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Chairman: Mr. Bohdan LEWANDOWSKI
(Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Population growth and economic development (A/4849,
A/5059, A/5222, A/C.2/L.657/Rev.1, A/C.2/L.657/
Rev.1/Add.1) (continued)*

1. Mr. USHIBA (Japan) commended the sponsors of the draft resolution (A/C.2/L.657/Rev.1 and Add.1) for having drawn the attention of the General Assembly to an important problem just as the United Nations Development Decade was beginning.

2. It was undeniable that population growth was an important factor in the planning of economic and social development. Yet some delegations contended that the question of population policy should not be discussed in the United Nations, or else they objected to any mention of an interrelationship between population growth and economic development. The terms of reference of the Population Commission, however, included, *inter alia*, studies and recommendations on population changes, the factors associated with such changes and the policies designed to influence those factors and on the interrelationship between economic and social conditions and population trends.

3. His delegation concurred in the view that rapid population growth was one of the obstacles to the acceleration of economic advancement in the developing countries, the raising of their living standards and the improvement of social welfare. Thus, it welcomed discussion of the question of population growth in relation to the economic and social development of developing countries, i.e., quite separate from the religious, moral or ethical aspects of the question.

4. His delegation would not assert that rapid population growth was the only obstacle, nor would it deny that there still existed considerable gaps in the knowledge about its relation to economic development. The Population Commission had studied many problems in the field of demographic research, but its study of population growth from the point of view of economic development had been very limited; that study should be further intensified within the framework of the activities of the United Nations and the results should be made available to, and fully utilized by, the developing countries.

5. His delegation recognized that the Second Committee was not qualified to enter into a scientific discussion of the problem or to reach scientific conclusions. But the Committee had already dealt with such problems as inflation or measures to offset fluctuations in primary commodity prices which were as controversial or as technical as the question under discussion. The role of the General Assembly was to consider and determine the broad lines of policy in the light of studies made by technical bodies. Thus his delegation did not share the objections raised by several delegations to endorsing, in the new operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, the view of the Population Commission as expressed in the report on its eleventh session (E/3451) and to recommending intensification of demographic studies or rendering technical assistance to Governments, upon request, in the field of population problems.

6. The statements made by the representatives of many developing countries in support of the draft resolution showed their urgent concern about the effect of uncontrolled population growth on the planning of their economic and social development. Since planning was one of the essential elements for the success of the Development Decade, his delegation did not see why population problems should constitute the only field from which that element was excluded. It was admittedly the responsibility of each Government to decide its own population policy in the light of the prevailing physical, economic, political, religious and cultural conditions of the country. That principle, established by the sponsors, was clearly expressed in the draft resolution, and his delegation could not accept the contention that the proposal was designed to impose a particular policy or point of view on Member States.

7. Those who raised objections to the reference to "technical assistance" in paragraph 6 of the revised draft resolution tried to see in it an allusion to a method of birth control or family planning. But the technical assistance was limited to studies or training in demographic problems. Moreover, the principle that the concrete type or field of projects was determined only by the Governments requesting assistance had been unanimously recognized by the Committee not long ago.

8. Several speakers had stated that, because rendering of United Nations assistance implied moral sanction, they could not countenance technical assistance for projects of which they disapproved. However, the moral sanction that might accrue to United Nations technical assistance would lie in the fact that the Organization assisted those who needed aid. Denial of assistance because the particular type or field of projects did not meet one's own approval amounted to imposing one's will on the others.

9. Some delegations had referred to Japan's experience in the moderation of fertility over the past

*Resumed from the 869th meeting.

ten years. Some references had been favourable, while in others there had been a note of criticism. He would not embark on a statistical discourse. It was untrue, however, that abortion was entirely legal in Japan. The French representative had called it a "brutal" measure, but the fact was that abortion was prohibited under the penal code of Japan (chap. 29, art. 212-216), which prescribed penalties of three to five years' imprisonment. The only exceptions were those provided for under the eugenic protection law in cases involving hereditary diseases or the mother's life and health. Such exceptions were not uncommon in many other countries. The law provided also for the rendering of advice, by qualified persons only, on conception control and for the establishment of advisory services on marriage consultation. Many private organizations were also active in that field. Thanks to social education, the percentage of married couples practising family planning had risen from less than 20 per cent in 1950 to almost 45 per cent in 1959. He wished to emphasize that that policy had not been imposed by the Government but had been adopted in response to the strong and urgent desire of the people themselves to overcome post-war difficulties. A 1949 resolution of Parliament had advocated moderating fertility through conception control, on the initiative of those concerned, only in conjunction with measures to rebuild industry, increase food production, develop trade, etc. It was but one of the measures adopted to meet the challenge of reconstructing the nation's future.

