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- (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)

**GENERAL DEBATE (continued)**

1. Mr. DJOBO (Togo) said that the assistance received by the under-developed countries from the developed countries was only a tiny fraction of the wealth which the latter had extracted from the former. Nor did it adequately compensate for the losses sustained as a result of the fluctuations in the prices of primary commodities. While the economies of the developed countries had expanded still further, the under-developed countries had witnessed an increase in the volume but not in the value of their exports and therefore demanded, as a legitimate right, the restoration of some of the profits which had been taken from them in the past.

2. Private foreign capital was not invested in the infra-structures of the under-developed countries, but in purely speculative sectors where the most rapid profits were to be reaped. At the same time, before aid was given, attempts were made to impose on them certain ways of thinking which did not harmonize with their development needs. The real aim of the developed countries was to transform the under-developed econ-

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

**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;*

omies into mere appendages. At the same time, they were careful not to assist those sectors likely to compete with their own industries. The needs of the under-developed countries were urgent and industrialization was of paramount importance. Some delegations had proposed birth control as a partial remedy, but that would not work in Africa because people were its major resource and in any case the continent was under-populated.

3. The under-developed countries were asking the developed countries to help them to help themselves. To that end they advocated the reorganization of the Economic and Social Council, the stabilization of primary commodity prices, and the establishment and effective operation of a United Nations capital development fund. If those aims were pursued, the achievements of the United Nations would be enhanced and the industrialized countries would be able to prove that the statements made so far in the general debate by their representatives were not merely pious hopes.

4. Mr. DONOSO LOPEZ (Bolivia) observed that the concept of under-development had always formed part of the theory underlying revolutionary movements in the first half of the twentieth century. In the course of its struggle for economic emancipation, Bolivia had pursued the primary aim of establishing a sound democracy and of reducing the power of the large mining companies and land owners. Subsequently, it had discovered that private enterprise was not bad in itself and had learned by experience to distinguish its more desirable characteristics.

5. The idea of under-development must be revised and full account taken of its historical, cultural and anthropological origins. The problem was not merely to satisfy needs on a larger scale but to transform the needs themselves. Each society had its own needs and its means of satisfying them. But if the under-developed countries wished to survive, they must industrialize. The world possessed sufficient resources and scientific knowledge to meet the needs of all peoples. But unfortunately, both individual societies and the international community suffered from the traditional division of labour.

6. All were agreed that the economic development of the under-developed countries should be promoted with the help of primary commodity exports, domestic savings, foreign grants and loans, industrialization and food surpluses. However, exports of primary commodities underwent severe fluctuations and the encouragement of domestic production of such commodities in the developed countries through artificial price supports tended to reduce international demand for them. The move to introduce some form of financial compensation to offset sharp drops in primary commodity prices was very welcome. His delegation would also favour any recommendation urging the industrialized countries to refrain from artificially supporting their own primary industries.

7. As for domestic capital formation, the conditions in which foreign capital was invested in the under-developed countries had improved considerably. However, in countries like Bolivia, private foreign investment was confined to the mining industry; all the railways, for example, had been developed and financed by the State. Another characteristic of private foreign capital was that, in proportion to its size, it had little effect on the mobilization of the domestic economy or on the solution of the problems of unemployment. Private foreign investment could be a useful method

of aiding development, but it should be used with discrimination. For that reason, the establishment of an independent international body where foreign investors and representatives of recipient Governments could negotiate was highly desirable. Bolivia also supported the proposal to establish a United Nations capital development fund.

8. Mr. EDWARDS (Chile) said that the statement made by the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs (717th meeting) showed clearly how the terms of trade of the under-developed countries had deteriorated between 1950 and 1960. At the same time, their dependence on exports of single commodities and their low rate of capital formation produced serious domestic tensions which, in their turn, had international repercussions. In pursuing its foreign policy, Chile had always maintained that there was a real parallel between peace and social welfare. The Committee seemed generally agreed that the under-developed countries should seek to attain the highest possible degree of domestic processing for their raw materials and thus ensure higher per caput income and diversification of exports.

