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Chairman: Mr. Ismael THAJEB (Indonesia).

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

1. Mr. RUSENOV (Bulgaria) said that the classification of countries into three groups—the developed capitalist countries, the centrally planned economies, and the developing countries—in the report of the Economic and Social Council (A/5503) was a useful tool for the consideration of development trends in each group. However, the report might have given a more detailed analysis of the economic situation in each group. Development trends in one group were pictured in a rosy light, while those in any other group seemed to be deliberately ignored. For example, according to paragraph 36 of the report, the 1962 results for industrialized Western Europe, except in the United Kingdom, had turned out to be better than had generally been expected, and consumption had increased in the second half of the year at a faster pace than had been anticipated, taking over from capital formation as the motive force of economic expansion in the course of 1962, supported by some shift in the distribution of income from profits to wages in a number of countries. That conclusion could hardly be reconciled with the facts. Moreover, the phenomenon was considered in isolation from other conditioning factors such as the wide spread inflationary pressure mentioned in paragraph 29 of the report. The question might well be asked whether the increase in cash wages was due rather to monetary depreciation than to a drop in profits.

2. Again, insufficient attention had been paid to the balance-of-payments deficit in some countries, including the United States, the mounting deficits in their budgets and the growing contradictions between the closed Western economic groupings and the developed capitalist countries outside them. The analysis of the causes of the deterioration in the terms of trade was inadequate and overlooked the fact that the export earnings of the developing countries had dropped by one third over the past decade although the volume of their exports had risen. Many Latin American, African and Asian representatives had quoted facts to show how they were caught in a price squeeze.

3. The under-development of the developing countries was due to the structure of their economies, which they had inherited from colonialism. Many of them considered rapid structural changes as their only

salvation. Attention should be given not only to infra-structure but also to the over-all development of production. If all State investment was concentrated on infra-structure, that would facilitate the reaping of huge profits by capitalist enterprises, while the Government would have to defray its expenses by heavier taxation. Structural changes should include not only agrarian reform and the diversification of agricultural exports but also more rapid industrialization. Industrialization was a prerequisite for rapid economic progress and for strengthening national independence. Naturally, the developing countries must also increase their industrial exports.

4. Another factor essential to rapid economic development was the prices of the exports from the under-developed countries to the capitalist countries. Purely internal measures to prevent fluctuations in commodity prices were ineffective since prices were set on the external market, primarily by monopolistic importers. Those monopolies also actively intervened in the internal affairs of many of the developing countries. Hence international action was necessary. Tariff reductions and the elimination of quota restrictions could not be considered in isolation from other causes of fluctuations in commodity prices. Consideration must also be given to various financial measures to stabilize the balance of payments in the developing countries.

5. The exports of the socialist countries to the developing countries consisted primarily of machinery and equipment; payment was made on a long-term basis and at low interest rates, and no restrictions were imposed. At the same time, the socialist countries were constantly increasing their imports of commodities and manufactures from the developing countries. The socialist countries also undertook considerable construction in the developing countries. Bulgaria, for example, had taken part in the construction of a number of industrial and other enterprises in various countries of Africa and Asia. In general, the economic relations which the socialist countries maintained with the developing countries created the necessary conditions for accelerating the conversion of their economic structures.

6. Unfortunately, the report of the Council tended to minimize the successes achieved by the socialist countries in fulfilling their development plans. The facts, however, spoke for themselves. In Bulgaria, for example, industrial production in 1962 had been fifteen times greater than in 1939 and its national income three times higher than in 1948, while the index of per caput income had risen from 89 in 1948 to 230 in 1962. Industrialization and planned development had eradicated unemployment.

7. The Council's report indicated that the State trading monopoly in the socialist countries was an obstacle to the development of trade between them and the developing countries. But in 1962, Bulgaria's trade

with those countries had been twelve times more than in 1955 and three times more than in 1957. It was not State trading in the socialist countries which was impeding the development of international economic relations but rather the efforts of those States which discriminated against the trade of the socialist countries and obstructed international trade as a whole. In that connexion, Bulgaria was prepared to support all measures aimed at rendering effective assistance to the developing countries by means of international economic co-operation.