10. His delegation therefore appreciated the sense of urgency felt by the developing countries, particularly in Asia, in their search for practical solutions to the population problem in order to reach as soon as possible the "take-off" stage in their development. In 1959, ECAFE, on studying population trends in that region, had expressed concern at the growth of population in Asia and its repercussions for economic and social progress, and had unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the Secretariat to organize an Asian population conference.^{1/} Furthermore, in 1960, it had been recognized that the urgency of the population problems in the region made it necessary to convene that conference as soon as possible. ECAFE had emphasized that the conference should not limit itself to a theoretical discussion, but should seek practical solutions to population problems.^{2/}

11. According to the *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, many Governments in Asia and the Far East had sought to raise per caput income by working on two factors simultaneously; i.e., by speeding up economic development and reducing the rate of population growth. It appeared that the best results could be obtained through simultaneous action in those two directions.

12. Mrs. LINDSTROM (Sweden) said that she wished to correct some misunderstandings and to provide some additional information.

13. In 1957, the Second Committee had adopted a draft resolution on population questions which had become General Assembly resolution 1217 (XII). That resolution had recommended population studies and research on the lines of those now advocated by the representatives of Ireland, Argentina, France and other countries. In the five years which had elapsed

since the adoption of that text, the world's population had increased by 300 million. The delegations which had submitted at the current session a new draft resolution on the subject believed that the time had come to take a further step forward and that it was necessary not only to pursue the study of those questions which had been under examination by the Population Commission for years past and on which data appeared in the *United Nations Demographic Yearbook*, but also to recommend certain measures which the Population Commission deemed desirable.

14. In the course of the discussion, several representatives had raised the objection that too little was known as yet about the relationship of population growth and economic development for any action to be taken and that it was neither scientific nor objective to regard population growth as a purely adverse factor. Far from ignoring the scientific aspect, the sponsors of the draft resolution requested that the study of the question should be intensified, with reference not only to population growth, but also to the problems of underpopulated countries. The draft resolution merely quoted the views of the Population Commission, which were based on the most recent data. However, population growth was the greatest problem. Its magnitude was plain enough from the evidence submitted by representatives from India, Pakistan, the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, and other parts of the world. There was no need to recall, as some delegations had done, the eighteenth-century philosopher Malthus, whose doctrines, however interesting, were of purely historical value.

15. Some representatives had expressed views which were optimistic, to say the least, in claiming that, through technological discoveries, industrialization, liberalization of trade, increased investment in the less developed countries, etc., the earth could feed far more than the 6,000 million inhabitants it was expected to have by the end of the century. The sponsors of the draft resolution had taken all those factors into account and attached the greatest importance to accelerated development of technology and agriculture. Reference had also been made to the possibility of transfers of population to less populated regions. Sweden itself had been a country of immigration for thirty years. However, human beings should have the right and opportunity to remain in the country of their birth.

16. Those who had asked for that item to be placed on the agenda had had in mind above all the need to inform and instruct the public on the role of the family and the possibility of planning its size in order to give children the best chances in life. It was not for the United Nations to study methods, but simply to propound the problem, leaving every country free to solve it as its conscience dictated. The fears expressed by certain members of the Committee were unwarranted; there was no question of facing countries with a moral dilemma.

17. The Argentine representative, and those who shared his views, had taken exception to the idea that the United Nations or any of its agencies should disseminate information on demographic questions with the moral and financial support of Member States which were opposed to those aims. However, no moral responsibility was involved so far as their countries were concerned, and they remained entirely free in their convictions. The only form of economic responsibility involved would be a matter of voluntary con-

^{1/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 2, part III, resolution 28 (XV).

^{2/} *Ibid.*, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 2, para. 268.

tributions provided through the technical co-operation programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Some had even spoken of withdrawing their contributions to those programmes; if those countries wished, arrangements could be worked out to use their contributions for other purposes. The sponsors of the draft resolution considered that the recommendations made by the experts of the Population Commission should also be accepted by the General Assembly and its economic committee. The Population Commission, in its report, had made a recommendation which was referred to in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution and whose effect was to recognize in principle that technical assistance might be granted in connexion with population problems.

18. Mr. CULLEN (Ireland) said that in reply to a remark by the Tunisian representative, he wished to make it clear that his position was as follows: first, although there was much evidence of a favourable correlation between population growth and economic and social development, the relationship was extremely complex and called for highly objective study, a requirement which the draft resolution did not satisfy. Secondly, the population problem, where one existed, was a local or regional problem.

19. The support of economic and historical evidence for a favourable correlation between population growth and economic and social development was impressive. Where population growth was slow or static, there was no economic progress. Current and recent economic experience also served as a reminder of the stimulus to economic expansion provided by growing consumption demand and of the difficulties of meeting it where the labour supply was inelastic.

20. Far from having favourable consequences, as it should have had on her premises, the bubonic plague of the Middle Ages, to which the Swedish representative had referred, had, by reducing the population, ushered in a long period of economic depression and stagnation. The Committee needed no telling about the shortcomings of Malthusian theory. At the present time, not all economists regarded population growth as an obstacle to economic and social development. It was equally mistaken to think that one variable—population—could be restricted without adverse effects on the other variable factors of economic activity.

