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Chairman: Mr. Costa P. CARANICAS (Greece).

GENERAL STATEMENTS (*continued*)  
and

AGENDA ITEMS 12 and 40

**Reports of the Economic and Social Council (A/7603, chapters I to VII, X, XI (sections C, D, F, G, H and J) and XIII; A/7203, paragraphs 764 to 770) (*continued*)**

**Second United Nations Development Decade: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade (*continued*) (A/7525 and Add.1-3, A/7603, chap. I; A/7603/Add.1, A/7699)**

1. Mr. VALLEJO (Colombia) said that the obstacles to the formulation of a development strategy could be removed through negotiations in the democratic forum of the United Nations. It would be unpardonable to allow the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization to go by without some agreement aimed at promoting "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", as laid down in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The long discussion on agenda items 12 and 40 had brought to the attention of the Committee the position of various countries concerning the suggestions in the reports of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade (A/7525 and Add.1-3; A/7699), the recommendations of the Trade and Development Board in its annual report,<sup>1</sup> the reports of the Economic and Social Council (A/7203; A/7603 and Add.1) and, in particular, the report of the Committee for Development Planning (E/4682); other important and useful documents had also been made available, in particular the Pearson Commission's report.<sup>2</sup> When a national parliament had acquired such

knowledge of all the aspects of a problem, it usually passed on to the voting stage.

2. In operative paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 2411 (XXIII) of 17 December 1968, the Preparatory Committee was requested to submit to the Assembly at its twenty-fourth session a preliminary draft of an international development strategy. The Preparatory Committee had been unable to do so and had merely submitted a progress report (A/7699). Despite its willingness and hard work, it had therefore not been able to draw up a preliminary draft, although such a draft had been implicit in the statements of many representatives. His delegation had thus thought that it could help to hasten the adoption of a strategy for the Second Development Decade by submitting to the Second Committee a working paper which, although it did not contain any new ideas, recapitulated all those already put forward and tried to find compromise formulas. It was not a definitive proposal, but it should be remembered that, in 1968, the General Assembly had expressed the hope that an over-all development strategy would be available at the beginning of 1970; it was therefore important to make up for lost time and to give new impetus to the formulation of that strategy in the Second Committee.

3. He then read out a draft resolution,<sup>3</sup> which was divided into the following sections: introduction; preamble (the text provisionally accepted by the Preparatory Committee); targets and objectives; methods and programme of work; formulation and implementation of plans; mobilization of public opinion; nature of the commitment; executive organs.

4. With regard to the measures to be adopted, the different groups of countries appeared to have conflicting ideas, but it was always possible to reach agreement on an important question like the development programme. Tariff preferences could undoubtedly be granted, first of all within regions, on the model of those between the European Economic Community and Africa, but their scope should subsequently be widened; a similar system might be set up on the American continent between the United States and Canada, on the one hand, and the Latin American countries, on the other hand; it could then be extended to other continents. Local preferences should be only an interim arrangement.

5. Section V had been included because the success of the strategy would depend on the nature of the commitments made. They should not appear in a convention or treaty, which might not be ratified until the middle of the Decade, but the nature of the commitments might be defined in

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 16 (A/7616).

<sup>2</sup> Commission on International Development, *Partners in Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1969).

<sup>3</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/C.2/L.1060.

statements made at the highest level on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. For instance, the aims of the Declaration signed at Punta del Este in April 1967 by the American Chiefs of State were similar to those of the Decade. If that were not possible, a resolution might be adopted by the General Assembly; it would have enough moral force to commit the developed countries to granting aid and the developing countries to making the efforts desired. Moreover, according to a recommendation of the Committee for Development Planning, each country might make a unilateral declaration describing the measures it intended to adopt as part of the Decade (see E/4682, para. 12). A developed country, for example, might undertake to provide technical assistance for the purpose of introducing land reform; on the other hand, a developing country like Colombia might undertake to carry out a land reform programme.

