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## CONTENTS

	Page
General debate covering all agenda items referred to the Committee ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	127

Chairman: Mr. Ismael THAJEB (Indonesia).

### GENERAL DEBATE COVERING ALL AGENDA ITEMS REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE (*continued*)

1. Mr. MAHEU (Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization),<sup>1/</sup> stressing the vital importance of the campaign against illiteracy, recalled the provisions set forth in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 1677 (XVI), which concerned UNESCO. He noted that the first of those provisions had been implemented at the twelfth session of the General Conference of UNESCO, held in November-December 1962. After a major debate on the question of the eradication of illiteracy, the General Conference had adopted a resolution that was reproduced in the introduction to the UNESCO report entitled "World Campaign for Universal Literacy" (E/3771 and Corr.1 and 2), which the Committee had before it. That report had been submitted in implementation of the second of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1677 (XVI) concerning UNESCO.

2. The UNESCO report comprised, on the one hand, a survey of the world situation with regard to illiteracy and, on the other hand, recommendations on the measures which might be taken to promote its eradication or, in any event, its reduction. The report had been prepared on the basis of documentation assembled by UNESCO during its seventeen years of existence and had been adopted by the General Conference. The Economic and Social Council had taken note of it with appreciation (resolution 972 (XXXVI)). The first point to note was that the survey of the existing situation given in the report had been drawn up in 1962 on the basis of statistics dating back to about 1956 and that, furthermore, illiteracy was probably one of the subjects which presented the greatest difficulty from the point of view of analysis because of the incompleteness and vagueness of the available statistics. The survey gave only an approximation of the position as it had been about the year 1956, but it was probably the best approximation available at the present time.

3. One of the striking facts brought out by the survey was that, at the present time, two fifths of the world's adult population—which meant, in the present context, males and females over fifteen years of age—were illiterate. Moreover, the main areas of illiteracy were coextensive with the under-developed areas;

<sup>1/</sup> The complete text of the statement made by the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was circulated as document A/C.2/L.731.

illiteracy was but one aspect of under-development. Women formed the majority of the illiterate.

4. As to child illiteracy, out of a total of 206 million children of school age in eighty-five countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in 1960, only 110 million, or approximately 55 per cent, were attending primary schools. Furthermore, a considerable proportion of those did not complete their schooling and relapsed fairly soon into illiteracy, so that the illiterate adult population was at present increasing by 20 to 25 million annually.

5. The report submitted by UNESCO surveyed, with the aid of examples, the action being taken by Governments and by private bodies to remedy that deplorable situation. It showed how mass literacy campaigns were being organized in many countries and indicated the results which were being achieved. Those results were inadequate, though remarkable in many respects, especially having regard to the limited resources available. They were encouraging for two reasons: in the first place, the requirements for effective action seemed to be met, for awareness of the problem, without which nothing could be undertaken in that field, was found to exist in many parts of the world; in the second place, progress had been made in the organizing and planning services and, above all, the necessary technical means and methods were not lacking. However, the results were also discouraging for they showed that, while there was isolated action at the national level, there was no universal effort commensurate with the global nature of the scourge of illiteracy. That was what was lacking and that was what UNESCO proposed should be considered.

6. The UNESCO report attempted to outline a co-ordinated programme of action to be taken throughout the world—in fact, a world campaign. If illiteracy was to be wiped out, the fight must be waged on two fronts at the same time: against adult illiteracy and against child illiteracy. First and foremost, free and compulsory primary education must be established everywhere, but at the same time there was a need for a large-scale adult literacy campaign. He did not believe that a choice between the two was possible because, on the one hand, the generalization of primary education was not feasible in a society where the adults were illiterate and, on the other hand, to seek to ensure adult literacy was a vain effort if the education of the children was not built on a firm and sufficiently broad base.

