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

AGENDA ITEMS 22 AND 23

- Assistance to Africa (continued):**
- (b) **Economic development of Africa (A/4899, A/C.2/L.622/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 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. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to continue its discussion of the draft resolution on the economic development of Africa (A/C.2/L.622/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2) and the draft resolution on African educational development (A/C.2/L.619 and Add.1).

2. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand) said that in recent years all Members of the United Nations had been increasing their joint efforts to help the emerging States of Africa. New Zealand had played its own modest role in such co-operation besides participating in the various programmes of assistance organized by the Commonwealth. While it was fitting that the current session of the General Assembly should concentrate on Africa, the needs of the other under-developed areas of the world must not be forgotten. In that respect, the statement by the Nigerian representative that there were no contradictions between a global approach to the problems of development and the drawing up of special aid programmes for Africa was particularly encouraging.

3. The draft resolution on the economic development of Africa was fully consistent with action taken in the past and deserved the Committee's support. New Zealand was particularly interested in the two paragraphs which dealt with international trade. It had similar problems to those facing the African countries in that it was dependent on a small range of primary commodity exports. The New Zealand delegation was certain that the African countries would tackle their trade problems not in an autarkic spirit but with a desire to expand multilateral trade for the benefit of all countries.

4. With reference to the draft resolution on African educational development, he recalled that New Zealand had sponsored a resolution on that subject at the thirty-second session of the Economic and Social Council (resolution 837 (XXXII)). The Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, held at Addis Ababa in May 1961, had been a milestone; it had recognized education not only as one of the goals of economic development but as a means of achieving economic development. As could be seen from the Final Report of the Conference,^{1/} it had grappled realistically with the formidable problems of African education. The African countries were to be congratulated on the high degree of co-operation they had achieved and also on their firm determination to put education in the forefront of their development plans. The priorities laid down in the Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development^{2/} were eminently

^{1/} Transmitted to members of the Economic and Social Council at its thirty-second session by a note of the Secretary-General (E/3498/Add.2).

^{2/} Transmitted to members of the General Assembly by a note of the Secretary-General (A/4903).

sound. The success of the plan would depend on international support and the development of new mass education techniques, a field in which UNESCO was already active.

5. As the United States representative had pointed out, the United Nations system was well equipped to help the African States. Of course UNESCO was the most directly and deeply involved, but the ILO, FAO, WHO and the United Nations itself were all collaborating. At its thirty-second session, the Economic and Social Council had noted that the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination had decided to adopt an integrated approach to the problems of education in Africa and proposed to extend it to other parts of the world (resolution 838 (XXXII)).

6. His delegation whole-heartedly supported the draft resolutions but, with reference to operative paragraph 7 of draft resolution A/C.2/L.619, he wondered whether a more flexible approach might be adopted with regard to the timing of the next conference of African States.

7. Mr. PATINO ROSELLI (Colombia) supported both draft resolutions on the understanding that nothing in them could be construed as being at variance with the principles governing primary commodity exports set forth in the Charter of Punta del Este.

8. Mr. MAKEEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the draft resolution on the economic development of Africa (A/C.2/L.622/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2) was aimed at eliminating the economic and social vestiges of colonialism. The sponsors might therefore consider including in the text a reference to the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)). No one could deny that the newly independent African countries were faced with enormous problems. It was not enough for them to win their political independence; they must also strengthen and consolidate their economic independence, as stated in the second preambular paragraph. His delegation supported that particular paragraph as it stood and opposed the United States suggestion that the word "independence" should be changed to the word "viability". On the other hand, it endorsed the amendment suggested by the United States to insert the words "and the development of highly productive agriculture" after the word "industrialization" in the fourth preambular paragraph. The fifth preambular paragraph rightly stressed the importance of long-term planning; the African States must pay particular attention to the development of the public sector. With reference to the seventh preambular paragraph, the solution of Africa's trade problems was of vital importance. Discussion at the last session of the Economic Commission for Africa had revealed that many African States had been adversely affected by the trade policies of the Western countries. In order to clarify the text, his delegation suggested that the following words should be added at the end of the seventh preambular paragraph: "in such a way as to permit them to finance their own economic development by means of a greater influx of foreign currency and domestic savings". A similar addition had been made to operative paragraph 2 (a) of the draft resolution on a United Nations Development Decade submitted under agenda items 12, 28, 29 and 30 (A/C.2/L.599).