6. His delegation had added section VI to the draft resolution because it thought that the strategy should have an executive organ. It was obvious that every country bore the responsibility for development, but there must be some organ to co-ordinate all the measures adopted at the national level.

7. Some very interesting suggestions had been made during meetings of the Preparatory Committee, UNCTAD, the Second Committee and the Economic and Social Council; it had not been possible to include them in the draft resolution, but they might be linked with that text or with any other text which was drafted, since his delegation was only submitting a working paper.

8. The CHAIRMAN said that the draft resolution submitted by the Colombian representative could not be considered official because it had not yet been communicated to the Secretariat, in accordance with the procedure laid down in rule 58 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure.

9. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria) said he would explain his delegation's position concerning the preliminary report of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade (A/7699). To some people the first Development Decade had been a brilliant success, to others an unqualified failure. Those conflicting points of view had, however, a common denominator: the assumption that the degree of economic growth that had taken place during the 1960s had been due to the existence of the first Development Decade. In other words, it had been assumed that there was a causal relationship between economic growth and development efforts. His delegation could accept neither that assumption nor the appraisals based on it. The growth in the economies of the developing countries during the first Development Decade had taken place in spite of it. During the 1950s, the economies of the developing countries had in fact grown at the rate of 4.6 per cent *per annum* and in the 1960s the rate had been about 5 per cent. Thus the first Development Decade had in no way altered the economic structure of the developing countries. It must be concluded that any development strategy, national or international, which failed to bring about significant changes in the structure of the economy, as was the case in the first Development Decade, must be regarded as a failure.

10. At its second session, the Preparatory Committee had identified five elements which, it had thought, should constitute the framework of the international development strategy for the 1970s (see A/7525/Add.1, chap. II). A close examination of the preliminary report of the Preparatory Committee (A/7699) revealed that tentative agreement had been reached on a draft preambular declaration on the commitments of the international community to the objectives of the Second Development Decade, on the review and appraisal machinery and on the mobilization of public opinion. With regard to the objectives of the Decade, the Committee had merely enumerated the elements that were still to be discussed before agreement could be reached. The report did not even mention policy measures for attaining those objectives—the most critical element in the strategy. The Preparatory Committee had concentrated on secondary issues, but it had had reasons for doing so. Firstly, that Committee had based its deliberations on the principle of consensus, a time-consuming procedure; the second reason was by far the more important—the failure of UNCTAD and UNIDO to agree on their respective contributions to the Decade. Those two bodies were important yardsticks for gauging the political will of the developed countries to attain the objectives of the Decade. Those countries had made encouraging statements, which did not appear to be borne out by any definite action in UNCTAD. In the Preparatory Committee, it had often been said that the balance-of-payments difficulties of the industrial nations explained their waning support for international development. That explanation seemed logical on the surface, but it was really more of an excuse because most of the aid was directly tied to procurement in the donor countries.

11. His delegation appreciated the difficulties with which many countries in the developed world were confronted, but believed that, even without firm commitments, it was still possible for them to indicate their sincere support for the objectives of the Second Development Decade by taking action similar to that of the Nordic countries which, if approved by their legislatures, would enable them to make a net transfer of financial resources to the developing countries of the order of 1 per cent of their gross national product during the Second Development Decade. It was the absence of action of that type that had generated a good measure of cynicism and distrust among the delegations of the developing countries, and it was in that context that the report of the Preparatory Committee must be appraised. The report indicated that there was preliminary agreement on the draft preambular declaration, the mobilization of public opinion and the appraisal and evaluation procedures. In his delegation's view, the mobilization of public opinion was necessary, but should follow and not precede agreement on objectives and policy measures. Mobilization would have a better chance of succeeding if there were at least preliminary indications of what Governments intended to do.

12. It had been said that the developing countries were always asking for concessions from the developed countries, and they had been charged, for example, with unwillingness to introduce tax reforms. Such statements were unlikely to promote the consensus and mutual co-operation which were essential to the formulation of an international development strategy, but could only intensify confrontation.

