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AGENDA ITEMS 12, 29 AND 74

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(d) Promotion of wider trade co-operation among States: re-
port of the Secretary-General (A/4490, E/3389)

Land reform (A/4439) (continued)

QUESTION OF PROCEDURE (concluded)*

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to continue
its discussion of the request that priority should be
given to consideration of the six-Power draft resolu-
tion (A/C.2/L.459).

2. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) said that the draft
resolution dealt with an important and complex matter
which required careful examination. Postponement of
a discussion of the draft resolution would make such
an examination possible, and might enable delegations
which could not at present support it to reach agree-
ment with its sponsors. The forthcoming meeting of
the FAO Council did not seem an adequate reason for
haste, since that Council could in any case take no
final action on the proposal. He hoped that the draft
resolution's sponsors would not maintain their re-
quest that it should be given priority, since that would
require a change in the programme of work the Com-
mittee had already decided upon and would force a
decision his delegation would prefer to see postponed.

3. Mr. IRWIN (Canada) remarked that the primary
concern of the sponsors in requesting priority was to
ensure that the action taken by the Committee would
be practical and effective. His delegation agreed that
the matter to which the draft resolution related was
important, but it had been discussed repeatedly in the
past, and the issue involved in the draft resolution
itself was not so weighty as to justify a delay. On the
other hand, it would be advantageous to deal with the
draft resolution in time to allow the FAO Council to
consider the text before the end of its forthcoming
session. The Committee was authorized, under rule
100 of the rules of procedure, to take decisions on
the order of its work at any time, and changes in an
order of work previously decided upon had been made
on many occasions in the past. He asked the Chair-
man to rule on whether the request for priority fell
under rule 100 or rule 124 of the rules of procedure.

4. The CHAIRMAN said that, as the question of the
priorities to be assigned to the various agenda items
had been decided at the 645th meeting and as the
request made by the United States representative
would require a reconsideration of that decision, he
considered that the request fell under rule 124.

5. In reply to a question from Mr. ROA KOURI
(Cuba), Mr. ORR (Food and Agricultural Organiza-
tion of the United Nations) said that the next meeting
of the Conference—the highest policy-making body of
FAO—would be held in November 1961.

6. Replying to questions asked by Mr. CAMARA
Sikhé (Guinea), Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of

* Resumed from the 650th meeting.

America), Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), and Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia), Mr. ORR (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) said that the Constitution of FAO made provision for the calling of a special session of the Conference, but that the provision had, to his knowledge, been invoked only once, in order to elect a Director-General. Between sessions of the Conference, many of its functions were assumed by the FAO Council; however the Council could not authorize the appropriation of funds for any purpose. Such funds might be required in connexion with the study referred to in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution. Any member of the Council could bring before it the matter referred to in the draft resolution, whether or not the text had already been discussed in the Second Committee, and either the Council or the Conference of FAO could take action on certain provisions of the draft resolution before they had been discussed by the General Assembly. Other provisions, such as those calling for action by the Secretary-General, were, of course, outside FAO's competence.

7. After a brief procedural discussion, the CHAIRMAN called for a vote, under rule 124 of the rules of procedure, on the proposal that priority should be given to the discussion of the six-Power draft resolution (A/C.2/L.459).

The result of the vote was 36 in favour and 12 against, with 27 abstentions.

The proposal was adopted, having obtained the required two-thirds majority.

8. Mr. CHERNYSHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) explained that he had voted against the proposal not because his delegation underestimated the importance of remedying the world food shortage but because it opposed the idea of holding a special vote merely to satisfy one delegation which, as he had pointed out at the 650th meeting, was prompted by electoral considerations.

9. Mr. SERBAN (Romania) said that the Committee should have voted on the Chairman's ruling to conduct the procedural debate in accordance with rule 124 of the rules of procedure.

10. The CHAIRMAN replied that his ruling had not been challenged and therefore he had assumed that it had been generally accepted.

