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Chairman: Mr. Janez STANOVNIK (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEMS 28, 30, 31 AND 32

Progress and operations of the Special Fund (A/4415, A/4491, E/3398, E/3401 and Corr.1, SF/L.24 and Corr.1) (continued)

Programmes of technical assistance:

(a) Report of the Economic and Social Council (A/4415) (continued);

(b) United Nations assistance in public administration: report of the Secretary-General (A/4589, E/3370 and Corr.1) (continued)

Opportunities for international co-operation on behalf of former Trust Territories and other newly independent States: reports of the Economic and Social Council and of the Secretary-General (A/4415, A/4585) (continued)

Question of assistance to Libya: report of the Secretary-General (A/4575, A/4576) (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.2 L.509/REV.2) (continued)

1. Mr. SULE (Nigeria) introduced the second revised version of the draft resolution on assistance to former Trust Territories and other newly independent States (A/C.2/L.509/Rev.2). In drafting it, the co-sponsors had taken into account many of the amendments or suggestions submitted by various delegations.

2. The Argentine representative had submitted an amendment (A/C.2/L.534) proposing the deletion of the third paragraph of the preamble, and the Japanese representative also had mentioned that point. However, it seemed better to retain that paragraph, since the action proposed in paragraph 5 of document E/3387 referred to 1961, in which year the resources available might be somewhat greater than in 1960.

3. The sponsors had changed the wording of the fourth preambular paragraph to bring it into line with the text of operative paragraph 1, which had been amended as proposed by the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United Kingdom (A/C.2/L.527). They hoped that the representative of Cyprus would not press his amendment (A/C.2/L.524), which did not seem to be consistent with the need to broaden the scope of the draft resolution. They thought that the deletion of the words "and political" would satisfy the Argentine representative, who had proposed (A/C.2/L.534) the deletion of the paragraph in question.

4. In the fifth preambular paragraph, the proposal of the Cypriot delegation (A/C.2/L.524) that the words "Having considered" should be replaced by the word "Noting" and that the words "the most" should be replaced by the word "an" had been taken into account, but the other changes proposed to that paragraph by the Cypriot amendment had not been incorporated in the text of the draft resolution, since they did not seem to improve it.

5. The Cypriot amendment to the sixth preambular paragraph had been incorporated, but there was no need to move that paragraph up to become the fifth preambular paragraph. The seventh and eighth preambular paragraphs had been merged, and the problem referred to by the Argentine representative had thus been eliminated.

6. The sponsors of the draft had not felt it advisable to add at the end of the preamble the new paragraph proposed by the Japanese delegation in its amendment A/C.2/L.533. That amendment was really more closely related to another draft resolution before the Committee, which expressly dealt with the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund (A/C.2/L.529 and Corr.1).

7. With respect to operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, the sponsors had accepted the amendment of the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United Kingdom (A/C.2/L.527), and the amendment of Argentina, Brazil and Chile (A/C.2/L.526), reworded by the Brazilian representative (699th meeting). It had never been the intention of the sponsors of the draft resolution to propose a reduction in the assistance given to underdeveloped countries which had long been independent. He had made that point clear, in any event, when he had introduced the joint draft resolution (698th meeting).

8. The sponsors of the draft had studied the Second of the amendments proposed by the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United Kingdom (A/C.2/L.527), supported by France and the United States of America, to add a new operative paragraph 2 under which the General Assembly would approve in principle the proposals of the Secretary-General, contained in his report (A/4585), for increased assistance to the newly independent States from the regular budget of the United Nations. However, it was the Fifth Committee's responsibility to examine the Secretary-General's financial proposals; they were not the Second Committee's business. Some sponsors of the draft resolution were favourably disposed towards the Secretary-General's proposals, and their delegations intended to vote for them in the Fifth Committee. So far as the draft resolution was concerned, however, it seemed wiser to be content with an enumeration of practical measures. Accordingly, it was to be hoped that the representatives of the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, France and the United States would not press for the inclusion of a reference to the Secretary-General's proposals in the operative paragraphs.