13. With regard to land reform, Nigeria had hardly any problems, since there was adequate fertile land for agricultural and other purposes, owned by the entire community. The question of tax reform often led to a good deal of misunderstanding. In Nigeria, a significant proportion of tax revenue came from indirect tax on agricultural products, in the form of the reserves of the marketing boards. A recent study indicated that the Nigerian farmer received about 45 per cent of the price paid for his product on the world market. There were admittedly administrative, freight and insurance charges, but the fact remained that a substantial proportion of the farmers' income went into the reserves of the marketing boards, which used them mainly for development purposes. In addition, the 45 per cent received by the farmers was subject to income tax. The conclusion to be drawn was that the tax effort on the part of the Government was much more than it was generally supposed to be.

14. The question of population was also important, and his Government was contemplating the adoption of a national population policy as an integral part of its national reconstruction and development plan. Opinion was not unanimous on the need for, or the wisdom of, adopting a restrictive population policy; what was important was that the Government had initiated discussion on the subject.

15. In conclusion he stressed the importance which Nigeria attached to the Second Development Decade. It would continue to play an active part in the work of the Preparatory Committee.

16. Mr. ZAKHAROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his delegation had studied the report of the Economic and Social Council (A/7603) with great attention and interest. On the threshold of the 1970s, powerful revolutionary processes were taking place in the world, and there were new possibilities of progress by revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, however, reactionary forces which continued to oppress many peoples constituted a constant threat to international peace and economic and social progress. The general debate in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly and in the Second Committee reflected the reality of the international economic situation and the social and political pressures which played a part in the process of international economic development. The statements of many representatives of delegations and that of the Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs (1252nd meeting) showed the complexity of the world situation on the eve of the Second Development Decade. The situation was characterized by the constant fight of progressive forces against the capitalist exploitation system in order to establish equality of rights in international economic relations. In that fight the progressive forces were making new advances for the furtherance of their offensive against the capitalist exploitation system.

17. In the prevailing world system there were, on the one hand, the developed, capitalist and monopolistic countries which usurped an enormous quantity of wealth, created not only by the labour of the peoples of those countries themselves but also obtained by colonial piracy and the neo-colonialist exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and, on the other hand, the young

States of Asia and Africa which had gained their political independence in the middle of the twentieth century and were striving to overcome their economic backwardness, and the peoples of Latin America whose national independence went back to the beginning of the past century, but who had remained under the control of foreign monopolies. The economic situation of the capitalist and monopolistic countries revealed great contradictions. In order to ensure their economic growth, those countries were on an increasing scale fighting over the markets necessary for the disposal of their production. Budget deficits, monetary and financial disturbances, high prices and inflation had characterized many capitalist countries during the 1960s. Economists often spoke of a "creeping crisis". The leaders of those countries sought to escape from their difficulties by action contrary to the economic interests of the working masses, which intensified social conflict and the class struggle. The attempt to explain the development of social conflict in those countries by the uncontrolled nature of the scientific and technological revolution was vain. Modern capitalism, in an effort to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two economic and social systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution was increasingly resorting to the practice of State intervention and monopoly. That practice, assuming forms favourable to the interests of monopolistic capital, was unable to contain the spontaneous forces of the capitalist economy. The increasing possibilities afforded by the scientific and technological revolution were used by the monopolies to enhance their capability for aggression and military adventurism and to maintain their economic domination over the developing countries. The labour of millions of men, the magnificent achievements of the human mind, the talent of scientists, researchers and engineers, far from serving the progress and well-being of mankind, were being used for barbaric and reactionary purposes, for the needs of war, the greatest of scourges. That was why to force imperialism to slow down the arms race would result in the mobilization of enormous resources for creative purposes. In that field the United Nations should seek to encourage the efforts of all peoples and States to ensure that the opportunities offered by the scientific and technological revolution were used in the interests of peace and economic and social progress. The struggle against the present world system of economic and financial oppression and commercial exploitation would certainly be long and difficult.