11. He proposed that the substance of the draft resolution should be discussed not later than the following Monday.

It was so decided.

12. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) asked what background documents were available to the Committee for its consideration of the substance of the draft resolution and whether they would be distributed by the following Monday.

13. Mr. DE SEYNES (Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs) replied that the United Nations had never been directly responsible for the production of documents on food surpluses. One document on the subject had been put out by ECAFE but he was not certain whether sufficient copies of it were available. The main documentation would be in the possession of FAO or the United States Government.

14. Mr. DUDLEY (United Kingdom) said that the Committee was now considering certain parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council (A/4415). The FAO reported to the Council, and its activities had been fully covered in the programme appraisals which the Council had considered at its summer session. His delegation felt that all the necessary documentation about FAO's work was already before the Committee.

15. Mr. RAJAPATIRANA (Ceylon) recalled that at its 645th meeting the Committee had decided upon its programme of work but that programme had been dislocated by the vote just taken. Admittedly, the substance of the resolution was important, but so were the other items on the Committee's agenda. The question of food surpluses required very careful consideration and should not be tackled hastily. His delegation had abstained during the vote as a means of registering its disappointment at the attempt which had been made to turn the Committee into a voting machine.

16. Mr. HASSAN (Sudan) appealed to the Committee to forsake procedural discussions and concentrate on the really important questions of substance before it.

17. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America) admitted that his delegation had been mistaken about the date of the FAO Conference, but that made no difference to the question of urgency. If priority was given to the draft resolution, the FAO Council could consider the matter before it adjourned on 28 October, authorize the Director-General to initiate the necessary consultations and report back to the next meeting of the FAO Council in late May or early June 1961. The FAO Council could give its approval to the Director-General's action and a report could be submitted to the thirty-second session of the Economic and Social Council in the summer of 1961.

GENERAL DISCUSSION (continued)

18. Mr. OMAR (Afghanistan) said that general recognition of the fact that the presence of poverty anywhere in the world limited advancement everywhere had resulted in an increased sense of international responsibility towards the under-developed countries. The area of economic co-operation among States had widened in recent years and it was encouraging to note that the great European nations were now prepared to join more fully with other highly advanced countries in the general effort to promote growth in the less developed countries. Some progress had been achieved, but the greater task lay ahead. The unique concept of public responsibility had grown in importance as a result of changing world economic and social conditions and one of its most recent manifestations was the economic and social planning and the progress of regional economic integration. It was also reflected in today's development plans which took into account the need for balanced growth.

19. The problem facing the world, and particularly the less developed countries, was how to stimulate growth without causing imbalance at home or abroad. Of course, no single formula could be drawn up to accommodate all nations; economic planning and projections must reflect individual needs. The World Economic Survey, 1959 (E/3361), the report of the Economic and Social Council, and the statement made at the 646th meeting by the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs had painted an encouraging

picture of the progress being made in the developed nations, but the rate of advance in the less developed countries was painfully slow.

20. Experience proved that economic prosperity in the industrialized countries would not start a cumulative development in the less developed areas, but that special measures were necessary if their condition was not to worsen. The difficulties facing the under-developed countries were immense and urgent. They had to overcome commodity instability, population pressures, lack of available resources, capital deficiencies and educational backwardness. They had to produce enough agricultural commodities to satisfy their rising populations, build their infrastructures and import the capital goods necessary for their development.

21. However, commodity markets were subject to fluctuations and, as had been pointed out, many of the less developed countries had lost in one year, as a result of falling export prices, more than they had received in assistance over a period of ten years. The Survey and Mr. de Seynes' statement showed that the less developed countries had not fully shared in the upsurge in world trade and that prices had not recovered their former high level. Moreover, the trade of the less developed countries would probably deteriorate still further as the unit value of manufactured goods, after remaining steady for over a year, was again rising. The value of primary commodities, on the other hand, had dropped during the first quarter of 1960 below the 1959 average.