8. Unfavourable conditions continued to hamper the development of international trade. Difficulties arose as a result of various discriminatory practices, often politically inspired, and of closed economic groupings in Western Europe. The United Nations had adopted a number of resolutions for the elimination of such obstacles. Bulgaria supported all efforts directed at the normalization and development of international trade.

9. The rapid development of industry in the socialist countries, which already accounted for 37 per cent of world industrial production, the existence of huge stocks in the developed capitalist countries and the needs of the developing countries necessitated closer economic co-operation on a world scale. The one prerequisite was the maintenance of world peace. That was why it was essential to counter every effort to obstruct international trade and to unmask those who promoted the cold war rather than peaceful international trade.

10. Measures for the normalization of international trade would be ineffective unless they were accompanied by efforts to bring about general and complete disarmament. Could not the enormous resources being wasted on armaments be devoted to man's betterment rather than his extermination?

11. His delegation hoped that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development would take concrete measures to eliminate all obstacles to the normal development of international trade. The Conference should decide on the establishment of an international trade organization. In that regard, his delegation fully supported the Soviet Union proposal to set up such an organization, as well as the other measures set forth in the USSR memorandum (A/C.2/219).

12. Mr MEHTA (India) pointed out that the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water heralded spring in the long winter of the cold war and it was no longer Utopian to plan the peaceful utilization of the resources to be released by disarmament. However, the basic differences between the affluent North and the poverty-stricken South remained, and hunger and privation could cause an explosion no less menacing than that of nuclear weapons. Asia had half the world's population but only a quarter of the world's food supplies. Food output had not kept pace with population growth and the neglect of the long years of colonial rule could not be quickly overcome.

13. The developing countries appreciated the valuable assistance given to them by the developed nations. However, a large part of the international capital received by the developing countries flowed back to the rich countries in the form of interest, profits and dividends. There should be some definite policy governing the outflow of income from the rich to the

poor countries. Only a detailed statistical report would show whether the rich countries were in fact transferring 1 per cent of their income to the developing countries. If it was disagreeable to have to give aid, it was no less irksome to seek it. However, development necessitated essential imports which the developing countries could not finance from their exports. Only foreign economic aid could overcome the lag in savings inevitable in poor countries. Because of the need to increase the rate of savings and investments, it was difficult for the developing countries to create the climate of profitability conducive to private investment. In addition, any reduction in taxes would compromise development. In India, which had a mixed economy, a variety of incentives and facilities had been offered to the private sector. However, the public sector alone could not increase the rate of savings and the private sector had to make a major contribution, which was in any case in its own long-term interest. Because of the developing countries' need for a philosophy and for an approximation of equality, socialist ideas played a functional role in the early processes of development.

14. Since they themselves had experienced the same transformation, the industrialized countries should realize the psychological and social strain borne by the developing countries in assimilating the fruits of science and technology. Yet they objected to the developing nations' request for favourable markets for their exports of manufactures. Even though the developing countries sought to supply only 1 per cent of the industrialized countries' expanding production of goods, it was objected that 1 per cent represented an additional burden, when technological changes already required an adjustment of 3 per cent every year. Unfortunately, no one had similarly quantified the rate of social transformation in the developing countries. Science and technology should be harnessed to development, so that they could balance the sociological needs of the developing countries, which had a ratio of manpower to resources different from that of the affluent societies.

15. In the matter of economic discipline, the developing countries had learnt much from the socialist countries. In view of recent and significant internal changes and pressures, the centrally planned economies should review their development plans in order to provide still larger scope for imports from developing countries. The prices for those imports should be adjusted to stimulate demand. Socialist countries should also include in their planning significant projects in those developing countries that were nearing the critical "take-off" stage. The centrally planned economies should not commit the heresy of seeking growth through their internal markets only and of sustaining high growth rates through the affluence of mass consumption alone. Indeed, by providing better facilities for the trade of the poorer countries, the developed countries would be promoting their own economies. It was unreasonable and inhuman to deny the developing countries essential aid while some of the highly industrialized nations had unused production capacity. In the process of mutual aid and co-operation, in which political boundaries had no place, the developing countries were as anxious to contribute to the common pool as they were to benefit from it. They should accept well-meant comments on their shortcomings, which it was their responsibility to overcome. The forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and

Development should aim principally at a rationalization of economic policies and theories.