21. His delegation did not dispute the fact that population problems could exist at the local or regional level. The representative of the United Arab Republic had said that over-population could be a problem not only for countries of high population density, but also for some under-populated developing countries. He recognized the usefulness of that suggestion and felt it should be borne in mind in studies undertaken on the question. He also recognized, together with the Tunisian representative, that technology was the major factor in economic development but that the problem for developing countries could be in the time lag in its application. Nevertheless, his delegation could not accept the draft resolution because it sought the endorsement of the United Nations for a particular population policy.

22. Some suggestions had been made in the Committee that the draft resolution did not advocate any particular population policy. However, his delegation felt that it was clear from the text and from statements made in the Committee that it did. The representative of the United Arab Republic had stated that the draft resolu-

tion did not allude to any particular method of birth control; but it was then clear from his very words that the proposal implied the need for a policy to limit population growth by one or another method of birth control acceptable, from the moral or religious point of view, to the country concerned. The Irish delegation, however, was firmly opposed to the explicit or implicit endorsement by the United Nations of any particular population policy. In the first place, there was no problem of over-population on the world scale; in the second place, it was up to the Governments concerned to take any measures they regarded as necessary and it was essential that the United Nations should not be called on to endorse any policies in the matter. While he recognized that he and the Indian representative were not in agreement on all aspects of the matter, the Indian representative had in large measure taken a similar position when he had said that the best results could be obtained through demographic studies carried out under United Nations arrangements, and that it was for Governments to decide their policy on the question.

23. As to technical assistance in dealing with population problems, his delegation was opposed to any steps to authorize the granting of assistance for artificial birth control, for if such a course were adopted, the financial contributions of many Member States would help to finance, and participation in the programme would imply approval of, measures to which they held grave moral objections.

24. Mr. RAJAONARIVONY (Madagascar) said that, in reply to the Turkish representative, who had referred to the Malagasy Government's concern about population pressure, he wished to make it clear that his delegation had never regarded population growth as a factor unfavourable to development. In its view, population growth should be offset by measures to secure an annual rate of economic growth sufficient, on the one hand, not only to feed the extra population but also to give them decent living conditions, and, on the other hand, to produce domestic savings for investment in economic and social development. Moreover, extra population could become one of the prerequisites of development by providing an abundance of consumers and manpower for the new enterprises to be established. However, during the initial period of transition, the maintenance, education and care of that population created problems which only international co-operation could solve. In his view, that co-operation should take the form of investment for the purpose of economic and social capital formation and of assistance in the fields of education and culture, under the general development programmes of the developing countries.

25. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) said that he wished to reply to the objections made by Pakistan. In the first place, his delegation had based its position on technical studies carried out under United Nations arrangements, such as the conclusions arrived at by the World Population Conference, 1954, and by the Population Commission at its eleventh session, as well as on the works of demographers and economists. On the basis of present trends, a world population of 6,000 million was predicted for the year 2000. Population growth was the result of the progress made in medicine and hygiene, which had made it possible to reduce or eradicate malaria and other diseases in the under-developed countries, thus increasing the length of life. It was possible, however, that that phenomenon would not continue indefinitely and that the mortality

rate would increase in a country because of the increase in the average age of the population. In the United States, for example, the gross mortality rate, which had been 9.4 per 1,000 in 1954, would have been only 7.7 if the average age of the population had stayed the same as in 1940. The World Population Conference, when considering the problem of the relationship between population growth and economic development, had arrived at conclusions very different from those advanced by the advocates of birth control.

26. At the International Population Conference, held at New York in September 1961, Mr. Alfred Sauvy, a demographer, had maintained that population growth was favourable to the development of productivity. Professor Everett E. Hagen of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had reached the same conclusion.

27. As to the reports of ECLA on the population situation in Latin America, he had consulted two recent studies, neither of which advocated or recommended birth control; those studies stressed the difficulty of dealing with that problem from a purely economic point of view.

28. In the specific case of Argentina, economic growth corresponded to population growth. The mean rate of population growth in Argentina—the lowest in Latin America—was the outcome not of a policy of birth control or of the dissemination of neo-Malthusian practices, but of the effects of industrialization and the concentration of the population in the towns. It was wrong to ascribe Argentina's position regarding birth control to the fact that it had no problem from that point of view. Its position stemmed from the conviction that, whatever means were used, their effect would be the opposite of that desired and, in the last analysis, harmful to the countries concerned.

29. He sympathized with the under-developed countries which were suffering from pressure of population. That sympathy was in no way diminished by the fact that those countries were adopting a policy which he considered questionable, for they had the right to take whatever measures they saw fit; but that did not mean that they should impose that policy on the United Nations. The problem was one for Governments alone, and he did not believe the United Nations had any right to commit its prestige by taking a decision in the matter.