7. The last part of the report contained recommendations on the possibility of a world adult literacy campaign, leaving aside the question of the generalization of primary education, which was the subject of continuing effort on the part of the Member States in co-operation with UNESCO. UNESCO proposed that the aim should be to make literate within ten years two thirds of the 500 million adult illiterates currently assumed to exist in the member States of UNESCO in

Asia, Africa and Latin America. Those two thirds, i.e., 300 million persons, represented roughly that part of the population which was between the ages of fifteen and fifty years, in other words, the working population. They could be made literate. The main effort must of course be made by the Governments of the countries concerned because, where national effort was lacking, no international action could succeed or even be taken. However, national efforts were already in progress: they must be stimulated and systematized. National effort represented about 75 per cent of the total effort that would be required for a world campaign; it was thus of paramount importance. However, such national effort required both material assistance and, to an even greater degree, qualitative and moral support.

8. In its report, UNESCO made a distinction between external aid that might be furnished under existing bilateral agreements and international aid that it was prepared to undertake if it was given the means. It felt that international aid could not and indeed should not amount to as much in quantitative terms, as the bilateral aid provided. However, international aid must have a certain amount of substance if it was to be effective. It should consist in carrying out studies and pilot projects, in aid to the countries concerned in selected key sectors, and in the organization of the total effort. UNESCO had estimated the cost of teaching an adult to read and write at roughly \$5.25 to \$7.50, depending on the region concerned. That average, multiplied by 330 million, gave a figure of \$1,911 million as the approximate cost of the entire campaign. National efforts would cover about 75 per cent of that total, or approximately \$1,481 million. That financial effort was within the means of countries directly concerned, which were well able to cover it in their economic development plans and their plans for educational development. The amount mentioned represented only 0.14 per cent of the gross national product of the under-developed countries in 1961, and the meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian States members of ECAFE, held at Tokyo in 1962, had recommended that, in the participating countries, 4 to 5 per cent of the gross national product should be earmarked for the development of education. Consequently, the effort proposed by UNESCO would not upset the present plans of the States concerned; moreover, their economies would benefit considerably in the long run, as UNESCO had tried to show in its report.

9. External aid, which made up one quarter of the total, would amount to \$430 million. In other words, it would cost \$1.50 per adult. With regard to bilateral aid a total of \$330 million spread over ten years came to \$33 million a year; that figure could not be considered excessive considering that the total of bilateral aid for development in 1962 had been \$5,400 million. The UNESCO report estimated that the proposed international action would cost \$100 million over ten years, or \$10 million a year, and it should be noted that the amount allowed for administrative costs represented no more than 13 per cent of the total funds; 31 per cent of the total amount would be devoted to regional projects and 56 per cent to national projects.

10. Unfortunately, that was still too much for the present resources of UNESCO, whose annual budget amounted to less than \$20 million. Unless it was assured of the necessary funds, therefore, UNESCO could not take on such a task without dooming itself to failure. However, it should not be impossible to collect \$10 million a year for such a cause as the

literacy programme. If the will was there it would be possible, for the first time in history, to make education available to hundreds of millions of men and women whose right to it had been proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The spread of literacy was first of all a matter of justice. It was also a prerequisite of development, and the strictest economic realism gave sufficient warrant for a major effort in that field. Finally, there was no ignoring the threat to peace, whether social peace or international peace, created by the daily widening gap between those who enjoyed the benefits of education and those deprived of it. There must be no mistake about it: nothing was so threatening to security as that growing inequality. Such were the matters dealt with in the report before the Committee, and the question was whether Governments were prepared to undertake, jointly, the necessary effort.

11. A point to be settled was whether immediate action should be taken. Watching the situation grow worse, and observing the prosperity of the developed countries and the signs of a relaxed atmosphere favourable to disarmament, he was tempted to reply in the affirmative. But precisely because the task was one in which the nations must not fail, it was justifiable to consider that technical and psychological preparation was required. The question of timing, however, was relatively secondary. The peoples had waited so long that they could wait a little longer; poverty and even injustice were endurable. What could not be tolerated was the frustration of hope and, once the United Nations had taken its decision, it would really have to be put into effect. UNESCO, for its part, was ready to promote and support a world campaign if the Member States decided that the time had come to undertake that effort and were prepared to provide the necessary resources.