22. Although the question of the economic development of the under-developed countries was closely linked with that of international trade, no specific international measures had yet been adopted to solve that world-wide problem. However, it was heartening to note that several international commodity agreements had been signed and that the Commission on International Commodity Trade was actively engaged in consultations with producers and consumers, particularly the developed nations. Other encouraging signs were the appointment in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1423 (XIV) of a group of experts to study and examine commodity questions and the projected joint meetings of the Commission on International Commodity Trade and the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems. The problem of commodities had national and international aspects and both should be studied simultaneously if progress was to be made. The question of compensatory financing, as a first step for producers to offset excessive price fluctuations, was extremely important and could well be managed with the increased resources at the disposal of IMF. Constructive international effort was also needed for the purpose of making commodity arrangements multilateral, establishing a fair price relationship between agricultural commodities and manufactured goods, and exploring the possibilities of international buffer stock operations.

23. Technological development, uneven world economic growth and perhaps also the economic and fiscal policies of the developed countries had created another serious problem for the less developed countries: the lag in the demand for primary commodities. The data before the Committee showed that the volume of primary commodities which must be exported in order to acquire a given unit of manu-

factured goods was today 20 per cent higher than it had been ten years earlier. Such a state of affairs impeded economic development and further widened the already serious gap between the less developed and the developed countries. It was the responsibility of the world community to find an effective solution for that problem which would enable the less developed countries to sell their exports at reasonable prices.

24. In the long run, the problems of primary commodities and of economic development could be solved only by increased diversification and industrialization, which in turn could be achieved only by an increasing rate of capital formation. Again, success depended on the magnitude of international co-operation and assistance. Fortunately, the United Nations was playing an active role in the economic and social progress of nations. Its collective responsibility had been emphasized by the recent meetings of the Economic and Social Council at the ministerial level. His delegation supported such meetings and hoped that they would contribute further to the advancement of the world economy. The establishment of the Committee for Industrial Development and the expansion of the United Nations technical assistance programmes and of the Special Fund were noteworthy new developments.

25. It was encouraging to learn that both unilateral and multilateral assistance had been increasing by about 15 per cent annually in the past five or six years. The IBRD and the various lending agencies of the highly developed countries had given great assistance to the under-developed countries, but they did not always operate with the necessary flexibility. For that reason, his delegation welcomed the establishment of the new institutions such as the Special Fund, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association.

26. However, there was no real substitute for a United Nations capital development fund. No organization had yet been created specifically for meeting the needs of the under-developed countries and for providing them with long-term, low-interest capital in substantial amounts to enable them to build up their industrial infrastructures. The emergence of many newly independent nations made the need for such a fund even more urgent. His delegation hoped that the highly developed nations, whose support for such a project was essential, would reconsider their position. The experience which the United Nations had acquired in the administration of its various financial organizations placed it in a particularly good position to assume the task of administering a capital development fund.

27. Many under-developed countries had adopted special measures to attract private foreign capital. For example, Afghanistan had revised and liberalized its legislation to provide greater protection and additional facilities for foreign investors. Nevertheless, the net inflow of long-term private capital to low-income under-developed areas had not increased and the figure for 1958-1959 was lower than in previous years. The bulk of private foreign capital had been invested in the developed nations; what little had reached the under-developed areas had to a large extent been concentrated in petroleum and mining.

28. Obviously, in order to increase the flow of private capital, it was not enough for the under-developed countries to provide the opportunities; additional measures must be taken by the developed countries. His delegation looked forward to the Secretary-General's report on the subject, which was to be considered at the Council's thirty-first session. It must be remembered, however, that private capital could be only a supplement to external loans and assistance.