16. All the industrialized countries had furthered their development by protecting their industries. They should therefore realize that the infant economies of the developing countries also needed protection. If the highly industrialized countries made their loans conditional on the export of their manufactures, the developing countries were entitled to consider tying repayment of the loans to exports of their agricultural, mineral and industrial output. Because of the highly developed skills, capital-intensive methods and constantly rising labour costs in the more developed countries, those countries should leave simple manufacturing processes to the developing countries.

17. His delegation noted with satisfaction the slight rise in world commodity prices and the efforts of IMF to develop compensatory financing schemes to offset fluctuations in commodity prices. It welcomed the suggestion regarding the establishment of "organized markets" in industrialized countries for products of particular interest to developing countries. The problem of providing trading facilities to the developing countries in the world market called for greater governmental attention and action in the developed countries. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development would help by indicating a common frame of reference for trade policies and practices. However, the different economies and groups of countries had distinctive characteristics and the trade objectives of the developing countries should be clarified, so that different groups of industrialized countries could adopt policies reflecting their characteristics.

18. The Indian delegation welcomed the decision of IMF to make a comprehensive study of the adequacy of international liquidity so as to ensure a high rate of growth of world trade. The decision of the developed countries to increase the resources of IDA by \$750 million was also heartening. As a result of international co-operation, the developing countries would be in a position to assist other countries at similar stages of development.

19. Any expansion in the valuable activities of the specialized agencies would require adequate additional finances. He welcomed the decision of the Economic and Social Council (resolution 980 A (XXXVI)) to establish an advisory committee on the application of science and technology to development. Before venturing further, the facilities of the specialized agencies should be strengthened and fully utilized. The Centre for Industrial Development should be provided with more financial resources and expert assistance. His delegation supported the recommendation of the Advisory Committee of Experts constituted under Council resolution 873 (XXXIII) to study the advisability of establishing a United Nations industrial development organization. The Centre for Industrial Development should develop into such an organization but it should acquire more experience before it was given the status of a United Nations agency. India had consistently supported the establishment of a United Nations capital development fund and it therefore supported the extension of the mandate of the Committee on a United Nations Capital Development Fund. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should give new momentum to that idea. India applauded the work being done by the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

The valuable pre-investment work of the Special Fund should be intensified and its resources should be increased to \$100 million. His delegation supported Council resolution 964 (XXXVI) on the enlargement of the membership of the Governing Council of the Special Fund. The Fund was doing pioneer work in its own special area and therefore should not be transformed into a capital development fund.

20. In the development endeavour, the scarcest resource was time. During the United Nations Development Decade, all Members of the United Nations should concern themselves with transforming the developing economies.

21. Mr. BATMUNH (Mongolia) noted that concern had been expressed in the Committee at the unfavourable economic situation in many regions of the world and particularly at the widening gap between the developing and industrial countries. In the United Nations there was an increasing awareness that many international economic problems could not be solved without reference to the world economy as a whole and to economic relations between States at different levels of development and with different social and economic systems.

22. The forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should make a substantial contribution to economic co-operation between countries. Although a considerable measure of agreement had been reached at the thirty-sixth session of the Economic and Social Council and in the Preparatory Committee of the Conference, there was still much to be done in order to ensure the success of the Conference. Every effort should be made to promote agreement between the three main groups of countries. One of the primary aims of the Conference should be to work out practical measures for improving the terms of trade of the developing countries. The Conference should also give particular attention to the promotion of East-West trade which would help to further economic development and stability in the developing countries and friendly relations between Eastern and Western States. The Conference should devote particular attention to the elimination of the artificial trade barriers erected and the discriminatory policies practised by certain Western Powers. His delegation agreed with the agenda items for the Conference suggested by the delegation of Romania (E/CONF.46/PC/7).