12. Mr. JAZAIRY (Algeria) observed that in the past few years there had been a very significant evolution in the approach to economic problems, from policies of short-term stabilization to the general acceptance that Governments, both individually and collectively, could and should influence long-term trends. The United Nations Development Decade was the most significant expression of that new spirit. While there was a growing awareness that no country, however advanced, could remain indifferent to the widening gap between the rich and the poor countries, one of the most striking features of that evolution was the determination of the under-developed countries to take the initiative in trying to meet the challenge of development, as was evidenced by the Conference on the Problems of Economic Development held at Cairo in 1962 and the Summit Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa in 1963.

13. In addition to the problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation facing it after its war for independence, Algeria had had to cope with under-development and it was therefore taking action on two fronts. First, it was dealing with the urgent task of economic and social reconstruction, and secondly it was laying the foundations for its long-term development by effecting structural reforms in an effort to solve its two major economic problems: the dualistic structure of the economy, characterized by wide differences in marginal productivity in both the agricultural and the industrial sectors, and a high level of unemployment. In seeking solutions, it was guided by socialist principles that were specifically Algerian, that is, rooted in the coun-

try's way of life and in its existing psychological environment. In order to avoid waste and the continuance of the former maldistribution of national income, his Government had set up a planning board, which had produced a capital expenditure programme for 1963 amounting to the equivalent of \$460 million. The assistance of the competent United Nations organs in carrying out an economic survey of Algeria would greatly facilitate the preparation of a long-term plan by 1965.

14. Algeria's general strategy of development was to start by laying more emphasis on agriculture, for it was only by increasing the income of the people living off the land that it would be possible to develop industry and earn the foreign exchange needed to carry out the industrialization programme, which at present consisted of building up industries to process agricultural products and natural resources. The extensive land reform which was being carried out would increase employment opportunities through the rationalization of farming methods, do away with the striking disparity in individual agricultural incomes and prevent the landless peasants from crowding the cities. Through the establishment of workers' committees on the initiatives of the workers themselves, agricultural production had increased in 1962-1963, and similar committees had been set up in the public sector of industry. In that sector, training was considered of crucial importance. In addition to the efforts made by the Government, external assistance from both bilateral and multilateral sources would be very effective in carrying out training programmes.

15. An investment code had been adopted in July 1963 to regulate foreign investment in the private sector and in joint public and private ventures. The code was intended to encourage an active private sector through the inflow of foreign capital from all sources, provided that the investments fitted into the over-all development pattern of the country. Although the public sector had increased in importance as a direct instrument for implementing the development programme, private firms were taken over by the State only if they had been abandoned by their owners, if they were responsible for major arrears in taxes, if ownership had been acquired through speculation, or if they had been set up before independence to meet the needs of the French rather than of the Algerian economy.

16. Although the development efforts of Algeria were limited by certain constraints—the rigidity of an outdated economic structure inherited from colonial rule, the material and financial losses caused by the war, commitments made prior to independence that had to be met, and a shortage of skills—it was looking ahead with optimism because it had a young population showing great enthusiasm for development, a substantial infra-structure and many resources. Moreover, it had received valuable bilateral and multilateral assistance, and it occupied an important strategic position between industrialized Western Europe and the rapidly growing African economy.

17. His delegation was concerned at the prospect that the developing countries would not reach a growth rate of 5 per cent per year by 1970. It therefore fully supported the suggested made by the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly (795th meeting) regarding the usefulness of establishing criteria for appraising the achievements of the international community in the light of the objectives of the United

Nations Development Decade. In making that appraisal, consideration should be given not only to the rate of growth but also to the way in which wealth was being distributed. In Algeria, for instance, while the gross national product had nearly doubled between 1950 and 1960, that development had affected the modern sector of the economy only and had not laid the basis for self-sustained growth.