29. An issue closely related to that of the economic and social development of the under-developed countries was land reform. Many such countries were confronted with the problem of low agricultural productivity, food shortages and other agrarian difficulties, but no single formula could be adopted which would suit them all. They should devise their own programmes in order to meet their individual requirements. His Government had attacked the problem by means of a first five-year plan which was now nearing completion; by providing better seeds, modern equipment, agricultural extension services, and farm credit, and by initiating community development projects. It had also adopted measures to control crop and livestock diseases, to stabilize farm prices and to bring more land under cultivation. It had also continued to distribute state-owned land to new settlers. There was much to learn from the experience of Mexico, the United Arab Republic, India and other countries. His delegation also looked forward to the Secretary-General's report on land reform.

30. Industrialization assisted agricultural development by providing a market for farm products and stimulated the economy as a whole by raising national income and production. The under-developed countries were increasing their efforts to accelerate industrialization programmes, but because of their meagre resources their progress was slow.

31. The United Nations should become an increasingly dynamic instrument for achieving world prosperity and sustained economic growth. Its prime objectives should be the following. Firstly, the present level of bilateral and multilateral assistance should be raised. Calculations assuming a growth rate of 2 per cent per caput a year showed that an additional \$4,000 million should be spent each year on such assistance. Any substantial reduction in armaments expenditure would, of course, release further resources sufficient to attain higher levels of living everywhere. External capital was needed in order to raise capital formation to a level adequate to achieve the growth expected, and to maintain it at that level until domestic savings were large enough to finance it. Secondly, the establishment of a United Nations capital development fund was indispensable in order to finance infrastructural development and to enhance the effect of other United Nations programmes. Thirdly, great attention must be given to the need for commodity price stabilization, with particular emphasis on compensatory financing and international buffer stock operations. Fourthly, the process of consultation suggested by the Secretary-General should be utilized and strengthened, particularly in the fields of trade, assistance, industrialization and the clarification of objectives. Only the co-operation of the developed countries could make such consultation effective. Fifthly, further

facilitation of trade and the reduction of tariff restrictions was necessary to expand world commerce. Sixthly, there was a need for increased capital investment in agriculture, in order to produce more food, and a world-wide surplus programme, in order to raise nutritional levels and provide a source of financing for development projects. In that connexion, the draft resolution put forward by the United States and five other countries and FAO's Freedom from Hunger Campaign were most welcome. Seventhly, so far as the world-wide trends towards the establishment of regional economic groupings led to an expansion of trade within and outside the regions concerned, they were welcome. However, as the Secretary-General had warned, those groupings might eventually divide as much as they united. Continuing consultations were needed on the effects of regional integration measures, in the interests of broader international trade.

32. Although the less developed countries continued to rely primarily on their own resources for growth and progress, they were grateful to their friends and to the United Nations for the supplementary help they were receiving. His delegation had full faith in the ability of the world community to ensure economic progress.

33. Mr. BOIKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), referring to his country's continuing rapid progress in industry, agriculture, housing, working conditions and levels of living, emphasized that the Ukrainian people and Government wished above all to be able to pursue their economic development in a world of enduring peace and stability. Communists had always condemned war, and the vigorous and confident growth of the Ukrainian SSR and the other socialist countries was therefore one of the most reliable contributory factors to world peace.

34. Turning to the 1959-1960 world economic situation, he stressed the harmful effect of the armaments race on the economic development of many countries. Armaments manufacture wasted vast material resources, urgently needed for improving the living conditions of the people. He did not agree with those representatives who, while admitting that disarmament had certain economic implications, maintained that it was a purely political problem which could not properly be discussed in the Second Committee. The political and economic aspects of disarmament were closely interrelated, and a study of its economic aspects by the Committee and other United Nations economic bodies would contribute to the problem's ultimate solution at the political level. His delegation therefore supported the proposals to that effect discussed at the Council's two previous sessions and regarded the Council's inability to initiate such a study as a short-coming. By estimating the material and financial resources which general and complete disarmament would make available for economic development, and particularly for assistance to under-developed countries, the Council would have given people and Governments a clearer conception of the effects of disarmament. Regrettably, it had rejected such a course, as a consequence of the position taken by the United States and other countries.

