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Chairman: Mr. Blasco LANZA D'AJETA (Italy).

AGENDA ITEMS 22 AND 33

Assistance to Africa (continued):

- (b) Economic development of Africa (A/4899, A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2);**
- (c) African educational development (A/4820 and Corr.2, chapter VIII, paragraph 648; A/4903 and Add.1, A/4928, A/C.2/L.619 and Add.1)**

Assistance to newly independent States: report of the Economic and Social Council (A/4820 and Corr.2, chapter III, section V) (continued)

1. Mr. ASIODU (Nigeria) introduced, on behalf of the sponsors, the second revised text of the draft resolution on the economic development of Africa (A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2). He thanked all representatives who had made encouraging comments and useful suggestions.
2. Some had proposed a slight amendment to the second preambular paragraph on the grounds that African development could be achieved only through economic interdependence. Of course, any realistic appraisal of the size and resources of many African States showed that autarky was out of the question. Nor did any of them aspire to it. What they wanted was complete freedom to take the economic decisions they felt to be in their interests instead of having to conform to the economic decisions and interests of the metropolitan Powers as in former times. The sponsors had therefore preferred to keep the term "economic independence" instead of the words "economic viability" which had been suggested. Since the former term had been taken from the fourth preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 1527 (XV) which had been unanimously adopted, they hoped it would be supported by the whole Committee.
3. Admittedly, the third preambular paragraph was somewhat illogical. International co-operation could not play a decisive role if the primary responsibility for economic development rested with the African States themselves. The sponsors were therefore prepared to replace the word "decisive" by the words "very important". To meet the suggestions made by the United States and the Soviet Union, they had added the words "and the development of highly productive

agriculture" in the fourth preambular paragraph. The Malagasy representative had objected to the words "well-integrated long-term plans" in the fifth preambular paragraph. However, the vital need for such plans had often been stressed throughout the Second Committee's discussions and the term in no way interfered with the sovereignty of States, which alone remained responsible for drawing up national programmes.

4. In the seventh preambular paragraph, the sponsors had inserted the words "taking appropriate measures to improve"; terms of trade were a relationship between several factors and it was in practice impossible to improve them. They had decided to delete the word "African" before the word "exporters" because all countries selling primary commodities would benefit from the type of measures indicated. In expanding the end of the paragraph they had followed the suggestions that had been made. On the other hand, they had been unable to add new resolutions to the list given in the last preambular paragraph because they dealt neither with the development of external assistance to the African countries nor with the measures which such countries should take to promote their economic expansion. Furthermore, the mention of a resolution adopted unanimously by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session seemed to evoke reservations from certain delegations.

5. In operative paragraph 3 (a), the words "at the request of the Governments concerned" had been inserted to meet various objections which took into account the structure of the Special Fund. However, the sponsors had been unable to include a reference to a number of African development and planning institutes as the Malagasy representative had suggested. Of course, any moves which the African States might make to obtain foreign aid for their development were praiseworthy but it would be inappropriate to mention them all in the draft resolution. The present wording did not prejudge the position to be taken by the proposed institute, which would undoubtedly take into account the wide diversity of the African nations.

6. In operative paragraph 4, the word "and" should be inserted before the words "with the fullest assistance". The sponsors had kept the word "common" in sub-paragraph (a) in spite of the various criticisms that had been made, because the meaning was not that a single solution should be found for all products but that the African States should agree on solutions which differed for each product but were applicable to the whole continent. In operative paragraph 5, the sponsors had taken up the United States representative's suggestion regarding the study called for by ECA but had kept the word "regional" in order to stress the role of regional efforts in implementing the proposal. They hoped that the Malagasy representative would not press his criticisms of operative paragraph 6

because the policy of decentralization, far from being a topic of controversy, had been supported both in the General Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council by many countries, in the interest of economy and efficiency.

7. Mr. KHLICHEVSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) observed that the African continent was trying to accomplish a feat of development which had often required the efforts of several generations in other parts of the world. The great economic backwardness of the African countries gave rise to extremely complex problems which for the most part were the legacy of colonialism. The future of the African continent depended on the complete elimination of the consequences of an out-dated system. The Ukrainian delegation had therefore carefully studied draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2 concerning the adoption of measures designed to strengthen the economic independence of the African countries. Such measures were important because they would facilitate economic co-operation between the African States and enable them to make the best use of the assistance offered by the United Nations system. In that respect the institute mentioned in operative paragraph 3 would be very useful. The sponsors were also right to stress the importance of foreign trade, which was one of the main sources of financing economic development, and the meeting recommended in operative paragraph 4 (a) should be urgently convened. The study envisaged in operative paragraph 4 (b) also seemed timely.