30. Mr. AYARI (Tunisia) said that it was difficult to reply to those who were determined to regard the draft resolution as a piece of propaganda for birth control. Undoubtedly, population growth could contribute to economic development, but that presupposed the availability of sufficient revenue and the attainment of a degree of economic stability. Only increasing capital formation would enable the under-developed countries to deal with their problems. There was a fundamental contradiction in opposing the adoption of any population policy and at the same time withholding assistance in the form of capital. The problem was one of economics and science, not of religion. Africa must act in accordance with the type of aid it needed; the planners could not be prevented from bringing every possible factor to bear on the economic variables.

31. Mr. CARANICAS (Greece) said that those who opposed the draft resolution had denied that population growth was an obstacle to economic development and even considered it an incentive. That was probably true in countries which were not over-populated in relation

to their resources and had a low rate of population growth. It was not fair, however, to compare under-developed countries in tropical or arid regions with countries which nature had endowed with the most favourable conditions for economic development. It was essential for the less developed countries—especially those lacking capital or with a high rate of population growth—to have a population policy if they were to promote their economic and social development and, as the Swedish representative had just brilliantly explained, that was the way in which the sponsors of the draft resolution wanted to help them.

32. Mr. VIAUD (France) introduced, on behalf of the sponsors, the amendments contained in document A/C.2/L.709/Rev.1. The cases of Greece and Tunisia were special cases in their respective regions. In supporting the draft resolution, those two countries were undoubtedly motivated by reasons of general principle rather than by their particular situation, and the representative of Tunisia had rightly said that the population variable should not be excluded from the economic development equation. The representative of Tunisia appeared to think that France and some other countries objected to the population problem being mentioned and wanted to prevent countries from having a policy in that matter. That was far from so. Each Government had the right to pursue whatever policy it wanted, but France and the other countries in question did not want to participate in an undertaking which they considered amounted to interference in the internal policies of other States. France, for its part, preferred to provide its assistance in the economic field; it devoted over 2 per cent of its national income to such assistance, while its investments accounted for only 18 to 20 per cent of that income.

33. Some of the amendments proposed had already been accepted by the sponsors of the draft resolution. That was the case in the new operative paragraph which requested the Secretary-General to conduct an inquiry among the Governments of States Members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies. Similarly, the sponsors had agreed not to request the Secretary-General to make periodic reports. He thanked the sponsors for the spirit of co-operation they had displayed. Some amendments had, however, been maintained and adapted to the revised text. Some of them were of only minor importance. For example, in the sixth preambular paragraph, it was preferable to speak of economic and social policies rather than national policies. In the eighth preambular paragraph, the sponsors of the amendments had preferred to use the wording employed by the Economic and Social Council in resolution 820 (XXXI). They were also still convinced that an additional paragraph should be added at the end of the preamble, since the problem of population growth had not by any means been exhausted.

34. With regard to the operative part, the sponsors of the amendments proposed to replace, in paragraph 1, the phrase "which, *inter alia*, contains statements concerning the close interrelationship between" by the phrase "which, *inter alia*, refers to the interrelationship between", merely because the paragraph began with the words "Notes with appreciation". In paragraph 3, the sponsors of the amendments had pointed out a regrettable omission. The Secretary-General should conduct his inquiry not only among the Governments of States Members of the United Nations, but also among those of countries which were members of the specialized agencies. Finally, the amendment to para-

graph 4 still stood, because it included the essential reference to the regional economic commissions and the Population Commission. It would be useful if the regional economic commissions were invited to give their views on the problem.

35. The other amendments were more important. In the second preambular paragraph of the revised draft, the sponsors of the amendments had been sorry to find that the new version was stronger than the original text. They had therefore felt it necessary to maintain their amendment. In addition, there was an error in the French and English texts which spoke of "limitation or growth of population", whereas the Spanish text spoke of limitation of growth of population. The question was whether both limitation and growth of population were to be studied.

36. Operative paragraph 6 dealt with the technical assistance which the United Nations would be called upon to provide for demographic purposes. The sponsors of the amendment thought that it would be a pity to take an immediate decision on the possible use of technical assistance funds to help Governments, at their request, in formulating a population policy which would necessarily be based on birth control. Once it had been agreed that further inquiries and studies should be made, it would be wise to await the results before taking a decision on the advisability of using technical assistance funds in that way. In addition, those resources were limited and were already insufficient to meet all the requests for technical assistance, some of which were perhaps urgent. The representative of Sweden had said that Governments which objected to their contributions being used for purposes of which they did not approve could ask for them to be earmarked for other uses. That would, however, be contrary to Economic and Social Council resolution 222 (IX) which prohibited limitations as to the use of funds and specifically said that "Contributions shall be made by Governments... provided that contributions shall be made without limitation as to use by a specific agency or in a specific country or for a specific project".

37. Finally, the argument of expediency should be taken into consideration. Technical assistance was related to a sector in which activities had so far been free from the strife and disagreement which sometimes arose in the Committee's debates. It would be dangerous to introduce an element of hostility or mistrust. It would therefore be wise to postpone any decision in the matter.