18. The developing countries had admittedly achieved some economic progress in recent years, but their progress had been accompanied by new difficulties resulting from their position of dependence under the capitalist economic system. Their share of world exports was shrinking, and the growth-rate gap between them and the developed countries was widening. The elimination of that economic backwardness, the legacy of long colonial and imperialist domination, was one of the principal problems of modern times, as was the strengthening of their national independence and security. The unequal and dependent situation of those countries was the main obstacle to their economic and social advance. Neo-colonialism, which had succeeded the open plundering of colonies and dependent territories, allowed the imperialist monopolies to continue their exploitation of the natural and human resources of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thus increasing

the flow of material wealth which they siphoned off from those countries. The young States of Africa and Asia continued to have imposed on them economic treaties and political and military pacts which violated their sovereignty. That exploitation of the developing countries was made possible by a complicated system of capital withdrawals, unfair trade conditions, price and exchange rate manipulations, various forms of "assistance" and pressure brought to bear by international finance organizations. Using their dominant position as producers of industrial goods on the world capitalist market and as consumers of raw materials, the monopolies of the developed capitalist countries dictated the price of commodities without taking their cost into account. As statistics recently published by UNCTAD on international trade and development indicated, the developing countries had over the past seven years lost \$17,000 million to the imperialist monopolies. Those losses were equivalent to almost one half of the official assistance granted to them by the capitalist countries during that period, and to that must be added the repatriated profits and dividends derived from private capital investment in those countries.

19. During the past nine years, the private capital invested by the capitalist countries had amounted to almost \$37,000 million, while the earnings repatriated during the same period had amounted to more than \$38,000 million. That system of looting nullified the efforts of the developing countries to increase their savings for development purposes. The developed capitalist countries were also taking action at the political and diplomatic levels to prevent the developing countries from obtaining access to world markets. The share of the developed capitalist countries in the world's exports had gone up from 60 to 70 per cent during the last ten years; during the same period the developing countries' share in the world's exports had gone down by half. Admittedly, the developing countries had to solve many different problems, but their main difficulty lay in the efforts being made by capitalist Governments and monopolies to delay their progress in achieving economic independence and social and economic advancement and to impose upon them fresh forms of economic exploitation.

20. In that connexion, the socialist approach adopted by various developing States in Africa and Asia would have an important part to play, and those countries had already successfully carried through far-reaching social and economic changes. Thus, the teaching of Lenin, that the countries which escaped from the colonialist yoke could advance along the path of social progress without passing through the stage of capitalism, was being confirmed. In that same connexion, co-operation between the emergent progressive States and the socialist countries was playing a vital role. The present world situation was being largely determined by the economic competition between socialism and capitalism, and the achievements of the socialist countries in that regard had been significant. During the last few years, the national income of the countries that were members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid had increased by 80 per cent, while in the group of developed capitalist States it had increased by only 63 per cent. Although the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid represented only 18 per cent of the world's area and 10 per cent of its population, they were at present supplying one third of world industrial output. The world

socialist system was one of the most powerful revolutionary forces in the contemporary world. That explained the hostility of the reactionary forces and their ceaseless attempts to impair the unity of the world socialist system. The Soviet State and the Soviet people had scored historic successes in the field of economic, scientific and cultural development. In the past eight years, Soviet industrial output had more than doubled, agricultural production had increased by more than one third, and the real income of the workers had increased by 43 per cent. Whereas, in 1960, the Soviet Union's industrial output had been just over half that of the United States, it had by 1968 risen to nearly 70 per cent of the United States figure. The new five-year plan for the USSR was designed mainly to accelerate scientific and technical progress. The socialist system would be able to attain even higher growth rates, but the international situation did not allow all its national resources to be devoted to economic development; a considerable amount of them had to be spent on defence in order to safeguard the historic conquests of socialism and communism.