18. His delegation hoped that the industrialized countries would make a further effort to promote the development of the less privileged nations, especially since the latter were making genuine efforts to set their houses in order, particularly by preparing development plans. The United Nations and its specialized agencies could play a decisive role, but could do so more effectively if they reflected the political realities of the present day. His delegation therefore supported Economic and Social Council resolutions 974 C (XXXVI) and 964 (XXXVI) which proposed, respectively, an increase in the membership of the Council and of the Governing Council of the Special Fund. His Government earnestly hoped that increasing financial resources would be put at the disposal of the United Nations.

19. Since the effectiveness of the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas would largely depend on the follow-up action, his delegation supported the Council's decision in resolution 980 A (XXXVI) to set up an advisory committee of experts. It also supported the joint declaration by representatives of developing countries which appeared in the report of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (E/3799, para. 186).

20. Consideration should be given to the establishment of preferential regional trade ties between developing countries in order to include export industries within the protection given to infant industries. The African countries had taken some major steps towards the establishment of closer economic relations at the Addis Ababa conference, at which they had established a preparatory economic committee to consider the creation of an African free trade area. The ECA would be well suited to give advice in that connexion.

21. As regards increasing intra-African trade, a start might be made by extending the free-trade agreement to all new products, which were being developed as a result of African industrialization and which would have to be protected from extra-African competition. The main obstacle would be the remnants of colonial domination. The African countries should not tie themselves by economic agreements with extra-African countries or groups of countries without first ascertaining that such agreements would not impede the establishment of an African free-trade area. Close economic relations between African countries would also be fostered by their participation in joint or regional development projects. In those efforts, the African Development Bank and the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning at Dakar could play a particularly valuable role.

22. The need for a rational international division of labour was inescapable in Africa, particularly at the sub-regional level of North Africa. Duplication between the Maghreb countries was highly wasteful in view both of the limited size of their individual markets and of the small distances, and the possibilities

of cheap transport, between them. Algeria had already taken several steps to establish closer economic ties with its sister countries, including the signing of several trade agreements.

23. The African free-trade area should not be inward-looking. Trade with other countries would be an important element in ensuring the rapid industrialization of the continent. African trade would have to be diversified, since it placed undue emphasis on trade relations with the advanced private-enterprise economies. The Second Committee and the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should give careful consideration to the possibility that the developing countries could increase the present low level of their trade with the socialist countries.

24. The under-developed countries should expand trade between themselves and with the industrialized nations with a view to their rapid industrialization, to which his delegation attached great importance. Paradoxically enough, while in national development programmes agriculture had often been neglected, in United Nations technical assistance programmes, industrialization had received the least attention, largely because of the absence of a central co-ordinating body. He therefore hoped that all countries would give careful consideration to the conclusions in the report of the Advisory Committee of Experts on the Industrial Development Activities of the United Nations System (E/3781, annex VIII).

25. In view of the fact that the economically advanced countries were not yet devoting 1 per cent of their national income to the development of the less developed countries, it was his delegation's earnest hope that the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water would spur them to pool at least part of the resources thus released, and it was to be hoped that those resources would be used to assist under-developed countries. Since multilateral aid was only a small fraction of total capital flow, it could be greatly increased without substantially affecting bilateral ties. The additional funds released by the Treaty could be made available for general development purposes. In order to enlist the support of the industrialized countries, his delegation would endorse the proposal made by a large majority of the Committee on a United Nations Capital Development Fund that a study should be made by the Secretary-General of the practical steps that might be taken to transform the Special Fund into a capital development fund.

26. His delegation was gratified to see that the Special Fund had been giving increasing attention to regional projects, to industrialization and to the pre-investment projects most likely to be followed by investments. It had noted with great satisfaction the increase in the resources and activities of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, as well as its emphasis on activities in Africa and its impressive record of assistance in over-all programming and sectoral planning. It also wished to express its appreciation to the Expanded Programme and the Special Fund for the valuable contributions which they were making to his country's development.