8. While, generally speaking, domestic savings must remain the primary means of financing development, the importance of foreign aid must not be underrated. His delegation therefore supported the appeal to the developed countries to continue to provide technical and financial assistance both bilaterally and multilaterally without any political strings attached. Since it would be unfair to make all States equally responsible for the present situation, attention should be drawn to the particular historic and moral responsibility of those countries which had long enriched themselves at the expense of the African States, by referring in the last preambular paragraph to General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1516 (XV).

9. International co-operation was no less important for the solution of the problems of educational development in Africa. That idea, whose merits had already been appreciated when UNESCO had been established, had been confirmed at the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa which had been held at Addis Ababa in May 1961. The peoples formerly deprived of self-determination must today strive to eliminate illiteracy, one of the last vestiges of colonialism. The African Governments were experiencing difficulties in that connexion, not because they did not want to develop their education, but because their natural wealth had been exploited for too long by monopolies which had hindered popular education in order to have at their disposal a pool of cheap labour. The history of the advanced countries showed clearly that technological progress and the raising of living standards were linked with educational development. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which had been one of the sponsors of the draft resolution just adopted by the Third Committee at its 1125th meeting, on measures to eradicate illiteracy throughout the world, felt that the draft resolution concerning African educational development (A/C.2/L.619 and Add.1) was particularly

appropriate. The advanced countries and the system of international organizations should be asked to give effective help for the development of public education in the African countries either through bilateral schemes with no political strings attached or as part of multilateral technical assistance programmes. The Ukrainian SSR had already announced that it would contribute an additional 25,000 roubles to the emergency programme endorsed by UNESCO at the eleventh session of its General Conference.

10. Mr. AMADOR (Mexico) said that the Mexican delegation was deeply interested in the questions dealt with in the draft resolutions under consideration. In connexion with draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2, it was to be hoped that, in their efforts to accelerate their economic and social development, the African countries would understand the need to ensure the concordance of their legitimate interests with those of the other countries striving towards the same end.

11. With regard to draft resolution A/C.2/L.619, Mexico had always attached the greatest importance to education, as President López Mateos had recently recalled in his annual report to Congress. Its public education budget was higher than ever before, amounting to the equivalent of \$171,595,680. In 1910, only 83,824 pupils had been attending schools in Mexico, but the figure had since risen to 3,171,768 pupils. In one year, Mexico had built 4,527 new class-rooms. The interest shown by the population in the development of education could be seen from the large sums spent by local communities for that purpose, in addition to the apportionments in the State budget. For Mexico, education was therefore the most solid basis of independence and the Mexican delegation very strongly supported the draft resolution.

12. Mr. THAJEB (Indonesia) stated that the political independence gained by more African countries each year was only a first stage towards their true liberation, which would only be possible when they had managed to develop sufficiently both economically and socially. Being aware of the tragedy in the Congo, the world community should do everything in its power to prevent a recurrence of such events and to help the under-developed countries to achieve their economic emancipation. The continual accession of new countries to independence meant that international action to help the under-developed countries to face the problems confronting them, which were almost universally the lack of capital and the shortage of skilled personnel, was becoming increasingly inadequate. The African countries had special difficulties owing to the fact that, as they were mostly not natural geographic and economic units, they did not individually have the necessary economic means and resources to live; it was thus normal that they should place particular emphasis on regional co-operation. Furthermore, Africa did not yet have multilateral assistance programmes such as the Colombo Plan or the Alliance for Progress. International aid was not yet equitably distributed among the different under-developed regions. The Indonesian delegation was glad that operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2 reaffirmed General Assembly resolution 1527 (XV) which unfortunately, in spite of its considerable importance, had produced little result so far.

13. He would welcome any measure to promote the establishment of regional development plans and a review of obsolete economic and social structures. He approved of the emphasis placed on planning in the

draft resolution, and the recognition of the importance of economic projections for long-term development planning. The Indonesian delegation also welcomed the insertion in the draft resolution of a provision requesting that a study should be made of the measures required for increasing the volume of domestic savings in the African countries; it considered that the solution of trade problems would be useful not only for the African countries but for all the under-developed countries with which the primary responsibility for their own development rested; the conference proposed in the draft resolution could be useful to all the under-developed countries.

14. The Indonesian delegation considered that the African countries, like the other under-developed countries, should receive more capital aid from the international community, and it welcomed the Nigerian representative's clarification of operative paragraph 5 to the effect that it was regional initiative which was most important in the creation of economic development banks for Africa. It strongly supported operative paragraph 6 concerning decentralization and in particular the request to strengthen ECA.