9. He paid a special tribute to the useful and efficient work being done by ECLA. It had facilitated economic and trade relations between the twenty countries of the region and had done the spade-work which had resulted in the signing of the Montevideo Treaty.

10. One of the major difficulties facing Latin America was the smallness of its national markets which automatically pushed up production costs. Another cause for alarm was its stupendous rate of population growth. If the region did not soon increase its tempo of economic expansion, it would be confronted with serious poverty and unemployment with all their political, economic and social repercussions.

11. It was clear that the under-developed countries had to promote their economic development by means of industrialization. Chile had made heavy sacrifices in pursuance of that goal. As a result of the 1929 crisis and the Second World War, it had been obliged to impose heavy restrictions on imports and to encourage import substitution. Its experience of bilateral trade having been discouraging, it had, in company with most Latin American countries, recently embarked upon a policy of multilateral trade. It had liberated its foreign trade system, established uniform exchange rates, eliminated trade restrictions and was advancing towards full monetary convertibility.

12. Chile firmly believed that in a system of representative democracy the means could be found of providing everyone with a material standard of living conducive to moral and spiritual dignity. It was aiming at economic development based on closer ties with its neighbours and with the international community. As explained by the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs in his address to the General Assembly (1019th plenary meeting), its aim in joining the Latin American Free Trade Association was to help make the region a better producer and consumer within the framework of international trade relations. Eight countries now belonged to the Free Trade Area and it was hoped that other countries would also join. They were certain that it would contribute substantially to the industrialization of the region and hence increase their rates of economic growth, thus strengthening their economic relations with the other countries of the world. They viewed with interest the development of other regional groupings and were certain that the Latin American

Free Trade Area would serve as a basis for a subsequent customs union and eventually a Latin American common market.

13. The latest ECLA report (E/3486) showed clearly the seriousness with which that body was undertaking its tasks and the important contribution it was making to regional economic planning. Chile was deeply interested in ECLA and did everything to encourage its activities. It had already completed the work which it had agreed to undertake for the new building in Santiago and had even carried out additional construction over and above its commitments.

14. Chile was especially interested in the greater decentralization of United Nations activities and the strengthening of the regional economic commissions. Such decentralization should not of course jeopardize current projects. The establishment within ECLA of an institute for planning economic development was of major importance. The ideas of democracy and planning were not inconsistent. One of the more serious difficulties facing the under-developed countries was the lack of technical assistance for drawing up proper plans. The institute would help obviate that difficulty and would prove a useful tool for progress within the region.

15. Chile had for a number of years been engaged in planning national economic development. Thus, its first over-all plan, for the development of agriculture and transport, had been completed in 1954, and in 1961 a general plan of economic development covering the decade from 1961 to 1970 had been approved.

16. On 17 August 1961, Chile had joined with the other Latin American nations and the United States in an Alliance for Progress which was intended to transform radically the economic and social structure of the Latin American countries with the financial help of the United States. The principles of that Alliance were the extension to the entire continent of measures which the Chilean Government had already initiated at the national level. Reference had been made to his country's ten-year plan; in addition, Chile was carrying out a sustained programme of land subdivision and was preparing projects for land, tax and customs reforms. Those domestic efforts were being undertaken because his Government understood that the chief responsibility for accelerating economic development lay with the countries concerned.

17. As an essential prerequisite to development, his Government had for the last three years been carrying out a policy of strict monetary stabilization. Chile's own experience with inflation, as well as that of many other countries, demonstrated that monetary stability was essential to the attainment of the basic goal of economic development, which was to improve living conditions. As a result of the stabilization carried out by his Government, the rise in the cost of living had been reduced from 83 per cent in 1955 to 5.4 per cent in 1960 and the basis had been laid for sustained economic development. Industrial production had risen by approximately 15 per cent in 1959, and during the current year further significant gains had been recorded in production, sales and industrial employment.