9. In paragraph 2, the sponsors had adopted the suggestion of the representative of New Zealand (699th meeting) by inserting the words "to continue" between "countries" and "to render".

10. They had incorporated the third of the amendments proposed by the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United Kingdom (A/C.2/L.527) in the text of paragraph 3, and they were grateful to the Pakistan representative for his comments on that point at the previous meeting. They hoped that the representative of Cyprus also would be satisfied with the changes made in paragraph 3.

11. Operative paragraph 4 had been reworded to include a reference to the regional economic commissions concerned, in line with the Cypriot amendment (A/C.2/L.524); but the words "of the Economic Commission for Africa" had been retained, as seemed quite natural when it was considered that 94 per cent of the new States were African.

12. The sponsors of the draft had accepted the French amendment (A/C.2/L.528). He suggested that the new paragraph might be improved by inserting the words "and the regional economic commissions concerned" between "Council" and "his assistance".

13. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the draft resolution as revised would soon be adopted unanimously. The new States and the countries about to attain their independence expected much from the adoption of the resolution; he was convinced that all countries would more than live up to those expectations.

14. Mr. AKYAMAC (Cyprus) said that his delegation, as he had already stated, approved the substance of the draft resolution. Its purpose in presenting a number of amendments had been to dispel possible misunderstandings regarding the application of the draft resolution. It was satisfactory to note that in the new version the sponsors had gone a considerable way to meet those amendments. The draft resolution now clearly applied to all newly independent and emerging States. Accordingly, he withdrew his amendments (A/C.2/L.524).

15. Mr. DUDLEY (United Kingdom) said that his delegation was in a somewhat difficult position. On the one hand, it did not wish to prolong the discussion; on the other hand, the revised draft resolution called for very thorough examination, for it was probably the most important of all the proposals still before the Second Committee. The Committee had already examined the question at issue at its previous session, and the Economic and Social Council had studied it twice. The Council's discussions had shown that there was a general desire to give the newly independent and emerging States all possible assistance. The current discussion could be likened to that which had taken place in connexion with the proposal to establish SUNFED; and in matters of that kind, hasty action was to be avoided.

16. His delegation thanked the sponsors for accepting several of the amendments put forward, including some of its own. However, it was not very clear to his delegation how the Second Committee could deal with assistance to new States without taking formal and effective cognizance of the recommendations which the Secretary-General had made at the direct request of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. It was not a mere matter of appropriations, nor was it the exclusive concern of the Fifth Committee; the Second Committee had to decide either to endorse the system of assisting new States through the Expanded Programme, the Special Fund and the other organized channels of the United Nations or, on the contrary, to turn aside from the course so far followed and pursued in the Secretary-General's report. For that reason it would be difficult for his delegation to withdraw the amendment, which it had sponsored together with the delegations of the Netherlands and New Zealand, for the addition of a new operative paragraph 2 approving the Secretary-General's proposals contained in document A/4585 for increased assistance to the new States from the United Nations regular budget. In that connexion, incidentally, he was prepared to accept the amendment suggested by the French representative (A/C.2/L.530). The draft resolution now under discussion was the only one which dealt with assistance to former Trust Territories and the other newly independent States. It had been suggested that the Committee should pass a separate draft resolution on assistance to new States. There was no point, however, in adopting two draft resolutions on the same subject; namely, the draft resolution under consideration (A/C.2/L.509/Rev.2) and another separately following up the trend so far followed by the General As-

sembly and the Economic and Social Council. He could therefore not withdraw the amendment for the inclusion of a new paragraph 2. He hoped, however, to have an opportunity to discuss the matter again with the sponsors of the joint proposal.