21. The socialist countries based their dealings with the developing countries upon the principles of proletarian internationalism and of international solidarity. The Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence consistently pursued by the USSR was conducive to the solution of the economic and social problems of the developing countries. The USSR was co-operating with many of the newly-independent countries of Africa and Asia in the fields of economics, science, technology, culture and the training of national personnel. It was also strengthening its links with the developing countries of the American continent. A number of developing countries had assigned the public sector a vital role in the development of the national economy. The USSR had concluded economic and technical co-operation agreements with those countries under which each party received equal benefits, and it was providing economic and technical assistance for the construction of industrial enterprises. The Soviet Union was engaged in economic co-operation with fifty developing countries and was providing for the construction of 680 industrial enterprises and other facilities in those countries. The output of such enterprises enabled the countries concerned to avoid reliance on expensive imports to some extent and thus to economize on foreign exchange. Soviet economic and technical assistance was therefore helping the developing countries to become industrialized and was at the same time creating favourable conditions for increased domestic savings.

22. With respect to the training of skilled technical staff, more than 70 educational establishments had already been built with the assistance of the Soviet Union, and 30 more were in the course of construction. During the past 14 years, 150,000 skilled workers had been trained in the developing countries with the aid of Soviet specialists. The building of the plants and facilities constructed with the assistance of the Soviet Union also provided an opportunity for training skilled national personnel.

23. Trade between the socialist countries and the developing countries continued to increase and had practically tripled during the past ten years. The Soviet Union was carrying out the recommendations of UNCTAD concerning

the intensification of trade between the socialist and the developing countries. The level of development attained by the socialist countries constituted a sound basis for carrying out fresh plans for economic and cultural development. It also offered further possibilities for the strengthening of economic relations with all the developing countries.

24. The Soviet Union was also trying to increase its economic relations with the developed capitalist industrial countries, an example of which was the successful co-operation which had evolved in the last few years between the Soviet Union and France in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields. The Soviet Union also had important economic relations with Italy, Japan, Finland and various other Western countries. There was still much to be done in that regard, and the United Nations could play a useful part by promoting the normalization of international economic relations and by avoiding all discrimination in world trade. The monopolistic capitalist forces saw no advantage in the various United Nations development programmes except when they provided a means of strengthening their position in the economy of the developing countries under the cover of the Organization's authority. The amount of assistance granted by the developed capitalist countries and the conditions accompanying that assistance were designed to strengthen the position of foreign capital and the economic dependence of the developing countries, and not to further the establishment of independent national economies with equal rights.

25. The same forces were trying to prevent certain socialist countries from participating in the work of the United Nations for the preparation of the programme for the Second Development Decade. At the twenty-third session of the General Assembly they had even succeeded in bringing about the adoption of a resolution which violated the Charter and was hampering the formulation of the programme for the Second Development Decade. He drew the Committee's attention to a letter dated 21 February 1969 from the Permanent Representative of his country to the President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly,<sup>4</sup> in which the Soviet delegation set out the reasons that had prevented the USSR from taking part in the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade. He also recalled a letter which had been sent to the Secretary-General by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic,<sup>5</sup> in which that Government had declared itself ready to take part in the work of the Preparatory Committee. The Soviet Union considered it only fair that the German Democratic Republic, as a sovereign socialist State which had recently celebrated its twentieth anniversary, should have the full right to take part in the work of the Preparatory Committee.

26. The success of the Second Development Decade could only be ensured if the developing countries endeavoured to bring about fundamental changes and a complete mobilization of their domestic resources and to take effective action to protect themselves against neo-colonialist exploitation.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes*, agenda item 37, document A/7490.

<sup>5</sup> See document A/7511.