15. Recognizing that the measures contained in the draft resolution would be useless unless accompanied by action *pari passu* in the matter of education, the Indonesian delegation was glad that draft resolution A/C.2/L.619 had been submitted.

16. The struggle of the African countries for their political independence was part of a general trend towards the establishment of a new world order based on liberty, equality and social justice, in which the United Nations should take the lead. For its part, Indonesia would contribute to the success of that undertaking so far as its means permitted.

17. Mr. CHRISTIANSEN (Norway) said that his delegation strongly supported the two draft resolutions in which the African countries had set forth the measures which, in their opinion, should be taken to mobilize to the maximum the resources of the African continent with a view to accelerating its economic and social development. The Norwegian delegation favoured the idea of co-ordinated international co-operation and considered that it was essential for all United Nations organs to do everything in their power to help the economically under-developed countries to help themselves. To that end the international community must increase its financial and technical contribution. In that spirit, the Norwegian Government had decided to double its contribution to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and to the Special Fund for 1962, as part of a long-term programme designed progressively to increase Norway's economic and technical assistance to the under-developed countries during the coming years. The Norwegian delegation had listened with great interest to the explanations given by the Ethiopian representative (788th meeting) with respect to the Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development prepared at Addis Ababa, since it considered that the plan would make it possible to fulfil a pre-condition for all economic and social progress. The appeal made to the international community to help the African countries to implement it merited the closest attention. Norway hoped to participate actively in the implementation of the educational development programmes of the African countries and had already taken steps to ascertain what it could do in that connexion.

18. Mr. MALHOTRA (Nepal) said that in many respects the economic problems of Africa resembled those of Asia and that similar solutions must be sought to them. Although the African countries had emerged late upon the world scene and must therefore move faster in order to catch up, most of the Asian countries were not much further ahead, for they had thrown off the colonial yoke only fairly recently. Luckily, Nepal had never been colonized.

19. Even so, the late start could be an advantage to countries able to learn from the experience and setbacks of their predecessors. That was indeed the aim of the African leaders to judge from the two draft resolutions before the Committee. One (A/C.2/L.619 and Add.1) stressed the need to develop human resources in order to achieve economic expansion and hence better conditions of life; the other (A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2), which might apply equally well to any other under-developed area, particularly Asia, was primarily concerned with the establishment of national and regional institutes for economic planning and development that had proved themselves to be the best instruments for general and harmonious progress. His delegation warmly supported the two texts, which were in full accord with the proposed aims of the United Nations Development Decade.

20. Mr. AHMED (Sudan) thanked the various countries which had made constructive suggestions concerning the two draft resolutions co-sponsored by the Sudan. The drafts had been introduced so eloquently that his delegation could confine itself to some general remarks. With regard to the idea of an essentially African programme, it should be remembered that integrated regional programmes had a place in development activities. If they were useful in special cases, there was all the more reason why they would be useful in Africa. That having been said, there was no need to revert to the special factors which had helped to create the situation in which Africa now found itself: the important thing was to prepare the future and not to harp on a past which was better forgotten. In that connexion, his delegation would appeal to the Soviet Union not to press its suggestion concerning the misdeeds of colonialism; the consequences of that system could not, of course, be denied, but the debate should not now be poisoned by political controversy. He hoped that the Soviet Union would accept his remarks in the spirit in which they had been made.

21. His delegation considered that draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2 laid down five principles for action: (1) economic independence, as an essential element of political independence; that idea excluded neither interdependence nor international co-operation, and the Nigerian delegation had already clarified the point in connexion with the suggestion put forward by the United States; (2) the need to diversify production in order to provide a broader base for national economies and to make them less dependent on a small number of crops: that too was an important pre-condition of economic independence; (3) the importance and, even more, the urgency of the needs: those considerations justified the scope and variety of the measures suggested in the draft resolution; (4) the need to accelerate development: a programme of concerted action would be useful to that end, for Africa must act quickly; what other countries had been able to accomplish by themselves in a few decades Africa could also do, especially as it would benefit by the experience acquired and the additional

assistance of United Nations bodies; (5) the primary responsibility that rested with the African States themselves: that responsibility implied that development plans should be drawn up by each country in accordance with its own needs.