17. In operative paragraph 3 of the second revised version of the draft some changes had been made in deference to the Netherlands, New Zealand and United Kingdom amendment (A/C.2/L.527), but there was still an appreciable difference between the two texts, and the paragraph as it appeared in the draft resolution implied a complete change in the system of providing technical assistance and co-operation. The first part of paragraph 3 seemed to imply, perhaps inadvertently, a radical change in the functions of the bodies responsible for technical assistance, which was currently rendered through the Expanded Programme, the Special Fund and the regular programme. The regional economic commissions had a great part to play in organizing economic life—a fact which his delegation had always recognized. The Economic Commission for Africa was required by its terms of reference to render, within the available resources of its secretariat, advisory services to countries at their request, provided that that did not duplicate the work of other United Nations organs or of the specialized agencies. Contrary to what the co-sponsors appeared to wish, it was not responsible for the distribution of technical assistance funds, and if it was intended to change this division of responsibilities, it should not be done by amendments to a draft resolution.

18. His delegation therefore maintained the third of its amendments in A/C.2/L.527 to operative paragraph 3.

19. Mrs. GEORGE (United States of America) thanked the Nigerian representative for his words concerning the attitude of the United States to the new States. She regretted, however, that the sponsors of the draft had been unable to accept her amendment (A/C.2/L.525). Her delegation maintained that amendment, but wished to change paragraph (b) to read as follows: "an appropriate provision in the United Nations regular budget". The expression "an appropriate provision" meant that that appropriation should meet the needs anticipated in the draft resolution but which could not be financed through the Expanded Programme. It did not necessarily entail an increase in the regular budget, for it might be possible to make some adjustments and to effect savings on certain items. The latter question was obviously a matter for the Fifth Committee, but the Second Committee, for its part, should define the nature of the activity to be undertaken. Her delegation shared the views just expressed by the United Kingdom representative. It hoped that the sponsors would make a further effort to meet its suggestion.

20. Mr. PENTEADO (Brazil) said that he could accept the revised draft resolution, and therefore withdrew on behalf of the co-sponsors the amendment contained in document A/C.2/L.526.

21. Mr. VIAUD (France) withdrew his delegation's amendment (A/C.2/L.528), since it had been embodied as paragraph 5 in the revised draft resolution. He saw no reason why the words "and the regional economic commissions concerned" should not be inserted after the words "Economic and Social Council", as the Nigerian representative had proposed. He also withdrew the French sub-amendment to operative paragraph 2 (A/C.2/L.530), which had been accepted by the

sponsors of amendment A/C.2/L.527. He shared the United Kingdom representative's views on paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, and would consequently support the version proposed in document A/C.2/L.527. The procedures applied to date should not be altered in virtue of a resolution. He would also support the United States amendment, with the change just proposed. It was in order to emphasize the importance of voluntary contributions, but the value of appropriations under the regular budget should not be underestimated, for some technical assistance activities were more suitable for inclusion in the regular programme than in the Expanded Programme. The French Government, which had increased its voluntary contributions by over \$300,000 for 1961, did not object to an increase in the regular budget appropriations. The Committee should avoid taking decisions on such technical matters as the period of validity of the appropriations and their distribution by sections, which were the Fifth Committee's province; its decisions should cover only the general aspect of the additional assistance needed for the newly independent countries.

22. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) said that his delegation was aware of the urgency of the appeal in the draft resolution for assistance to newly independent States. However, the proposal involved a question of principle as well as a financial problem. The essential issue was not so much the distribution of funds as observance of the Charter principles applicable to the equitable distribution of aid furnished through the United Nations. His delegation did not agree with the conclusions in the Secretary-General's reports (E/3387 and Add.1, A/4585) and regretted that the sponsors had not been willing to delete the third and fifth preambular paragraphs. The reports did not make it clear how the funds requested for the regular programme would be used. Even the total amount of the funds requested was not known. Document A/4585 mentioned \$2.5 million, but that figure had been increased to \$5 million, and in his statement (699th meeting) the Commissioner for Technical Assistance had spoken of \$10 million. His delegation could not assume any further commitments under the Organization's regular budget, and would therefore vote against the amendments that had been proposed in that connexion. Some delegations thought that assistance to new States should be given under the regular programme while others felt that it should be financed by voluntary contributions. That was a question which the Committee would have to decide, and he would be grateful if the sponsors could explain their understanding of the implications of the third and fifth preambular paragraphs. If they implied no financial commitment regarding the provision of additional funds under the regular budget, his delegation would withdraw its amendment to those paragraphs (A/C.2/L.534) and vote in favour of the revised draft resolution.

