit. That policy raised a number of complicated problems. If it was to be applied successfully, account had to be taken both of the well-being of the rural population and of the requirements of the country's economic development, including the need to overcome the climatic and topographical obstacles which prevented the development of many still unexploited natural resources.

29. In his delegation's opinion, it was essential that land reform be integrated with general economic development. Measures of land reform had to be co-ordinated with measures to facilitate immigration, to institute or liberalize agricultural credit, to mechanize agriculture, to establish rural co-operatives, to develop new land and to improve sanitation, etc.

30. The Brazilian delegation also wished to emphasize that in Brazil land reform had no political or ideological aspects. Brazil was proud of its extremely liberal social legislation. The progress achieved in that field was even greater than the advances made in the economic field.

31. Brazil had also established scientific and technical institutions to improve agricultural production and to train agricultural experts.

32. The Brazilian delegation had hoped that the revised draft resolution would deal with the problem of land reform in broader terms. It felt that too much stress was laid on one or two particular aspects. His delegation had voted for the draft resolution in order not to destroy the unanimity of the Committee, but its vote was not to be interpreted as indicating a change in its position with regard to the substance of the question.

33. Mr. SUJUD (Indonesia) explained that his delegation had joined in sponsoring the draft resolution because it believed agricultural income was an important part of the national income of many countries and that any increase in agricultural production could but increase the national income.

34. The question of land redistribution did not arise in Indonesia. The main problems in Indonesia were the development of new land, the modernization of production methods, the protection of the peasants against usurers, and the establishment and improvement of co-operatives. The chief difficulty was financial; co-operatives would assist to some extent to correct the shortage of local capital. The Indonesian delegation noted the recommendation to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in operative paragraph 4 with particular satisfaction. Technical assistance, help by the Bank, SUNFED and the international finance corporation, and last but not least, the stabilization of raw material prices would all help to solve the problem of the economic development of under-developed countries and thus put an end to the extreme poverty of many areas. Land reform was a further weapon in that struggle and the Indonesian delegation had therefore been particularly happy that the draft resolution had been adopted without opposition.

35. Mr. GARCIA (Philippines) explained that his delegation had voted for the draft resolution as a whole

because of the great importance it attached to land reform as an instrument of economic development and of social justice.

36. It had asked for a separate vote on the fourth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraph 2 and had, for a number of reasons, abstained when those provisions had been put to the vote. In the first place, both passages referred to particular countries and were therefore out of place in a text of a general nature; secondly, the recommendations they contained referred to matters outside the competence of the Committee which was primarily concerned with economic questions; thirdly, the wording of the provisions was such as to give rise to misunderstandings regarding the respective rights of nationals and foreign residents in respect of land utilization and the benefits of public facilities.

37. Mr. MANSOUR (Iran) said that his country attached great importance to the land reform problem, as Iran was an agricultural country; almost two-thirds of its population lived by agriculture.

38. Concerned to raise the standard of living of farmers and agricultural labourers, the Iranian Government was in the process of distributing land, establishing agricultural credit banks, setting up model farms, extending the railway system, etc. The programme had not yet been fully successful because of the shortage of capital. With the help of the Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) and of some industrialized countries, however, Iran hoped to obtain good results and to be able to submit a satisfactory picture of the progress achieved to the Committee at the tenth session of the General Assembly.

39. Mr. CASTRILLO JUSTINIANO (Bolivia) said that the Vice-President of Bolivia had given a detailed explanation of his country's views on land reform during the debate (312th meeting) and he would not revert to that subject. He wished, however, to remove the misgivings of those who felt that the new text departed from the original draft resolution; in fact every idea in the original draft had been fully embodied in the revised version.

40. Economic well-being depended on a number of complex factors which could not be separated, and operative paragraph 2 was therefore of the greatest importance to under-developed countries; although it might be possible for industrial countries to resort to purely technical measures to increase agricultural production and productivity, that was not the case in the under-developed countries, where land reform proper had to go hand in hand with social, cultural and political progress. In that connexion, the value of organizing regional conferences and seminars could not be over-estimated; that point would no doubt be borne in mind during the consultations provided for in operative paragraph 6.