There should be a programme of international measures to help the developing countries overcome their economic and social backwardness. The measures should be designed in the first place to foster the progressive economic trends in those countries, to defend their interests against the neo-colonialist policies of the capitalist countries and to encourage the normalization of international economic relations. The aim should not be to incorporate in the programme abstract, quantitative indicators of a global character but rather to indicate the general trends of economic, social and cultural progress in the developing countries. The programme should be based on a reasonable analysis of national and regional development needs. It was important that the programme for the Second Development Decade should include provision for the payment by the developed capitalist countries of compensation to the developing countries for the economic aftermath of colonialism and the exploitation by monopolist capital. The programme for the Second Development Decade should also make provision for defending the economic interests of the developing countries by giving them the right to revise or denounce treaties, agreements and undertakings imposed on them before their political independence or even after independence, if such treaties, agreements and undertakings were incompatible with their sovereignty. All foreign capital, and, in particular, private capital invested in the developing countries, should be made subject to the control of the Governments of those States so that the investments would conform with their development plans and their domestic legislation. The Soviet delegation could not overemphasize how necessary it was for the General Assembly, on the occasion of the Second Development Decade, to make provision for measures whereby neo-colonialist exploitation and the hold of foreign monopolies on the developing countries would be countered so that equity could be restored to the system of world economic relations. The United Nations must try to publicize the methods for strengthening the domestic economy which were being put into effect by many developing countries—in particular, the nationalization of foreign companies or the tightening of State control over their activities. Decisive measures in that regard had recently been taken by Peru, India, Zambia and other developing countries.

27. The developing countries' own efforts to mobilize their domestic resources and involve their people in the solution of economic and social problems would play a decisive role during the Second Development Decade. Use should be made of the experience of those developing countries which were taking steps to establish and strengthen their economic development planning and were introducing State control in the private sector in order to ensure the balanced development of all branches of the economy. The programme for the Second Development Decade should also reflect the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and should secure application of the principles adopted at the first session of UNCTAD. It should also underscore the need for a normalization of the international situation, the strengthening of international security and a resolute effort by all Governments to achieve general and complete disarmament. In that respect, it would be useful for the General Assembly, at its present session, to endorse the appeal made by the Soviet Union to all States with regard to the question of strengthening international

security (see agenda item 103)<sup>6</sup> and the request for the inclusion of an additional item on the agenda (see agenda item 104) made by a group of socialist countries regarding the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons.<sup>7</sup>

28. With regard to the creation of a specialized body within the framework of the programme for the Second Development Decade, his delegation did not consider it necessary for any special supervisory machinery to be set up and thought that it was the task of the Economic and Social Council to play such a role.

29. Although the economic activities of the United Nations organs were very important, it was regrettable to note that, in the organization of their work, they were not guided by any scientifically and objectively based policy. The specific organizational measures which were essential for the solution of such complex problems were also lacking. The experts and staff of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs confined their work to the study of visible phenomena without delving more deeply into their economic nature or social content. Consequently, many meetings and conferences continued to be devoted to academic discussions and to the consideration of reports that lacked any scientific or practical basis. Further, the research undertaken was partly based on the work of experts and specialists who were closely linked with monopolist circles and defended their interests. On the other hand, specialists from the socialist and the developing countries were not called upon to help. The result was that propaganda was being brought to bear within the United Nations on behalf of various theories which distorted, in a reactionary direction, the true nature of economic and social processes. For example, in discussions about the gap between developed and developing countries, an attempt was made to conceal the true causes of that gap. The defenders of the system of capitalist exploitation referred in that regard to the role played by population growth. The solution they put forward was birth control in the developing countries, which amounted to putting the cart before the horse. Furthermore, by referring to the concept of "a rich North and a poor South", the economic organs of the United Nations were in effect attributing part of the responsibility for the backwardness of the developing countries to the socialist countries. The reactionary character of that theory was obvious. Throughout the long period when many African and Asian peoples were being plundered, the idea of accusing the British nation, and even less the English working class, never arose, although English capital alone had been to blame. In the study of that question, social and political arguments rather than nationalist arguments should be used. In that regard, the requirement of a target of 1 per cent of the gross national product of the economically developed countries could only prove discriminatory to the USSR, which had not taken part in colonial exploitation or plundering. It was only justified in so far as the developed capitalist countries were concerned. The problem of the gap between the levels of economic development concerned only the countries

within the world capitalist system which had originally caused the gap and were still contributing to making it larger. In the countries linked by socialist co-operation, that problem did not exist, since their concerted economic efforts and the planned growth of production assured rapid growth and enabled each socialist country to reach the same level of development.