9. Turning to the operative part of the draft resolution, he agreed that the financing of African economic

development was of primary importance. It was undeniable that the primary responsibility rested with the African States themselves but an equal share of responsibility lay upon the colonial Powers which had exploited and were still exploiting the African countries. Africa was one of the richest continents but its wealth had been exploited by foreign monopolies to the point where 8 per cent of the value of African raw materials remained within the continent, 92 per cent going to the United States and to Western Europe. By 1959, United States investments in Africa had increased twenty times as compared with the pre-war period and, at a conservative estimate, the profits on United Kingdom investments in Africa amounted to between £70 million and £80 million a year. In 1959, Belgium had pumped out of the Congo some \$320 million, a sum equal to 2.6 per cent of Belgium's gross national product. Some mention should therefore be made in the draft resolution of the responsibility of the colonial Powers to pay back at least part of what they had plundered. His delegation suggested that an additional paragraph should be inserted calling upon States to pursue policies designed to ensure to the developing countries an equitable share of earnings from the extraction and marketing of their natural resources by foreign capital. A similar recommendation had already been included in the draft resolution on the United Nations Development Decade.

10. His delegation regretted that the draft resolution made no mention of the need to use the resources of all States for the purposes of helping the African countries. Nor could it support the inclusion of the phrase "measures necessary for accelerating the flow of foreign capital" in operative paragraph 4 (c) (ii) without any mention of the necessary safeguards to prevent the misuse of such capital. The negotiations with IBRD, recommended in operative paragraph 5, would prove useful and he also supported the plans for co-operation among the African States themselves, particularly those outlined in operative paragraph 3.

11. The USSR was continuing to assist Africa both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. Soviet aid had no political strings attached to it and was designed solely for the benefit of the recipients. The Soviet Union was assisting fifteen countries in Asia and Africa and had provided credits amounting to many thousands of millions of roubles for some 270 projects. The Patrice Lumumba University has been established in Moscow and the number of African students attending it was increasing.

12. If progress was made with general and complete disarmament, even more resources would be available for assisting the under-developed countries, particularly those in Africa. The sponsors might therefore consider referring in the draft resolution to General Assembly resolution 1516 (XV) on the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

13. The aid programmes for Africa should not be financed from the regular United Nations budget but from voluntary contributions. At the fifteenth session, the Soviet Union delegation had announced that, if Members of the United Nations increased their voluntary contributions to Africa within the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the USSR was prepared to contribute 1,125,000 new roubles in national currency. That offer still held good. It was gratifying to note that Africa's share of the Expanded Programme had increased to 29 per cent without prejudice to the assistance being given to other regions.

The United Nations programme of assistance to the African countries should in no way impede their sovereign right to obtain bilateral assistance from other countries.

14. In connexion with the draft resolution on African educational development (A/C.2/L.619 and Add.1), his delegation warmly supported the work of the United Nations in training national personnel in the under-developed countries, and particularly in the young African States, and agreed that that work should be expanded. The USSR would be glad to share with the African countries the experience it had acquired in eliminating illiteracy and would continue its broad-scale educational assistance to African countries. United Nations assistance programmes for Africa should concentrate on education and above all on the training of national staff by such means as the establishment of education centres, the granting of fellowships, and expert training missions, which had already proved their effectiveness. Emphasis should be laid on the training of national administrators, and the international personnel sent to train Africans should be recruited on the basis of equitable geographical distribution and include personnel from the USSR and the Asian and African countries. His delegation hoped that those considerations would be taken into account by the sponsors of the draft resolutions, both of which it would support.