38. The representative of Sweden had also said that she did not understand why the United Nations should not agree to commit itself to the course already followed by the Population Commission. It was, however, essential to conduct a fresh inquiry based on objective criteria from which firm conclusions could be drawn. The sponsors of the amendments still requested the deletion of operative paragraph 6.

39. Mr. KANO (Nigeria) said that his country had the good fortune to be free from both over-population and under-population crises. It could not be denied that the population problem was a vital factor in economic development and that there was a close interrelationship between population growth and economic development. It was true that economists and demographers professed different opinions on the question of whether population growth influenced economic development directly or indirectly. The problem was still unclear

and must be studied in more detail. Nigeria fully realized that, although at present it had no population difficulties, such difficulties might arise in the future. Nor should it be forgotten that the development of some African countries was hindered by the small increase in their populations.

40. The revised version of the draft resolution acknowledged the importance of the population problem and struck a satisfactory balance between the different views; that balance would be strengthened by the adoption of some of the amendments contained in document A/C.2/L.709/Rev.1. In any case, it was necessary to make additional studies of the problem. While it was wrong to try to impose a certain policy on countries which did not want it, it was equally wrong to try to prevent countries which wanted to do so from adopting a policy suited to their particular situation. However, the arguments that the poverty of the under-developed countries was due to over-population and that the limitation of population should be an essential condition for granting assistance were completely unacceptable. They amounted to interference in the internal affairs of States.

41. He would vote for the draft resolution, which he found satisfactory, on the understanding that due attention would be paid to the problem of population growth, as part of the planning of economic development, and that the necessary assistance would be provided. The fourth preambular paragraph was extremely important. The problem of population policy was an internal matter within the jurisdiction of Governments. Religious scruples should also be taken into consideration. In the second preambular paragraph, he suggested that the words "at the same time" should be replaced by the word "concurrently" or "simultaneously". He also proposed the deletion of the word "newly" in the seventh preambular paragraph. With regard to the amendments contained in document A/C.2/L.709/Rev.1, he proposed that the words "are not incompatible but" in the amendment to the second preambular paragraph should be deleted because they served no useful purpose. In the amendment to the sixth preambular paragraph, he proposed the deletion of the word "preliminary", which might embarrass Governments.

42. Mr. BUTTI (Iraq) said that the representative of Sweden, in presenting the revised draft resolution (866th meeting), had made a statement which was of the greatest importance for the social and economic life of the world's population and brought out some of the most remarkable aspects of the problem of population growth. Iraq wanted to assure countries which wished to receive aid in that field of its full support. Nevertheless, some of the most important principles stated by the representative of Sweden had not been incorporated into the draft resolution, and it would be desirable to correct that omission. He therefore suggested the addition of the following text to the end of the preamble of the draft resolution: "Recognizing that removals and immigration of large national groups to other countries will give rise to ethnical, political, emotional, and economic difficulties." He would support the revised draft resolution on the understanding that it would not bind any country to participate in activities which would constitute an encroachment on its sovereignty.

43. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) said that he had already pointed out that the Second Committee was not competent to deal with the subject in the manner proposed by the sponsors of the draft resolution. He

had stressed on many occasions the desirability of having technical bodies, such as the Population Commission or the World Population Congress which would meet in 1964, prepare the preliminary reports which were indispensable for an objective study of the problem. The manner in which the discussion had proceeded had merely confirmed his apprehensions, and he therefore hoped that the delegations which had urged, on other occasions, that the Commission's terms of reference should be taken into account and the opinion of Governments and groups of experts sought before decisions were taken on such important items as a declaration of economic principles, the economic and social consequences of disarmament or the establishment of SUNFED, would use their influence to have consideration of the vital point raised by the draft resolution postponed.

44. The second preambular paragraph of the revised draft resolution did not specify in any way what the sponsors meant by the expression "population policy" which was used in the original text. If, by that expression, they were referring solely to ways of limiting population growth, they should say so openly. Contrary to what the representative of Sweden had stated in her comments on the fourth preambular paragraph, the Population Commission had categorically rejected recourse to a policy of birth control as a scientific means of accelerating economic development. In the report on its ninth session, the Population Commission had stressed the need for Governments to spare no effort in speeding up economic and cultural development and raising the level of living of the population, and it had clearly stated that every country should be free to decide whether it needed to resort to industrialization and economic development in order to being about voluntary birth control.^{3/} The sponsors of the draft resolution had also put forward a misinterpretation of General Assembly resolution 1217 (XII) and Economic and Social Council resolution 820 (XXXI), which referred neither to population increase nor to the limitation of such increase. Similarly, in operative paragraph 6, the opinion attributed to the Population Commission should be viewed in the context of paragraph 15 of the report on the eleventh session (E/3451). In point of fact, the Population Commission had reaffirmed that it could not take sides on the question of a policy of birth control, and the sponsors of the draft resolution had thus given an erroneous and tendentious version of the Population Commission's attitude.