30. The economic organs of the United Nations did not pay enough attention to basic problems. They were over-burdened by a mass of secondary matters and therefore neglected many important questions. Among those which should be studied was regional economic co-operation among the developing countries. The introduction of a rational division of labour was an indispensable and effective means of accelerating economic and social progress. That question was particularly important at a time when, owing to the influence of economic co-operation, a process of political *rapprochement* between the African, Asian and Latin American countries on an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist basis was constantly gaining strength. One of the primary tasks of the United Nations was to strengthen and broaden regional economic co-operation.

31. Attention should also be paid to new economic phenomena such as the creation of social and economic structures that were conducive to progress. In various countries, the public sector had broadened its role in the economy on a basis of planning. That sector constituted a stable material base for the mobilization of domestic resources for development. Reference should also be made to land-reform efforts. However, instead of studying means for the general introduction of fundamental land reforms that would ensure the transfer of land, without payment, to the persons working it and would make it possible to liquidate the burden of exploitation by commercial and usurious capital, the economic organs of the United Nations and the groups of experts were only concerning themselves with secondary factors. It was very clear from those facts that the economic organs of the United Nations must proceed on a basis of sound policy in their efforts to bring about the economic advancement of the developing countries. They must display a new attitude if they wanted to solve such complex and such urgent problems. The main role in that respect was incumbent on the Economic and Social Council.

32. Mr. KRÖYER (Iceland) said that Iceland was a developing country, as all countries were in a sense. It was true that its literacy rate was a hundred per cent, and the people were living in a modern society with a relatively high standard of living, but development was based on a vulnerable economy that was dependent on fishing. In 1966, the catch had been 1,200,000 tons, but in 1967 production had fallen to only half that figure, while in 1968 it was only 590,000 tons. That had been due to unexpected migrations of fish stocks, but in all likelihood even more to over-fishing of most of the fish stocks in the north and north-east Atlantic. The result had been a serious setback for the whole fishing industry and for the other sectors of the economy. Iceland had had considerable unemployment for the first time in thirty years. The fact that the effects had not been really catastrophic was due to the resiliency of the economy and to the fact that the Government had taken various strong measures to cushion

<sup>6</sup> Document A/C.1/L.468.

<sup>7</sup> See document A/7655.

the impact of the depression, including borrowing, the reduction of imports and a cutback in government spending. However, those measures were not sufficient, because Iceland needed new export industries, and must diversify its economy and reduce its dependence on fishing. That would take time, but Iceland had turned to UNDP and UNIDO, which were already providing most valuable assistance. During the Second Development Decade Iceland hoped to be able to supply scientific and technical know-how to other developing countries in those sectors where it had developed a measure of specialization. In past years it had made several scientists and technicians available to FAO to advise the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia on marine research and fishery techniques. Icelandic geophysicists were participating in the building of a geothermal generating plant in El Salvador as part of a UNDP project.

33. His delegation had studied with interest the statement made at the Committee's 1252nd meeting by the Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs (A/C.2/L.1058), which it considered an outstanding example of the stimulus that an international civil servant could provide for Governments in their efforts to work out a realistic international strategy in order to attain common goals. The Under-Secretary-General had pointed to the recent trend towards self-reliance in several countries in the Third World. He had rightly expressed concern that the trend might represent a negative reaction, but still thought that it might have an eminently constructive aspect and had referred in particular to the increase in productivity in the agricultural sector. The Icelandic delegation believed that that trend should also manifest itself in the development of fishing and the fishing industries in many developing countries. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iceland had recently emphasized at a meeting of the General Assembly (see 1772nd plenary meeting) that there must be an orderly management of the world's fisheries in order to help solve the nutritional problems now facing the world, and which would certainly still confront it in the coming decade. The sea was an important source of food, particularly high-protein food for which there was an ever-increasing need in the developing world. But the fisheries of coastal areas, those areas to which the fishing industry of the developing countries was chiefly confined, were facing serious problems. In the North Atlantic fish stocks were dwindling and some food fish stocks were in danger. The main fishing nations of that area had recently agreed on the need to impose a voluntary quota system on their fishing in large areas of the North Atlantic. Yet it was to be feared that those measures came too late. The extermination of whole stocks in the Antarctic was another sad example of man's short-sightedness.