41. Finally, he thanked all the delegations which had taken part in the Working Group's discussions and whose good will and willingness to compromise had made it possible to draft a text which had received general approval.

42. Mr. HAKIMI (Afghanistan) pointed out that the problem of land reform differed from country to country. In Afghanistan, the chief defect of the agrarian structure was excessive fragmentation resulting from the peculiarities of the laws of inheritance. The Government had taken important measures to redistribute land, to improve farming methods and to promote the people's welfare. It was fully aware of the importance of the social aspects of land reform and was carrying out com-

munity planning schemes which would raise the level of health and culture of the rural population.

43. His delegation was pleased that it had been able to vote for the draft resolution, the application of which could, it believed, only be of benefit to the under-developed countries.

(c) International flow of private capital for the economic development of under-developed countries (A/C.2/L.225)

44. Mr. CHAUVET (Haiti), introducing the draft resolution submitted by Haiti (A/C.2/L.225), stressed the importance of international assistance to under-developed countries. One-third of the world's population had 85 per cent of the world's income while the other two-thirds shared the remaining 15 per cent. In 1952, 59.5 per cent of the world's population had been under-nourished as against 38.6 in 1939. The primary task of the United Nations, was, therefore, to secure for the under-privileged masses the material security and social justice without which it would be impossible to prevent them from being attracted to certain ideologies. Aware of that duty and anxious to end the present disparity between living conditions in the industrial and the under-developed countries, the United Nations was considering, among other things, the possibility of making non-repayable advances or grants, and long-term, low-interest loans to Governments in order to enable them to acquire capital goods or to undertake essential public works. It was, however, necessary that private enterprise be able to play its part side by side with the public authorities; that was the object of the Haitian draft resolution.

45. During the general debate on the economic development of the under-developed countries at the seventh session (195th meeting), he had already given a detailed account of the basic idea of the Haitian proposal, which was to facilitate the modernization or development of existing plants or the establishment of new industries through private capital investment, which the Governments of the applicant countries would encourage by guaranteeing the profitability of the undertakings. For the time being all that was required was to request the appropriate departments of the Secretariat to determine whether the machinery contemplated by the Haitian delegation could be set up and whether it could achieve the desired results. If so, the Secretariat would submit concrete proposals to the Economic and Social Council at its twentieth session, not at its twenty-first session, as was stated erroneously in the draft resolution.

46. United Nations technical assistance experts could do really useful work only if the under-developed countries had the necessary financial means to give effect to their recommendations. The Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development appeared to offer the desired solution to that problem but the explanations of vote after the resolution on the fund had been adopted had not given very much hope that it would be set up immediately. The international finance corporation seemed to have a better chance of coming into existence, and the Haitian delegation considered that the corporation would be the central agency responsible for implementing the proposals to be made by the Secretariat experts.

47. Investors were always reluctant to risk large sums. Many of the difficulties with which the under-developed countries were faced would therefore disappear if the Secretariat experts could find a method by which the

under-developed countries could be offered long-term credit similar to that already offered to private individuals, for instance in the United States of America. A system of that type could undoubtedly work by means of guarantees or endorsements by an international finance institution or by the Governments concerned.

48. The statements recently made by the United States Secretary of State on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes had opened up undreamed-of horizons for humanity. In the face of such a prospect, the United Nations could not remain inactive. It should seek bold but effective solutions in all fields. The Haitian draft resolution would enable the credit experts in the Secretariat to make proposals on ways and means of financing concrete schemes to be planned by technical assistance experts. When the experts appointed by the Secretary-General had consulted the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other international organizations concerned, as well as the managements of

appropriate institutions, such as the *assurance-crédit* in France, the relevant departments of the British Board of Trade and the United States Export-Import Bank, they would be in a position to say whether or not the Haitian scheme could be implemented.

49. Finally, he recalled that, when he had proposed the draft resolution (A/C.2/131) which was to give birth to United Nations technical assistance at the General Assembly at Paris in 1948, some people had regarded his proposal as visionary. The same might be the case today, but encouraged by the precedent which he had just cited, he had no hesitation in appealing to the Committee to adopt the draft resolution proposed by his delegation, for he was convinced that no opportunity should be neglected which might lead the world towards a better economic balance and the establishment of a new order.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.