Mr. Mahdavi (Iran), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

15. Mr. CHA (China) sympathized with the efforts of the new African countries to achieve complete economic and political independence, as China had itself gone through a period of semi-colonial rule and knew the difficulties involved. Reference had been made to colonialism in Africa, but that system was now dead or dying throughout the continent, and there was cause for satisfaction in the fact that it was disappearing, in the main, without bloodshed and that the former great colonial Powers were the friends of their former colonies.

16. He paid a tribute to UNESCO for the great efforts it was making in connexion with African educational development. One of the great benefits of education was that it made possible freedom of the mind. It was important for students to be given an opportunity to go abroad, where they could acquire not only technical training but knowledge of the political and social life of other countries. His delegation would therefore suggest that, in addition to the bilateral and multi-lateral programmes of educational development to be carried out in the future, the Governments of the African States should organize study tours abroad for their students.

17. In connexion with the economic development of Africa, his delegation stressed the importance of land reform as a part of any development programme. His Government had achieved significant results in land reform on Taiwan without bloodshed and, as a consequence, the level of living of the population compared favourably with that of other countries of Asia and the Far East.

18. He also drew attention to the importance of maintaining good credit standing for increasing the flow of public and private capital to Africa. Because IBRD was itself required to pay interest on the funds it employed, it might have difficulty in meeting the wishes of the African countries with regard to financing, but the newly established IDA might be in

a better position to meet their needs. His delegation would vote in favour of both draft resolutions.

19. Mr. DA FONSECA (Brazil) wholeheartedly supported the draft resolution on African economic development (A/C.2/L.622/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2), but wished to comment on some of the points raised in it from the standpoint of Latin American experience and precedents, which were in many cases surprisingly applicable to African problems.

20. Brazil had played an important part in the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa, in the firm belief that such a commission would be the most appropriate means for promoting the economic development of Africa. It had felt then, and continued to feel, that a regional commission for that continent should provide a forum where representatives of countries with different backgrounds could meet, that it should function as a clearing-house for the exchange of information, and that it should study the social and economic problems of Africa and recommend solutions in the light of African experience. The need to take account of the special conditions prevailing in a given region was one of the most fruitful lessons taught to Latin Americans by ECLA. That Commission had started with the assumption that economic theories developed in advanced countries could not be applied to Latin America without careful adaptation and had gradually begun to build up a theory of economic development appropriate to Latin American realities. ECLA had advanced the theory of the unequal gains from trade between central and peripheral economies, and had pointed out that protection played fundamentally different roles in advanced and under-developed economies. Another important contribution had been ECLA's emphasis on planning as the most rational way of accelerating the economic development of the Latin American countries. It was obvious that ECA had not neglected that aspect of its role; for example, it had realized the need for adapting national income accounting procedures to the specific conditions of Africa, and in educational matters a similar need had been recognized to adapt foreign curricula to the African situation. At the same time, ECA was doing magnificent work in other areas and helping in every possible way to accelerate the economic development of Africa. It was only a matter of common sense, therefore, that the Commission should be endowed with greater autonomy and with increased operational and substantive functions. His delegation therefore trusted that the draft resolution on decentralization recently adopted by the Committee (A/C.2/L.585) would be rapidly implemented in respect of all the regional economic commissions and that ECA's effectiveness would be substantially increased thereby.