45. The representative of Sweden had denied that it was the intention of the sponsors of the draft resolution to make economic and technical assistance dependent on the adoption of birth control programmes. What was important at the moment was not to know what the intention of the sponsors was but to imagine what the inevitable consequences of the steps they proposed would be. For years many eminent authors and influential people had dwelt on the alleged uselessness of external aid in the absence of demographic policies directed towards birth control. It was easy to imagine the disastrous effects which such a theory could have in countries in which the population was opposed, both by custom and by religion, to principles which it morally condemned and which it would be very likely to consider intolerable interference in their internal affairs.

46. In conclusion, he earnestly entreated the Committee to check, before passing to the vote, the correctness of the opinion attributed to the Population Commission in operative paragraph 6.

47. Mr. PATIÑO (Colombia) said that he supported the amendments submitted by Spain, France, Lebanon, and Liberia, which summed up the attitude of the delegation of Colombia and provided the clarification necessary to dispel any ambiguity. In its present form, the draft resolution was unacceptable, not because of what it contained, but rather because of what it left out. The second preambular paragraph referred to "policies aiming at", and operative paragraph 6 referred to "national projects and programmes" in deliberately ambiguous terms. It transpired from the statements made by the sponsors that, in the demographic field, such policies and programmes might be inconsistent with the convictions of Colombia and other Latin America countries. If adopted, the amendments would modify the draft resolution in such a way as to make its demographic implications acceptable to those countries, but if they were not adopted, Colombia would vote against the draft resolution.

48. Mr. HAKIM (Lebanon) said that the representative of France had explained the amendments clearly, and he, for his part, would confine himself to pressing the two main amendments, which concerned operative paragraphs 3 and 6. The importance of the amendment to paragraph 3 was that it permitted the various United Nations bodies to base their supplementary studies of the population problem on suitable inquiries made with the co-operation of the Governments of the States Members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies. It was desirable that bodies such as WHO, FAO and the ILO should also be consulted.

49. But the greatest divergence of views between the sponsors of the draft resolution and the proposers of the amendments concerned paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, which called on the General Assembly to endorse the conclusions of the Population Commission, a step which would be premature, to say the least, in view of the fact that the problem had not been thoroughly studied. Paragraph 6 prejudged the results of the studies to be made by the Economic and Social Council and other bodies, but the views of the Population Commission could not be endorsed before such results were available.

50. Moreover, paragraph 6 called on the United Nations to give technical assistance to Governments tackling demographic problems, i.e., seeking to develop ways and means of limiting the birth rate. It could not be denied that such technical assistance would be concerned with birth control and family planning. The entire discussion had revolved around that subject, but it was impossible to accept a point of view which had not been borne out by the facts. If it was a question of the Population Commission's opinion, then that opinion only took into account one of the aspects of the problem. The Population Commission was made up of demographers and did not include any economists, so that it dealt with only one of the factors of the equation and was not competent to pass judgement on the relationship between population growth and economic development. Finally, the Population Commission was made up of experts acting in an individual capacity. If Governments were not bound by the conclusions of those experts, how could the General Assembly endorse such conclusions? It would be imprudent to ask the General Assembly to adopt a resolu-

^{3/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-third Session, Supplement No. 4, para. 96.

tion on the extremely complicated problem of population growth, when it was known that many Governments were opposed to the use of technical assistance funds in that field.

51. The Lebanese delegation therefore earnestly entreated the members of the Committee to adopt the amendments of the four Powers, particularly that concerning the deletion of operative paragraph 6 of the revised draft resolution.

52. Mr. MALHOTRA (Nepal) said that, contrary to what the representative of Argentina seemed to think, the Committee was not called upon to pass judgement on the advantages or disadvantages of a policy of population limitation. Population growth had many aspects, which might be economic, demographic, biological, social or moral, and it would be impossible for a body like the Committee to study all such aspects. Actually, the question was simply one of considering possible relationships between population growth and economic development, and the draft resolution left no room for any ambiguity on that point.

53. He considered that there was nothing to add to the brilliant statement made by the representative of Sweden, but wished to stress that the sponsors of the draft resolution had never had the intention of proposing any particular method of limiting population, and it was a pity that Malthus's theory had been referred to so often during the discussions. The only theory with which the sponsors could associate themselves was the "theory of optimum population", according to which the absolute size of the population, or the absolute rate of population growth, was meaningless unless it was considered in connexion with the rate of national economic expansion. That was why it was absurd to cite the example of highly industrialized countries such as the Soviet Union or West Germany, as the United States representative had done in his statement and in the figures which he had quoted. On the other hand, the moral or religious arguments which various speakers had put forward in opposition to the draft resolution were quite extraneous to the issues raised in the draft.