23. Another important matter to be discussed at the Conference was the idea of an international trade organization. The Soviet Union memorandum (A/C.2/219) would be a good basis for discussion. In view of the importance of international trade for all countries, the Conference and the international trade organization should have universal membership.

24. The disastrous consequences of colonialism and neo-colonialism posed considerable problems for the newly independent countries. The United Nations could play an important role in the economic and social development of those countries and should not become an instrument which any group of States could use to further its own interests. It was encouraging to note that the problems of the developing countries were duly reflected in the agenda of the current session. Although the developing countries were receiving considerable help under technical assistance programmes, there were still shortcomings such as delays in programme implementation and in the recruitment of experts, inadequate flexibility, the in-

effectiveness of field activities and, first and foremost, the lack of universality. His delegation was in favour of the decentralization of the economic and social activities of the United Nations and the strengthening of the regional economic commissions. However, any strengthening of the regional secretariats should not affect the financing of the administrative machinery of the United Nations.

25. Mongolia continued to make rapid economic progress. Industrial production in 1962 had increased by 10 per cent over 1951. During the last five years, industrial production had risen at an average annual rate of 18.2 per cent and over-all industrial output had doubled. The third five-year plan was being implemented in the agricultural sector and preliminary data showed that its objectives would be fulfilled. Illiteracy had long been stamped out and the cultural level was steadily rising. The peaceful policies of Mongolia were reflected in the Government's long-range plans for economic and social development. Nearly 85 per cent of the budget was spent on economic, social and cultural activities.

26. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) provided the socialist countries with an opportunity for extending their technical knowledge and promoting trade on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. But, at the same time, Mongolia was prepared to develop its economic and cultural relations with all countries irrespective of their social and economic systems. It wanted particularly to increase its ties with the developing countries and was ready to share its experience with them. It would continue to make its contribution towards the strengthening of international co-operation and peace.

27. Mr. MWANJISI (Tanganyika) said that 1963 could rightly be named the year of the developing countries. There was a growing tendency to pin-point their problems and an increasing concern for their difficulties.

28. His Government had set up a ministry for development planning under the guidance of a planning commission. The first three-year development plan was to be completed in June 1964. After that, the Government hoped to launch a more dynamic but, at the same time, realistic plan. It had also instituted self-help schemes which, for the year ended 31 December 1962, had been valued at over £1 million.

29. Tanganyika had chosen socialism because it conformed to its traditional way of life. Communal ownership of land was something basic to Africa. The only thing that could convince the people that colonialism was gone for good was the broad distribution of all the benefits of economic activity. Tanganyika was also a founding member of the African Development Bank, which had been established at Khartoum in August 1963. The developed countries now had a definite channel of assistance to Africa, and the Africans expected co-operation from all men of goodwill in the strengthening of the Bank.

30. Together with other African States, Tanganyika was anxious to participate fully in the work of the economic organs of the United Nations and shared their concern at the uneven distribution of seats in such bodies as the Economic and Social Council.

31. His country looked forward to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and fully endorsed the joint declaration made by the representatives of seventeen developing countries at the second

session of the Preparatory Committee and contained in the Committee's report (E/3799, para. 186).

32. Newly independent countries often found it necessary to retain in their employment nationals of the former metropolitan country who, unfortunately, acted as an economic and political "fifth column". Furthermore, many industrialized countries opposed the growth of industries in the developing countries, particularly if they happened to be former colonies. Fearing that their own economies were threatened, they confined their assistance to such projects as bridges, agricultural institutions or minor industries. In particular, the Government of South Africa would like the Africans to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. At the same time, the maintenance of Portuguese colonies in Africa was not only a political but also an economic humiliation for that continent. Portugal itself was a backward country, quite incapable of leading its colonies towards economic growth. The United States representative had not succeeded in dispelling fears that the developed countries would like the developing countries to remain as sources of raw materials and markets for manufactured goods. For example, in Tanganyika there were coal and iron deposits estimated at 50 million tons. Yet nothing had been done to plan their systematic extraction.