23. His delegation withdrew its amendments to the fourth and eighth preambular paragraphs (A/C.2/L.534).

24. Mr. KAKITSUBO (Japan) regretted that the sponsors of the draft resolution had not accepted his amendment (A/C.2/L.533). He thought that this amendment, if adopted, would serve to make the draft resolution more balanced and factual. The report of the Secretary-General, submitted to the Council's thirtieth session (E/3387 and Add.1), showed that the allocations for newly independent and emergent States had been shockingly small. However, it was clear that without

an increase in voluntary contributions to the Expanded Programme and the Special Fund, if would be impossible to increase the volume of assistance to the newly independent and emergent countries without the curtailment of aid to other countries. For that reason his delegation had co-sponsored Economic and Social Council resolutions 752 (XXIX) and 768 (XXX) making an appeal for increased contributions to both programmes. The appeal had been successful, and the contributions for 1961 registered a record increase both in absolute amount and percentage. For example, Japan's contributions for 1961 had been pledged on a matching basis and would amount to about three times as much as those for 1960. In submitting its amendment, his delegation had felt that reference should be made to that substantial increase in contributions. If the good results obtained were recognized, it would be easier for representatives to persuade their Governments to make further contributions. Document E/TAC/L.228 (table 3) also showed that assistance to the twenty-two newly independent or emergent countries and Trust Territories, which had been \$618,000 for 1960, had been increased to \$11,439,000 for 1961-1962 or a level almost twenty times higher than in the preceding year. His delegation considered that those facts should be mentioned in the resolution, if the third preambular paragraph was to be retained, and accordingly maintained its amendment. If the amendment was not adopted, he would request a separate vote on the third preambular paragraph of the revised draft resolution.

25. Mr. SULE (Nigeria) said that he could appreciate the reasons which had prompted certain delegations to take the position they had and regretted that it was difficult for the sponsors of the draft resolution to take their views into account. With regard to the three-Power amendment (A/C.2/L.527) and that of the United States (A/C.2/L.525), his delegation thought that the Committee should take a decision on the question of principle, but that it was for the Fifth Committee to consider the financial aspect and take a decision in that respect. In view of the importance of the draft resolution, the sponsors would like time to consult with a view to drafting a compromise text.

26. Mr. HERZI (Somalia), speaking as a sponsor of the draft resolution, agreed with the Nigerian representative's remarks. The question before the Committee was of vital importance. The sponsors of the draft resolution wished to emphasize the fact that the newly independent States were much less developed than the older countries and were faced with very serious problems. Some delegations had expressed the fear that too much emphasis was being placed on the newly independent States and that the criteria hitherto applied in distributing technical assistance might be changed in consequence. It had to be recognized, however, that the newly independent or emergent countries were the least developed, and that the least developed countries had the first claim to technical assistance. The draft resolution was intended to draw world attention to the special problems of the newly independent countries.

27. Mr. RETALIS (Greece) asked whether the Secretary-General would submit a statement of the financial implications of the draft resolution before the vote was taken.

28. The CHAIRMAN answered that a statement would be submitted in accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure.

29. Mr. GREEN (New Zealand) supported the Greek request for an immediate explanation by the Secretariat. He noted that the Nigerian representative had suggested that the Second Committee might not be competent to take a decision on the financial aspects of a question. It was for that reason that the sponsors of the draft had not accepted amendments A/C.2/L.525 and A/C.2/L.527. It would be interesting to know whether the Committee could take a decision in regard to a question with financial implications.