34. It was of vital importance that such developments should not be repeated in other areas, especially in the coastal zones. His delegation had noted with satisfaction the useful discussion on that issue during the forty-seventh session of the Economic and Social Council. He was particularly glad to note that the Norwegian Ambassador, in a statement in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, had stressed the same view, and had urged the taking of international action to forestall a development that might lead to further destruction of important food resources. The Norwegian representative on the Second Committee, too, had pointed to the importance of the

living resources of the sea in the context of the Second Development Decade (see 1254th meeting, para. 43). The Icelandic delegation endorsed the statement by the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, that the protein problem was becoming one of the most important, if not the most important problem, for the developing countries. The Icelandic delegation believed that the progressive growth of fisheries in the developing countries would make it possible to increase the production and consumption of protein-rich food, and that the development of fishing industries could make an appreciable contribution to the industrialization of many developing countries. However, it must be remembered that rapid progress in fishery techniques might lead to over-exploitation and destruction of those resources. In that context, he said that his Government considered that a nation should have the right to control its continental shelf fisheries. International action was needed for that purpose. Existing international conventions were inadequate for ensuring protection of the living resources of the high seas and safeguarding the vital interests of coastal States. They must be revised in the light of contemporary technological and economic realities. Furthermore, in view of the need for further development of viable coastal fisheries, it seemed unavoidable to grant coastal States certain fishery rights outside the areas now within the limits of their jurisdiction. Special fishing rights had a basis in the 1958 Geneva Convention, which recognized the principle of the special interests of coastal States.

35. Such measures would certainly be in the interests of all developing countries, and should constitute an element of economic progress in the Second Development Decade. In any case, the Icelandic delegation reserved the right to revert to those issues at a later stage.

36. Mr. OLDS (United States of America) said he would make only a brief statement, since words, even the most high-flown, could be no substitute for action. He had no intention of repeating what had been said by the United States in other international bodies, and he would not discuss action under agenda items 12 and 40. There could be no doubt that the United States was committed to the cause of development. It had on many occasions reaffirmed its faith in the value and usefulness of the United Nations system as a force for economic and social progress. It had recognized the aspirations manifested in matters of trade, aid, social justice, or purely humanitarian responsibility. It had concerned itself with all facets of the strategy for the Second Development Decade. It was endeavouring, in all parts of the world, to continue the dialogue whereby it hoped to untangle the thorny problems of trade and aid. It had not hidden its problems, nor built walls to contain them. It was understandable that the United States sometimes appeared hesitant to embrace the larger responsibility that went with power, but the responsibilities it had assumed did not follow any ideological pattern; help had not been given only to those countries that shared its point of view. Its attitude towards countries which were its enemies during the Second World War and countries which did not share the same ideology was ample evidence of the integrity of United States intentions.

37. It was, of course, understandable for the Second Committee to expect to be informed of what might be



expected from the United States. President Nixon was aware that the currents of history could not be stayed or turned from their course; the Government and people of the United States were clearly prepared to divert a large part of their resources to economic and social progress at home and abroad. The United States Government was now engaged in negotiations to reduce the allocation of huge sums to weapons of war as opposed to the tools of a genuine and lasting peace, and all Members of the United Nations had been invited to participate. Moreover, determined to attain its goals, that Government was convinced that the problems to be faced were not insuperable. The President of the United States had appointed a high-level

task force to sift through all the various aspects and arrive at a series of options. Special teams had been established to review the conclusions of the report of the Commission on International Development and the forthcoming UNDP Capacity Study and make recommendations on them. When that task had been completed, the Government could take action with a full understanding of its responsibilities. He was therefore unable to be specific about his Government's intentions at the present time, but stressed the continuing interest of the American people in development. He would comment further when decisions were being made.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*