33. The so-called world marketing organizations in London and New York were really only international middlemen. They bought and sold coffee or cotton from Tanganyika at prices dictated by them. Tanganyika wanted to establish direct markets with all countries but, being a former colony, was prevented from doing so. Neo-colonialists often stepped in to ensure that mercantile practices continued. As a former British territory, Tanganyika was prevented from trading with the East. It was thus indirectly involved in the economics of the cold war. In 1962, Tanganyika had sold thousands of bales of cotton to the People's Republic of China to the great satisfaction of Tanganyikan growers. But the profiteers had objected. At the beginning of September 1963, a USSR jet aircraft had landed at Dar es Salaam in order to collect seventy students from East and Central Africa, the first time any plane had done so for that purpose.

34. Mr. CUHRUK (Turkey) said that the results obtained so far during the United Nations Development Decade in the matter of international trade had hardly been satisfactory. The share of the developing countries in world trade had shrunk to one fifth. Their terms of trade had declined by 9 per cent. Fluctuations in primary commodity prices continued. The only positive development—the strengthening of commodity prices during the first six months of 1963—was attributable to special circumstances.

35. But there were also encouraging signs. The importance of economic planning was being increasingly realized. In Turkey, for example, provision had been made in the Constitution for the establishment of a State planning body, which had now been working successfully for two years. Even with careful planning, the developing countries needed external assistance; for that purpose, international co-operation was considered essential. It was generally admitted that a basic change must be made in the economies of the developing countries. While they must try harder to diversify their economies and exports, the industrialized countries must do everything possible to open up their markets for the products of the developing

countries. There must therefore be close co-ordination between the trade policies of the industrialized countries and international efforts for the advancement of the developing countries. Such co-ordination must also take into account the difficulties of the richer nations.

36. Undoubtedly, the provision of aid to the developing countries from both bilateral and multilateral sources had improved during the last decade. Yet, in view of the enormous needs, the resources available to international financial bodies were inadequate. And the conditions under which loans were extended were often extremely onerous for the developing countries. During the Development Decade, existing facilities must be strengthened and better conditions established in the vital sector of international finance.

37. The United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas had been another positive step during the Development Decade. He was sure that the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, established under Economic and Social Council resolution 980 (XXXVI), would continue the good work of the Conference.

38. Another important event in the Development Decade would be the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Its importance for the economic advancement of the developing countries could not be over-emphasized. Turkey was in full accord with the views expressed by the developing countries at the second session of the Preparatory Committee. The problems facing the Conference must be clearly identified and the provisional agenda already decided upon should remain basically unchanged. Of course, the Conference could not solve all the problems facing it, but it should achieve tangible results on the major issues and prepare for necessary long-term action.

39. The responsibilities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies as regards industrial development should be intensified. During the Development Decade, agreement should be reached on the measures necessary to achieve that end. Meanwhile, Turkey supported the compromise proposal to establish a United Nations industrial development organization on the lines proposed in the report of the Advisory Committee of Experts established under resolution 873 (XXXIII) of the Council (E/3781, annex VIII).

40. His delegation also supported the proposal contained in Council resolution 985 (XXXVI) for the establishment of a United Nations training and research institute. It welcomed the progress made by the technical assistance programmes and the Special Fund. It had full confidence in the officials responsible for those activities.

41. Mr. HOLMES (Ireland) welcomed the statement in the introduction to the Council's report (A/5503) regarding the growing recognition of development as one of the fundamental concerns of the United Nations. It was the responsibility of the Committee not to betray that trust, either by failing to face the issues before it or by pretending to have facile solutions for them.

42. His delegation fully agreed with the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs that one of the most useful ways in which the concept of the Development Decade could be used to make the work of the United Nations more effective would be by evolving methods for the study and evaluation of the "performance" of the international community, and his delega-

tion had been strongly impressed by the observations of the New Zealand representative (886th meeting) on the implications of that approach. The Committee should direct its attention, not only to activities directly sponsored by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, but also to other developments which, while outside its direct purview, were equally important in shaping the progress of the Development Decade. Foremost among them was the general economic climate and resulting trends in production, trade and prices. There were several encouraging features, especially in world agricultural production and in per caput food supply. By far the most important event in international trade had been the rise in commodity prices which, if maintained, would substantially improve the terms of trade of the developing countries. While it was, of course, too early to conclude that such favourable trends would continue, there were hopeful signs which should encourage the Committee to redouble its efforts. The Committee should not underestimate its potentialities for action, and in that regard his delegation had been particularly impressed by the example which the Managing Director of the Special Fund had given in his statement (882nd meeting), of the multiplier value of the relatively few millions of dollars used for pre-investment assistance.