30. Mr. DE SEYNES (Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs) said that many draft resolutions adopted by the Second Committee and by other committees had financial implications. The New Zealand representative presumably wished to know whether a precise estimate of the financial implications should be given in the draft resolution itself or in a separate statement of the kind which the Secretariat frequently submitted to the Committee before a decision was taken with regard to a draft resolution. It appeared that there was nothing in the rules to prohibit a committee from including financial implications in a draft resolution. It was of course true that no resolution with financial implications could be finally adopted by the General Assembly, which alone had power to approve appropriations, until it had been considered by the Fifth Committee. On a number of occasions, in particular when it had considered the technical assistance programmes and OPEX programme, the Second Committee had indicated the financial implications of its decision in the actual text of the draft resolution.

31. He wished also to deal with the misunderstanding that seemed to exist regarding the estimate of the additional funds requested by the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General had at no time requested an additional \$10 million. Document A/4585, paragraph 23, showed clearly that the Secretary-General was requesting a sum of \$5 million to cover expenditure for the financial years 1961 and 1962, on the understanding that he might submit an amended request in 1962, so that the figure could be increased or decreased according to need.

32. Mr. DUDLEY (United Kingdom) had no doubt that it was for the Second Committee to decide the questions of principle raised by the Secretary-General's report and for the Fifth Committee to decide whether or not to approve the necessary appropriations.

33. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) said that the situation seemed to be somewhat confused, for the Commissioner for Technical Assistance had mentioned the figure of \$10 million in his statement to the Committee and during a conversation with him. Although the Secretary-General did not ask for an additional appropriation of \$10 million in his report, the Commissioner stated that the total cost of requests for assistance under the regular programme for 1961 and 1962 would be \$10 million. That meant that if the draft resolution was adopted, a further increase must be expected in the appropriation asked.

34. Mr. HEURTEMATTE (Commissioner for Technical Assistance) explained that as Mr. de Seynes had said, the appropriations requested by the Secretary-General amounted to \$5 million, a sum which had been arrived at in the light of the relative urgency of the requests for assistance received. That sum ought to make it possible to meet the most pressing requests. It should not be forgotten that the newly independent

countries, which would receive assistance out of those appropriations, had exceptional needs in the initial stage of their independence which would not persist later.

35. Mr. GREEN (New Zealand) thought that it was clear that policy should be determined by the Second Committee in order that the Fifth Committee should be guided in the matter of providing ways and means for the carrying out of that policy.

36. The CHAIRMAN asked the sponsors of the draft resolution and the sponsors of the amendments to consult together after the meeting, to see if they could reach an agreement before the draft resolution was put to the vote.

AGENDA ITEMS 12, 29 AND 74

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapters II (sections I, II and III A, except paragraphs 189-198), III, IV and VII (section I and paragraph 645)) (A/4415) (continued)

Economic development of under-developed countries (continued):

- (a) International flow of private capital: report of the Secretary-General and recommendations thereon by the Economic and Social Council (A/4487, E/3325 and Corr.1.3);
- (b) Question of the establishment of a United Nations capital development fund: report of the Secretary-General (A/4488, E/3393, E/3393/Add.1-4);
- (c) Methods and techniques for carrying out a study of world economic development: report of the Secretary-General and comments thereon by the Economic and Social Council (A/4489 and Add.1, E/3379, E/3379/Add.1-7);
- (d) Promotion of wider trade co-operation among States: report of the Secretary-General (A/4490, E/3389)

Land reform (A/4439) (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.2/L.493/REV.1) (continued)

37. Mr. MEJIA (Colombia), introducing the draft resolution on the improvement of the terms of trade between the industrial and the under-developed countries (A/C.2/L.493/Rev.1) said that the text was simple and straightforward. In it the sponsors merely stated the hope that some steps would be taken towards the ultimate goal of obtaining equitable remuneration for labour in the under-developed countries producing raw materials and primary commodities, in order to allow those countries to make some headway in their efforts to achieve progress. The sponsors of the draft resolution simply called for a speeding-up of studies which were at present lagging, despite the urgency of the problems to be solved, and asked that those studies should be impressed with a less orthodox stamp, more in accordance with the needs and concepts of the twentieth century.