54. Finally, he wished to stress, for the benefit of the representative of Nigeria, that the question was far from being one of determining whether or not a given developing country was over-populated or under-populated. Again, the question at issue was not so simple as that of the need to maintain population at a given level or that of the need to do everything possible to increase economic resources. What was essential was to keep a judicious balance between the two factors, and that was why he was surprised to hear the representative of Ireland claiming that the preamble of the draft resolution was the result of a preconceived idea. If such were the case, the delegation of Nepal would be the first to oppose the draft.

55. Mr. AYARI (Tunisia), replying to the remarks of the representative of France, noted that the new version of the second preambular paragraph of the revised draft resolution was the outcome of concessions which the sponsors of the draft had agreed to make after the example of under-populated countries had been cited by several representatives. It was obvious, moreover, that there was an error in the Spanish version of the draft resolution. At all events, the amendment to that paragraph seemed to be at the root of several misunderstandings, and the sponsors had decided to go back to the earlier text and modify the wording by replacing the words "policies aiming at promoting limitation or growth of population are not incompatible but" by the

words "population policies" and replacing, at the request of the Nigerian representative, the words "at the same time" by the word "simultaneously". The sponsors were likewise willing to agree to the insertion of the new paragraph proposed by the representative of Iraq. In the sixth preambular paragraph, the expression "national policies" had been used because certain delegations had raised the question of migratory movements. As the paragraph proposed for insertion by Iraq took that matter into account, however, the sponsors of the draft resolution saw no objection to accepting the proposal of the representative of France.

56. On the other hand, however, he failed to understand the reason why the French representative was pressing for the insertion of the word "preliminary" in the same preambular paragraph, and he regretted to say that the sponsors of the draft resolution could not accept that amendment. He saw no objection, however, to the deletion of the word "newly" from the seventh preambular paragraph, as suggested by the representative of Nigeria.

57. So far as the proposed four-Power amendment to the eighth preambular paragraph was concerned, he thought that the wording adopted by the sponsors of the draft resolution was closer to the text of Economic and Social Council resolution 820 (XXXI), so that there was no reason to alter it. The proposed insertion of a new paragraph at the end of the preamble seemed superfluous, as the idea expressed in the proposed new paragraph already appeared in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution; if the sponsors of the amendments pressed that point, however, he would not oppose the amendment. Similarly, he would accept the fifth amendment of the four Powers.

58. The proposed amendment to operative paragraph 3 was very judicious, and the sponsors of the draft resolution were willing to accept it. The sponsors were likewise willing to make a concession in respect of the seventh four-Power amendment, in which it was proposed to replace operative paragraph 4 by another text, on condition that the words "continue its studies and research" in the middle of the proposed new paragraph were replaced by the words "intensify its studies and research".

59. In spite of the spirit of conciliation which inspired them, the sponsors of the draft resolution were unable to accept the eighth four-Power amendment. Although the representative of Argentina might believe he had found a contradiction in the intentions of the sponsors of the draft, it was difficult for them to accept the outright deletion of operative paragraph 6.^{4/}

60. Mr. BRILLANTES (Philippines) said that never before had the Second Committee dealt with a subject the moral and religious aspects of which were so controversial. The delegation of the Philippines considered that no one should attempt, whether directly, indirectly or implicitly, to impose on any person whatsoever any theories or methods incompatible with the religious and ethical customs of the community to which that person belonged.

61. He noted with surprise that the preamble of the revised draft resolution contained a new paragraph dealing with the limitation or growth of population. That was all the more surprising because the title of

^{4/} The text of the draft resolution incorporating the new modifications indicated by the representative of Tunisia was circulated as document A/C.2/L.657/Rev.2.

the agenda item did not authorize the sponsors to advocate the need for applying a policy of birth control anywhere. It was quite true, as certain speakers had stressed, that there was no mention in the draft resolution of birth control as such, but those same speakers had gone out of their way to prove that economic development was more often than not incompatible with population growth, so it was not difficult to imagine what their real intentions were.

62. The Philippine delegation was not opposed to a request being addressed to the Secretary-General to conduct an inquiry into the problems posed by the interrelation of economic development and population changes. Nevertheless, those who were to decide on such an inquiry's scope and execution and on the conclusions to be drawn therefrom should never lose sight of one most important consideration: respect for the sovereignty of Member States. The principles of the United Nations should not be trampled underfoot on the pretext of accelerating economic development. As a result, he had misgivings about the present wording of the draft resolution. Although operative paragraphs 3 and 6 specified that the inquiry would be conducted among the Governments of Member States and that technical assistance as proposed would be given at the request of those Governments, paragraph 4, on the other hand, implied that some studies could be carried out without those Governments' consent. Moreover, he wished to know what "other aspects" of economic and social development were referred to in operative paragraph 6. If the expression had no specific meaning, then it should be deleted. If it did have a clear meaning, then the sponsors' intentions should be made clear.