27. The Algerian delegation associated itself with the appeal made by the General Conference of UNESCO for the elimination of illiteracy during the United Nations Development Decade through a world campaign for universal literacy. Algeria had already launched a

massive literacy campaign and believed that the improvement of human resources through education was both a highly productive investment and a major contribution to human welfare.

28. The widening of the gap between the developed and under-developed countries was due to five paradoxes. First, while the advanced countries were solving the problems of space exploration and were co-operating in that field, they were unable to solve the more earthly problems of development or to agree on a joint campaign against poverty. Secondly, although the industrialized States advocated the building of a new world through trade and co-operation, their armaments race would lead to its destruction. Thirdly, the poorer countries often contributed as much to the development of richer countries through falling commodity prices, the payment of interest and the repatriation of profits on foreign capital as the advanced countries contributed to their development, while a large part of foreign private investment in the advanced countries went to other developed countries. Fourthly, whereas there were food surpluses in some countries, there was a catastrophic shortage in others. Fifthly, while there were idle or semi-idle plants in some richer countries, there was idle labour in the under-developed countries. In those paradoxes lay the roots of the problems of under-development. They all called for action at the international level. The Second Committee and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development were therefore particularly well placed to consider them and seek adequate solutions.

29. The future could be contemplated, if not with confidence, at least with anxious hope, since the problem of under-development was due not to an insufficiency of total world resources, but rather to the inefficient use of those resources and to their unequal distribution.

30. Mr. COMAY (Israel), speaking on a point of order, said that the representatives of developing countries planned to submit a draft resolution incorporating, in the form of a joint declaration, the statement by representatives of developing countries submitted to the second session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and contained in that Committee's report (E/3799, para. 186). He wished to draw the Second Committee's attention to wrongful and irregular procedures being followed in the preparation of that draft resolution.

31. Mr. EL BANNA (United Arab Republic), speaking on a point of order, said that the matter mentioned by the representative of Israel had been discussed at informal meetings and could not be the subject of an exchange of views in the Committee. No document had been submitted in that connexion. The Chairman should give a ruling on the point of order raised by the representative of Israel.

32. Mr. HAKIM (Lebanon) pointed out that since the Committee was still engaged in a general debate, only points of order relating to the general debate should be allowed. The Chairman should give a ruling under rule 114 of the rules of procedure.

33. The CHAIRMAN ruled that the point of order raised by the representative of Israel was not admissible, since the Committee was engaged in a general debate.

34. Mr. COMAY (Israel) said that in the light of the Chairman's ruling, his delegation reserved its right

to make a statement, if necessary, when the draft resolution to which he had referred was submitted.

35. Mr. ANOMA (Ivory Coast) noted that the continuing impoverishment of the under-developed countries would be accentuated by the recent expansionist trends in the international economy. Their impoverishment was linked to the avarice of the industrialized nations which was preventing the flow of private capital to the needy countries and engendering despair. The problems of under-development were made more difficult by the fact that too much emphasis was laid on institutional solutions. The establishment of new institutions, which were costly in terms of personnel and capital, was seldom followed by practical achievements. The developing countries supported the United Nations in the hope that one day its resources would be increased to enable it to tackle more effectively the numerous tasks involved in aiding the developing regions. The Ivory Coast appealed to the Governments of the industrialized nations to inaugurate an era in which economies would be based on the concepts of fair profits, solidarity and equality among peoples. It shunned all partisan ideologies and advocated the full use of national human and material resources for development on the basis of economic liberalism.

36. Because of the regrettable tendency of some nations to exploit human and material resources for their own exclusive benefit, the majority of the industrialized countries owed a considerable debt to entire continents such as Africa. The current practice of donations seemed to be an acknowledgement of that situation. Instead of payment of the debt, the poorer countries preferred mutual co-operation and development. Yet the industrialized nations were still stinting their financial aid to the developing countries.