38. The deterioration of the terms of trade of the primary-producing countries referred to in the second preambular paragraph was a known fact. The President of Colombia had said, in a speech at the inauguration

of the third meeting of the Committee of Twenty-One, in September 1960, that the dollar income of Latin America had diminished by more than \$1,000 million since 1951 and by \$800 million since 1955. In the case of the coffee-exporting countries, the decline in dollar income was particularly marked, and Colombia alone had lost \$174 million since 1956. Income from wool exports had been cut in half between 1953 and 1959. Sharp declines had been recorded in all exports from the Latin American countries. An inter-American research committee on trends in Latin American exports envisaged reductions of 10 cents or more a pound in the price of coffee. Such a decline in commodity prices was catastrophic for all the countries of Latin America, in view of present population increases, dollar commitments, projected development plans and rising unemployment. Moreover, that committee foresaw no possibility of new export lines. It would appear therefore, as the President of Colombia had said, that Latin America was faced not with a development problem, but with a crisis unprecedented in its history which threatened to overthrow all its institutions, its freedoms and its peace.

39. Similarly, the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs had drawn the Second Committee's attention (646th meeting) to the structural problem of the deterioration in the terms of trade, and had indicated that the amount of primary commodities which must be exported in order to acquire a given unit of manufactured goods was today 20 per cent higher than it had been on the eve of the hostilities in Korea.

40. The undeniable fact set forth in the third preambular paragraph was well illustrated by the effects of the agreement between the coffee-producing countries, which had resulted in the accumulation of stocks equivalent to the amount which normally came on the market in the space of a year, thus placing a heavy burden on the countries which held them, particularly Brazil.

41. In the last three paragraphs of the preamble, the sponsors referred to the existing commodity agreements and agreements between States on the sale of agricultural surpluses, because they felt that those constituted useful examples that might well be followed in order to extend trade among States as a means of improving the prices of the goods exported by the under-developed countries, provided that such trade was established on new bases, more favourable to the under-developed countries. He noted that in the fifth preambular paragraph the phrase "by means of inter-State agreements" in the English text should be replaced by the words "by means of agreements between States".

42. Trade between States must be established on new bases because the agreements concluded hitherto did not allow the producing countries to improve their economies: in point of fact, under those agreements, the maximum and minimum prices of commodities were to be determined by prices on the world markets. That concept dated back to the out-worn philosophy of free trade. It was impossible to talk seriously of world market prices when, for years, customs barriers, import and export quotas, trade restrictions and limitations on the free flow of capital had prevented the free play of the forces normally governing world markets, and when the gold standard—the pivot of any free trade system—was no more than a distant memory. The FAO Expert Panel on Agricultural Price

Stabilization and Support Policies had also emphasized, in connexion with price support measures, that such measures should leave the market to play its part in the formation of prices. That way of stating the price problem would never help the under-developed countries to improve their wretched situation. The problem should be viewed in terms of justice rather than of markets; the international community could no longer cling to Lassalle's iron law in considering the remuneration of labour in the under-developed countries.

43. The United Nations must devise a system of trade that would make it possible to reduce the enormous discrepancy between the prices of raw materials and those of industrial products, i.e. between the remuneration of labour in the under-developed countries and in the industrialized countries. The system could be based on agreements between producer and consumer countries founded not on world market prices but on a policy of encouraging economic development in the

backward regions of the world, promoting international trade and generally restoring the world economy. The system proposed was not new. The French representative had already told the Second Committee that the French Government had concluded agreements with a number of African countries assuring those countries regular outlets for their goods in the French market at better than world prices. The sponsors of the draft resolution hoped that that policy would be made general, not only for the benefit of the under-developed countries but also in the interests of the industrial nations, which would have wider markets for their own products if the purchasing power of the under-developed countries was increased. International trade would be revitalized and the spectre of economic recessions would disappear. In a period of constant change and radical transformation, the United Nations should adopt a less conformist position and show greater boldness in tackling new situations.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.