43. The Committee should carefully consider the possibilities of making the field of economic action more comprehensive without diminishing current efforts. It was particularly in the distribution of resources that greater progress could be made throughout the remainder of the United Nations Development Decade. It might well be that the United Nations was still ill-prepared for that task and that progress should be expected in the first instance from the regional economic groupings, which should be encouraged to extend and develop their co-operation with one another and with the United Nations. Any economic grouping which truly reflected the real interests of the region it served could not fail eventually to embrace all the countries in that region and to operate for the fullest benefit of all in terms of the rational employment of their resources. His delegation was convinced that that trend would become fully apparent during the remainder of the Development Decade and that it would be found that the best interests of all would be served by increasing outward-looking contacts between such groupings in different parts of the world.

44. His delegation hoped that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development would show the way in which the United Nations could play an important part in stimulating and co-ordinating such development. The aim of the Development Decade was a modest one, and one of the most important ways of achieving it was to maintain adequate international liquidity and to keep trade at the highest desirable level. The time had therefore come to visualize the possibility of establishing a world-wide payments union. There was nothing new in that suggestion; what was new was the prevailing climate of opinion which seemed to offer better hope that concerted efforts would lead to realistic and lasting solutions to the recurrent payments problems. In putting forward that suggestion, his delegation did not wish in any way to minimize the valuable work being accomplished in that field by such bodies as IMF: indeed, the activity of IMF encouraged the belief that even greater progress could result if financial experts in all countries devoted their full energies to that task. The subject

was, of course, highly technical and complex, and his delegation was merely suggesting that all interested Governments might give serious consideration to the possibility of improving the machinery of international payments in order to ensure that visible and invisible international trade was increased and that international payments were kept automatically in balance by the full use of surpluses for foreign investment, loans or gifts.

45. There was, of course, a limit to the progress which could be made in any of those fields by international action alone, and it was primarily the responsibility of each country to work out ways in which its own development could best be brought about. A particular problem arose with regard to the relationships between countries or groups of countries having different economic systems and at different stages of development. The balance of payments between developing and developed countries might, however, work out to the advantage of the former, as it did in the case of Ireland.

46. During its first programme of economic expansion, Ireland had attained an increase of about 18.5 per cent in its gross national product, while maintaining conditions of near equilibrium in its external payments; the employment created in industries and services had helped to offset the migration of labour from the land; and, finally, the long excess of emigration over the rate of natural population growth had been reversed. Above all, however, the success of the first programme had been due to the more confident and dynamic spirit of the people. Ireland's second programme of economic expansion would cover the years 1964 to 1970 and would aim at achieving a 50 per cent increase in the gross national product by

1970, at an average annual growth rate of 4.14 per cent. The second programme was based on the same principles as the first and the Government had made it clear that its function was to assist, guide and persuade in the attainment of the objectives set.

47. Two features of Ireland's economic programme deserved special mention. First, special attention would be given to education, since his Government believed that capital by itself could never ensure economic development. Improvements in the social services in the widest sense would go hand in hand with the economic advance attained under the second programme.

48. Secondly, Ireland specifically recognized its obligation to give increased aid to the less developed countries. By comparison with most of the world's population, the Irish people enjoyed a high living standard and therefore felt a corresponding obligation to help less favoured countries. Under the second programme, his Government intended to increase the private and public assistance it had for many years given to such countries.

49. It was Ireland's firm belief that the success of its own efforts to bring about economic expansion would largely depend on closer and more extensive co-operation with other countries. As a European country, its first interest was to continue to play its part in European development. But it also realized its community of interests with and obligations towards all other countries, and it expected the United Nations to play an ever more active role in helping all countries to share in development to the fullest possible degree during the Development Decade and beyond.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.