37. The avarice of the richer countries was an obstacle to the formation of savings in the developing countries. The export earnings from primary commodities, on which such savings principally depended, were constantly fluctuating. The Ivory Coast suffered severely from that situation, which was the outcome of the traditional, obsolete international division of labour that seemed to be geared to the balance-of-payments requirements of a few nations. Only in a very few cases had the prices of raw materials improved. The reason often given for that unsatisfactory situation was respect for the principles of economic liberalism. However, the drop in the prices of raw materials had not resulted in a reduction in the prices of manufactured goods. Since the Second World War, the rapid increase in wages in the industrialized countries had led employers to seek a cut in the cost of raw materials. In addition, over-production resulted in a decline in the prices of foodstuffs. Because international trade would be the principal means of eliminating the deficit in the trade balance of the under-developed countries, the Ivory Coast attached great importance to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The Conference should find practical solutions to the problem of prices for raw materials by negotiating international agreements on specific commodities.

38. Bilateral and multilateral aid could coexist effectively, but at the moment both types of aid were inadequate. Out of avarice, the doctrine of isolation was preferred to that of assistance to the poorer countries. The developing countries could not await disarmament; it was not even certain that the resources to be released by disarmament would be used for their de-

velopment. By reducing military expenditure, aid to the poor nations could lead to disarmament. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should provide the opportunity for negotiations to fix the percentage of national income to be devoted to the development of the less favoured areas. An official proposal should be made to increase that percentage, which was currently never more than 1 per cent in any country, to 5 per cent or more of the national incomes of all the industrialized countries.

39. Another example of the avarice of the richer nations was their insistence that the credits they extended should be spent on their own manufactured goods. They were slow to respond to the immense capital needs of the poor nations, in spite of the incentives accorded to foreign investors by certain developing countries, including the Ivory Coast. The Committee might therefore consider the establishment of an international insurance organization which would guarantee loans made to the developing countries.

40. His delegation wished to pay a tribute to the experts who were helping to achieve the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade, but it condemned the swarms of rogues who descended upon the developing countries in the guise of experts and took advantage of the local population. Technical assistance experts must be carefully selected and their studies should never be allowed to become a simple intellectual exercise. They must rather be aimed at the solution of specific problems. Technical assistance activities must be intensified and supplemented by financial aid so as to allow the developing countries to put their human and material resources to the fullest use.

41. The Ivory Coast was particularly appreciative of the work done by the regional economic commissions. It preferred the multiplication of development and training institutes to the proliferation of administrative bodies and theoretical committees. For the developing countries, the costs of technical assistance, as well as of training local cadres, constituted a heavy burden. The dispatch of volunteers by other donor countries, similar to those now employed in the United States Peace Corps, would do much to relieve it.

42. His delegation was glad to note that the opposition to the association of certain African States with the European Economic Community had almost disappeared. Such an association did not mean the sacrifice of African interests; nor was the Commonwealth in itself a threat to such interests. For historical reasons, the European countries were well qualified to assist in the rehabilitation of the African peoples. The achievement of independence by many African countries had never signified a systematic break with the former metropolitan Powers. The necessary changes in their relationships were taking place in a spirit of mutual comprehension and new links were being forged on the basis of mutual benefit.

43. The Ivory Coast had instituted a form of State capitalism which was dynamic, liberal and humanistic. It proposed to set up shortly an industrial development bank which would allow all citizens to borrow money for the purpose of acquiring private property. It was hard to see how the Ivory Coast could be accused of stifling private enterprise when its nationals would soon be able to satisfy their financial needs from local sources and when foreign investors enjoyed the guarantees embodied in the Act of 29 September 1959. The vitality of his country's industry

had continued to grow since 1950. However, industrial expansion remained dependent upon the prices of the two key products, coffee and cocoa, which were at the moment declining. External aid in the form of multilateral or bilateral financing was essential. The forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and

Development should adopt specific measures to intensify economic and financial aid to the developing countries.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.