22. With regard to draft resolution A/C.2/L.619, his delegation considered that education was basic to economic, social and cultural development, and that the African States were so well aware of the fact that they had given priority to education in their national and regional plans. The chief obstacles were the shortage of teaching staff and the high rate of illiteracy. Although the Sudan had made four or five times more progress in that field during the last five years than it had during the preceding half-century, the lack of schools and staff continued to be felt. Conscious of their responsibilities, the African States considered education the most important item in their budgets; however, foreign assistance was essential, and would have the double advantage of raising the level of education and of freeing certain national resources for directly productive investment.

23. He reserved the right to speak again, if necessary, and expressed the hope that the two draft resolutions would be adopted.

24. Mr. LYNCH-SHYLLON (Sierra Leone) stressed the importance of the two draft resolutions for the development of Sierra Leone and of the African continent. It was not the right time for putting colonialism on trial; at most, history could be cited in order to draw the necessary lessons from it and to prepare the road to a better future. Sierra Leone saw in draft resolution A/C.2/L.619 the very foundation for the economic emancipation of the African continent. Although the first secondary school for boys in Sierra Leone had been established more than 115 years ago, the number of children attending institutions of secondary education was still less than 10,000 today, out of a population of more than 3 million. Financial resources remained inadequate, even at the higher level, in spite of the fact that Fourah Bay College had won Sierra Leone the title of the Athens of West Africa. He drew the attention of the countries with abundant capital to operative paragraph 4, which left the way open for both bilateral and multilateral forms of assistance, and expressed the hope that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously.

25. His delegation considered that draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2 could be regarded as a corollary to the two draft resolutions on the United Nations Development Decade recently adopted by the Committee (A/C.2/L.599 and A/C.2/L.555 and Add.1-3). Africa had been so intensively exploited during the last century that its financial structure required outside aid in order to stimulate further economic growth. Sierra Leone supported the principle of regional co-operation, which would make it possible to accelerate the rate of industrialization. The same co-operation was needed at the international level, and he was glad it was now recognized that world prosperity depended on international co-operation at both the economic and technical levels. That principle underlay the entire planning effort being undertaken in Africa. In that spirit, he attached great importance to operative paragraph 4, as well as to the draft resolution as a whole. He hoped that the Committee would give the draft its unanimous support.

26. Mr. MAKEEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his delegation was grateful to the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2 for having referred, in the seventh preambular paragraph, to the measures to be taken to improve the terms of trade so that African States could finance their economic development from greater foreign currency earnings. He nevertheless regretted that the sponsors had been unable to take into account the Soviet Union's other suggestions, including that concerning the usefulness of recalling, in the ninth preambular paragraph, General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1516 (XV). Moreover, it seemed particularly appropriate to refer to the United Nations Development Decade in connexion with agenda item 22 (b).

27. In stressing those points, his delegation's sole motive was to make the text of the draft resolution as comprehensive and detailed as possible. It might be difficult for the sponsors to accept some of those suggestions, but his delegation did not see why they could not refer to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, as it had a direct bearing on the needs of the African countries with respect to economic development. In particular, he drew attention to the seventh and eighth preambular paragraphs of that resolution, which seemed to him to be particularly relevant to the goals and purposes of the African States and the steps contemplated in the draft resolution. He expressed the hope that the sponsors would be able to comply with the wishes of the Soviet delegation.

28. Mr. SILVA SUCRE (Venezuela) said he was glad to note that the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2 had tackled the problem of economic development directly, and he was convinced that the human and natural resources of the African continent would be increased considerably when the ideas contained in the draft had been applied. With regard to education, the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.2/L.619 had been well advised, in operative paragraph 6, to call on the help of inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, for that was a realistic way of making a quick start on the considerable task involved.

29. As a co-sponsor of the draft resolution on planning for economic development which had been adopted by the Committee (A/C.2/L.584), his delegation was happy to note that the draft resolution on the economic development of Africa referred to an African institute of economic development and planning to be established under the auspices of ECA, for it was convinced that such an institute could guide and accelerate planning, which was basic to all economic development. The reference, in operative paragraph 4 (c) (ii), to the need for accelerating the flow of foreign capital, public and private, to African countries, was also very wise, for it was an over-simplification to argue that such contributions should be rejected because they would let the wolf into the sheepfold. Venezuela could provide ample proof of the contrary: there, foreign investments did not prejudice either national sovereignty or the income derived from natural resources, as the rights and obligations of the two parties were clearly defined and strictly honoured.

30. The modern world was full of common problems and exchanges of ideas and methods could only become more general. Venezuela assured the sponsors of the two draft resolutions of its support.

31. Mr. ASIODU (Nigeria), speaking on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.2, thanked the Soviet delegation for emphasizing the importance of certain parts of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and announced that the sponsors

had decided to refer to that resolution in the last preambular paragraph.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.