63. For all those reasons, he would have to vote for the four-Power amendments.

64. Mr. KARIM (Pakistan) said he was sorry that the representative of the Soviet Union had misinterpreted some of his remarks. He had never stated that population growth was the only factor preventing economic development in the under-developed countries. All he had pointed out was that, in the regions of ECAFE and ECLA, such growth was one of the principal factors inhibiting development. He had had no intention of belittling the achievements of the Soviet Union in the economic field. Most of the under-developed countries had, in fact, recognized the advantages of planning as carried out in the Soviet Union and had not hesitated to adopt similar methods. Indeed, it was in that spirit of planning that Pakistan had co-sponsored the draft resolution.

65. Also, he had simply remarked how fortunate Argentina was to have a relatively low rate of population growth, but without seeking to attribute the stand of that country's representative against the draft resolution to its privileged position in that respect.

66. Mr. CARANICAS (Greece) agreed with the Argentine representative that statistics did not always give an accurate picture of the situation, particularly in the matter of population. It was none the less true that events in recent years had corroborated the predicted population projections. The present "population explosion" was more likely to take a more serious turn still in the future—as a result not only of the stability or even the increase in the number of births, but also of the remarkable advances made in science and medicine, or on the way to being realized—than to lag behind present projections. It was useless, in his view, to bring up the fallibility of statistics as an argument against the draft resolution.

67. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) regretted that the draft resolution's supporters still failed to understand the nature of the arguments which he advanced against their theories. Up to now, he had desisted from invoking certain religious or ethical principles which he felt were not germane to the discussion. Since he had been forced to do so, however, he wished to point out that any demographic policy which was contrary to a people's religious feelings and moral principles was doomed to total failure. That was where the real danger lay. In point of fact, a recent inquiry conducted in Puerto Rico proved that, despite the intensive publicity campaign carried out in that country, the policy of birth control had produced only insignificant results. That was why various specialists no longer hesitated to propose measures of compulsory sterilization. It was possible to see how far certain theories based on a misconception of the determinants of economic development could lead.

68. Mrs. LINDSTROM (Sweden) said that the Argentine representative had asserted that he had found contradictions among the opinions expressed by the sponsors of the draft resolution. She wished him to know that she fully shared the views of the representative of Tunisia. She saw no objection to the inclusion in the draft resolution of the amendment introduced by Iraq concerning the many difficulties which would arise from the transfer and immigration to other countries of large population groups. There was, in fact, a logical connexion between migration and population growth. Furthermore, when the representative of France had advanced his arguments against operative paragraph 6, he had said that Sweden had been wrong in alluding to the possibility that certain countries might prevent their contributions to technical assistance funds from being used for demographic purposes. Her remarks, in fact, had only dealt with the convertibility of the funds contributed. When contributions were made in non-convertible currencies, the universality of technical assistance was restricted. If that view were accepted, operative paragraph 6 should give rise to no further objections, and the draft resolution should command very wide support. In conclusion, she called upon those representatives who did not share her opinions to show tolerance and understanding towards the views expressed by other countries.

69. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) recalled that he had received no reply to his questions concerning the opinion attributed to the Population Commission in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution.

70. Mr. VIAUD (France) announced that the sponsors of the amendments, imbued with the same spirit of conciliation as the sponsors of the draft resolution, were prepared to accept certain of the sub-amendments proposed by the Tunisian representative.

71. Regarding the first of the amendments contained in document A/C.2/L.709/Rev.1, the sponsors were prepared to accept the deletion of the words "are not incompatible but". They hoped that in that way the amendment could be accepted by the sponsors of the draft resolution. Regarding the second amendment, which related to the sixth preambular paragraph, he could agree to the deletion of the word "preliminary". He was, however, still convinced that the eighth preambular paragraph, as worded by the sponsors of the amendments, was closer to the Economic and Social Council's resolution than the text proposed by the sponsors of the draft resolution, and would therefore insist on the amended wording.

72. He thanked the sponsors of the draft resolution for accepting the fourth amendment, which entailed the addition of a new paragraph at the end of the preamble, and the changes proposed in the fifth and sixth amendments.

73. Regarding the seventh amendment, the sponsors had no objection to the replacement of the words "continue its" by the words "intensify its". If the sponsors of the draft resolution accepted that amendment, it could be taken as incorporated into the draft resolution. Hence it was essentially on the deletion of operative paragraph 6 that the Committee would be voting. He therefore appealed to the sponsors of the draft resolution to accept the first amendment, as sub-amended, and the third amendment. If they did so, the

Committee would be able to take a decision on the eighth amendment at the next meeting.^{5/}

74. Lastly, he wished to make it clear, with reference to the remarks of the Swedish representative, that when he had last spoken, he had only been referring to resolution 222 (IX) of the Economic and Social Council. On the subject of the convertibility of currencies paid as contributions to technical co-operation programmes, he wished to point out that his country had for some time been making its payments in convertible currency and was therefore in a stronger position in that regard.

The meeting rose at 11.20 p.m.

^{5/} The text of the amendments maintained was circulated as document A/C.2/L.709/Rev.2.