21. It was well known that the African countries were dependent on a narrow range of primary commodity exports to develop their economies. They were very much aware of the threat to their development plans inherent in any decline in agricultural and mineral prices, and had often expressed their concern at the cyclical fluctuations in such prices. A number of them had recently taken a positive step towards the implementation of commodity price stabilization schemes by deciding to participate in the International Coffee Agreement. His delegation hoped that in a short time all African producers would be in a position to join the Agreement and thus to contribute to an effective balance between supply and demand. To be fully effective, however, international stabilization schemes must be complemented by non-discriminatory trade

policies in the importing countries. The discriminatory mechanisms introduced in particular by the European Economic Community could not be regarded without serious misgivings. Moreover, the association of former colonial dependencies with the metropolitan economies under the Treaty of Rome establishing the Community was far from serving the best interests of African economic development, for the non-associated countries and territories of Africa would find their products gradually excluded from the Community, while the associated territories would discover that the tariff preferences favouring them would foster the concentration of resources on the production of the primary commodities benefited by the Treaty and would tend to perpetuate an anachronistic division of labour. Moreover, the European Common Market, by dividing the African States into associated and non-associated territories, created two distinct economic blocs in Africa and prevented the increase of intra-African trade. His delegation accordingly warmly endorsed the recommendation contained in operative paragraph 4 (b), and considered that the proposed study would help to place in perspective the need for a revision of the preferential arrangements of the European Economic Community in the interest of the development of all African countries.

22. Next to export proceeds, foreign capital, both public and private, was the most important source of foreign exchange for financing economic development. Although the flow of capital to Africa had been increasing gradually in the past few years, it remained dismally inadequate. Accordingly, his delegation unreservedly supported the recommendations in operative paragraph 4 (c) (ii) and 5. It was the experience of the Latin American countries that regional financial institutions were an indispensable complement to international lending institutions. In spite of its modest capital and imperfections, the Inter-American Development Bank was proving of great assistance in financing the economic development of Latin America, and his delegation was confident that similar results could be achieved through the establishment of a regional bank for Africa.

23. Colonialism in Africa was dead for all practical purposes, and the time had come for a new struggle to promote the continent's economic development. Draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.1 recommended a number of measures which could be a first step in that direction. His delegation hoped that in a few years Africa would be free from poverty and stagnation and, with liberal institutions securely entrenched, would have managed to achieve self-sustained economic growth.

24. Mr. APPIAH (Ghana) said that, in view of its long past association with the developed countries, Africa's pleas for assistance should be heeded. The African Governments were doing their utmost to help themselves and many of their problems had previously been faced by the developed countries. The two draft resolutions before the Committee were an attempt to draw the attention of the world to Africa's economic difficulties. The economic changes taking place there had to be of a revolutionary nature because entirely new economic structures were being established and because of the urgent need to satisfy the aspirations of the African people.

25. The African countries did not wish to remain dependent on exports of one commodity or to remain suppliers of unskilled labour and raw materials. The

Ghanaian delegation therefore attached considerable importance to operative paragraph 4 (b) of draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.1. Sub-paragraph (c) (i) was also extremely important, since it showed that the African countries were prepared to mobilize their own resources to promote their economic development. In connexion with operative paragraph 5, the Ghanaian delegation considered that one central development bank for Africa with sub-regional branches as appropriate would best serve the needs of the continent, a view already expressed in resolution 27 (III) of ECA.

26. African educational development, which was dealt with in draft resolution A/C.2/L.619, was the most important item in the development plans of almost all under-developed countries. Vast sums of money were being spent on education in order to make the population articulate participants in instead of silent spectators of the great drama unfolding in Africa. Increasing emphasis was therefore being placed on secondary and university education and assistance was needed in the form of money, teachers and advisers. It was to be hoped that the two draft resolutions would be implemented with the strong support of those countries which were in a position to help.

27. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) said that the aim of draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.1, which was to accelerate the economic development of Africa, was praiseworthy. The Argentine delegation hoped that the reference in the seventh preambular paragraph to the need to improve the terms of trade in favour of African exporters of primary commodities would not exclude the idea of improving them in favour of exporters of primary commodities in other regions and that it was not intended to give preferential treatment to African products. In connexion with the programming of economic development, the conclusions of the study on projections recommended in General Assembly resolution 1517 (XV) should be taken into account. The reference in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution to the importance of establishing regional economic development banks was to be welcomed; the Inter-American Development Bank had proved the usefulness of such institutions. He wished to express the reservation of his delegation regarding the references to General Assembly resolution 1527 (XV) in the ninth preambular paragraph and in operative paragraph 1. As previously stated, the Argentine delegation was opposed to the idea of a special programme of assistance for Africa within the regular programmes of the United Nations. Although from a humanitarian point of view such a programme could be beneficial, from the institutional point of view certain difficulties might arise in connexion with constitutional provisions on the subject.

28. Mr. RAMAHOLIMIHASO (Madagascar) suggested that, in the fifth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.2/L.622/Rev.1, the words "within the framework of well-integrated long-term plans" should be replaced by the words "within the framework of the institutions which they themselves have established". That wording was more general and could cover associations of independent States such as the African-Malagasy Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, which was open to all countries that accepted the principle of voluntary co-operation. Because of the diversity of the African continent, countries with certain similarities tended to form groupings and, in operative paragraph 3 (a), reference should be made to African institutes of

economic development and planning, in the plural. In sub-paragraph (b) the words "through the Economic Commission for Africa and its Institute of Economic Development and Planning when it is established" should be replaced by the words "through these bodies". In view of the controversy which surrounded the concept of decentralization, the words "of decentralization", in operative paragraph 6, should be deleted. The Malagasy delegation considered that the central organs of the United Nations should continue to exercise co-ordinating functions and take decisions.

AGENDA ITEMS 12, 28, 29 AND 30

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapters II, IV, V (sections II-V), VI (paragraph 489) and VIII (paragraphs 650 and 651)) (A/4820 and Corr.2, A/4911) (continued)

Economic development of under-developed countries (A/4820 and Corr.2) (continued):

- (a) *Industrial development and activities of the organs of the United Nations in the field of industrialization;*
- (b) *Establishment of a United Nations capital development fund: report of the Committee established by General Assembly resolution 1521 (XV) (A/4878, E/3514, E/AC.6/SR.305-309);*
- (c) *Accelerated flow of capital and technical assistance to the developing countries: report of the Secretary-General (A/4906, E/3556);*
- (d) *Land reform: interim report of the Secretary-General (A/4850)*

Questions relating to international trade and commodities (A/4820 and Corr.2, E/3452/Rev.1, E/3466, E/3468, E/3486, E/3497) (continued):

- (a) *Strengthening and development of the world market and improvement of the trade conditions of the economically less developed countries: report of the Economic and Social Council (A/4885, E/3519, E/3520 and Add.1, E/3530);*

- (b) *Improvement of the terms of trade between the industrial and the under-developed countries: report of the Economic and Social Council*

Questions relating to science and technology (A/4820 and Corr.2) (continued):

- (a) *Development of scientific and technical co-operation and exchange of experience: report of the Secretary-General (A/4904, E/3515);*
- (b) *Main trends of inquiry in the natural sciences, dissemination of scientific knowledge and application of such knowledge for peaceful ends: report of the Economic and Social Council (A/4898)*

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS
(A/C.2/L.564/REV.2) (concluded)

29. Mr. GUERREIRO RAMOS (Brazil) announced that, because of the Committee's heavy programme of work, the delegations of Bolivia and Brazil would withdraw their draft resolution on inflation in under-developed areas (A/C.2/L.564/Rev.2). However, studies which had been made by the United Nations Secretariat and by the regional economic commissions showed that a differential theory of inflation existed. The studies should be discussed in the General Assembly. The text of the draft resolution should be included in the Committee's report.

30. Mr. MALINOWSKI (Secretary of the Committee) said that, in accordance with the Committee's normal procedure and practice, the text of the draft resolution and the substance of the Brazilian representative's statement would be included in the Committee's report. A similar procedure would be followed with regard to other draft resolutions which the Committee had not considered at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.