35. Moreover, the Council seemed to devote an increasing proportion of its efforts to the co-ordination of its subsidiary bodies and was less and less inclined to make recommendations on major economic

issues to the General Assembly, as provided for by the Charter. He also agreed with the Polish representative's remarks (649th meeting) concerning the Council's discussion of the functions of the Committee for Industrial Development. As had already been pointed out, the World Economic Survey, 1959 misrepresented the economic development of the socialist countries and the nature and results of Soviet economic planning. He, too, believed that additional competent staff should be appointed to the economic sections of the Secretariat responsible for preparing the Surveys, with due regard for the principle of equitable geographical representation. The authors of the Surveys were bourgeois economists, yet they claimed to have a better knowledge of the future economic development of the socialist countries than of private enterprise economies. The very first paragraph of the introduction to the current Survey disproved that claim, for the unfavourable appraisal of the prospects of the socialist countries was obviously no less erroneous than the unduly optimistic prediction for the capitalist countries.

36. The reference in Mr. de Seynes' statement (646th meeting) to the different anti-cyclical policies adopted by the capitalist countries had amounted to an admission of the failure of those countries to agree on effective measures to prevent their economies from entering the recessionary phase. Agreement on such measures was lacking on the national as well as on the international level, since conflicting situations prevailed in different sectors of the capitalist countries' economies. Even the favourite anti-cyclical remedy of the bank rate could no longer be standardized under present conditions. The high anti-inflationary bank rates could not now be reduced, even by a country entering the recessionary phase, because of its adverse balance of payments and gold reserve, or the prospect of deterioration.

37. He recalled that, when its balance of payments had sharply deteriorated in 1959, the United States had asked many capitalist countries to allow its goods freer access to their markets in order to strengthen the dollar. Many import restrictions on United States goods had been then removed and others eased, and in 1960 the United States would have a favourable trade balance of \$4,500 million. However, while United States exports were rapidly increasing, its imports of meat, coffee, motor vehicles, petroleum products and diamonds were declining, to the detriment of the exporting countries. Meanwhile, United States exporters had greatly increased exports of machinery, chemical goods, copper, aluminium, grain, coffee, synthetic rubber and many other goods. Nevertheless, despite that trend and the sacrifices made by other capitalist countries, the dollar showed no signs of strengthening; the United States gold reserve continued to fall and its adverse balance of payments would amount to about \$3,000 million in 1960. The United States was consequently urging its Western partners to take a greater share of the burden of providing financial assistance to under-developed countries. Furthermore, because of those difficulties, under-developed countries accepting United States loans were compelled to buy United States goods at prices which were often higher than those prevailing in the world market. The stability of the dollar was, however, adversely influenced by increased United States military expenditure and by the greater convertibility achieved by the currencies of certain other

capitalist countries. He hoped that all those problems would be dealt with in detail in the World Economic Survey, 1960.

38. The newly-admitted Members of the United Nations were faced with the immense task of completely reorganizing their economies, establishing modern industries and developing agriculture. The difficulties were due, not to the departure of the colonizers, but to their presence for centuries and their selfish exploitation of the local natural resources and labour. The under-developed countries, as primary producers, were directly affected by the state of the international commodity trade. However, their economic development depended equally on the relationship between the prices commanded by their exports and the prices of manufactured goods. The volume of international commodity trade in 1959 had shown an increase of 11 per cent over that of the recessionary year 1958 and had been close to the 1957 level. Commodity prices had nevertheless fallen 2 per cent below the exceptionally low 1958 prices, while the price index of the London Economist for agricultural products, including such major items as wheat, maize, sugar, tea, coffee, and cocoa beans, had fallen by 6 per cent. There had, however, been no corresponding fall in the prices of manufactured goods, either during the period of recession or in 1959, when the relationship between the prices of commodities and manufactured goods had been the most unfavourable for ten years, from the point of view of the economically under-developed countries.

39. The adverse effect of the recessions experienced by the industrialized countries on the under-developed countries was two-fold. Firstly, curtailed production in the Western countries reduced purchases of primary products and their prices, affecting in particular the undiversified economies of under-developed countries. Secondly, even during periods of recession, the prices of manufactured goods supplied to under-developed countries fell, if at all, only insignificantly by comparison with the drops in commodity prices. Disproportionate price fluctuations deprived the under-developed countries of considerable resources, which could otherwise have been available for investment and of which only a small proportion was now offered them by Western countries under some form of economic assistance. Such assistance was, in fact, the return to the under-developed countries of a small fraction of the resources taken from them under the controlled market system, whereby capitalist cartels fixed prices for entire industries in the Western countries. Such cartels operated on an international scale, with dictatorial powers that no under-developed country was able to oppose.

40. The main solution for those countries was economic diversification. Their position could also be improved by the stabilization of commodity markets, and other measures which would reduce the adverse effect of such practices as protectionism, dumping of surplus stocks and closed economic associations of Western countries. His delegation shared the view, expressed at the eighth session of the Commission on International Commodity Trade, that a study should be made of the effect of fluctuations in the economic activities of Western industrial countries on the international commodity trade, and he hoped that the Commission would make such a study at its next ses-

sion in the interests of the under-developed countries. Indications of an impending economic recession in the United States made such a study, and the formulation of appropriate measures, a matter of some urgency. The statement by Mr. de Seynes that the terms of trade for primary commodity exporters had worsened by 20 per cent in the past ten years meant that 20 per cent more raw material was needed to purchase the same unit of manufactured goods as ten years previously. The position of some under-developed countries was in fact still worse, as the representative of Paraguay had indicated in the General Assembly (874th plenary meeting). Moreover, as the representatives of Pakistan and Yugoslavia had stated, the deteriorating terms of trade for under-developed countries resulted in losses of currency in excess of any aid received. Similar statements had been made in the United States Press.

41. His delegation was surprised that resolution 762 (XXIX) of the Economic and Social Council concerning the international flow of private capital mentioned only General Assembly resolution 1318 (XIII) but not resolution 824 (IX). The latter resolution was also not mentioned in Economic and Social Council resolution 780 (XXX), although it had been adopted on the basis of a report prepared by the Secretary-General under that resolution. According to his delegation's interpretation of General Assembly resolutions 824 (IX) and 1035 (XI), the Secretary-General was required to submit a triennial report on the international flow of private capital to the Economic and Social Council, which in turn was to make recommendations to the General Assembly. Although the first triennial report, entitled The International Flow of Private Capital, 1956-1958,^{1/} had been among the

documents submitted for discussion at the twenty-eighth session of the Economic and Social Council, no mention had been made of the results of the discussion on that report, and he asked whether the period specified in General Assembly resolution 1035 (XI) was still observed in the submission of those reports.

42. Referring to the inclusion of the question of land reform in the Assembly's agenda, he expressed his delegation's support for the wise and timely step taken by the Cuban Government in proposing the item. Land reform was particularly important and urgently needed in economically under-developed countries, and the United Nations should adopt measures encouraging land reform in the interests of landless peasants and those with small and medium-sized holdings. His delegation also supported all those who nationalized, or intended to nationalize, agricultural land, including that owned by foreign monopolies.

43. He wished to reaffirm that the Ukrainian SSR was in favour of peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition between States with different social structures, and of active international co-operation on that basis, to the benefit of all concerned. He recalled that General Assembly resolution 1421 (XIV) urged the development of trade between all States, but pointed out that international trade and other economic relations depended on the acceptance by all Member States of agreed economic principles, which should be presented in the form of a declaration on international economic co-operation, as proposed by the Soviet Union (647th meeting).

^{1/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: 59.II.D.2.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.