18. The grave imbalance between the rates of growth of the industrialized and the developing countries, and the difficulties faced by the less developed countries in their efforts to reverse that trend were among the most urgent problems of the world economy. Although the industrialized countries were becoming increasingly

aware of the problem, it was difficult for almost all of them to divert funds from their own internal development into foreign aid. His delegation therefore considered that other methods for assisting the less developed countries must be explored, including the possibility of granting special facilities for the export to the great industrial countries of certain intermediate and finished products manufactured in the developing countries. Such machinery might necessitate a revision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and of the structure of the International Monetary Fund.

19. Mr. HAKIM (Lebanon) said that the acute international conflicts in whose shadow the current session of the General Assembly was being held were merely the reflection of profound social and economic changes. For the first time in history, science was making it possible for man to win his age-old struggle against poverty, disease and ignorance. The progress of science and the growth of the powers of production were relentlessly creating a revolutionary situation throughout the under-developed world, for poverty anywhere would be increasingly regarded not only as unnecessary but as a crime against humanity.

20. From the perspective of world history, the present division of the world into developed and under-developed countries must be regarded as a passing phase and humanity regarded as a single whole, united in a vast co-operative effort to solve the problems of economic development. But the advanced industrialized countries persisted in working out their own piecemeal and one-sided solutions for world economic development, while refusing to co-operate in the creation of a United Nations capital development fund, which would give the under-developed countries an important voice in its operation and policies. The political considerations which still governed the distribution of economic aid by the Western Powers led to a great waste of resources which were already scarce. The Western countries had finally come to support industrialization as a basic factor in economic growth, but continued to place major emphasis on private enterprise in the field of industrial development although conditions were not favourable for the success of such enterprise in most of the under-developed countries.

21. In international trade, the relationship between the Western industrialized nations and the primary producing countries worked to the disadvantage of the latter, so that in effect the industrial countries were taking away in trade on the one hand what they were giving in aid on the other. Moreover, although the international flow of long-term capital to the under-developed countries had increased substantially during the last decade, there was a growing counter-flow of service payments on loans and dividends on investments. The conclusion was inescapable: capital assistance by the advanced Western nations to the under-developed countries remained altogether inadequate. In that connexion, President Kennedy's bold conception of a United Nations Decade of Development was encouraging, although it had not been reflected adequately in the statement made to the Committee by the United States representative (718th meeting). It was to be hoped also that the socialist countries, as their own economic growth was accelerated, would take a more active part in world development.

22. The coming decade would be a crucial one for world economic development. It was in the interests of the advanced nations themselves, and particularly of the Western nations, to give massive aid to the less



advanced nations as soon as possible. But, whether or not they received such help, the less developed countries must rely primarily on their own resources and shoulder the main responsibility for their own economic development. To do so, the emergent nations would need enlightened leadership, general education and economic planning involving substantial control over their economies and their human and natural resources.

23. The independent under-developed countries must first consolidate their economic sovereignty and then undertake the fullest possible mobilization of their human and material resources in accordance with realistic development plans with clearly defined targets. The successful mobilization of those resources would require the limitation of consumption, particularly by the middle and upper classes, the mobilization of all labour resources by the elimination of unemployment and under-employment, the fullest possible transfer of resources from the production of consumer goods to the output of capital goods and the initiation of policies of diversification and industrialization. The primary producing countries, in particular, should give up the unrealistic search for means of international action to improve their terms of trade in favour of national action to provide long-term solutions for their problems through diversification and industrialization.

24. The under-developed countries should also pursue a foreign trade policy which would reduce their dependence on traditional foreign markets and increase the co-operation among themselves not only in trade but in all fields.

25. Economic planning in the under-developed countries would necessitate a basic choice of the kind of economic system capable of achieving rapid economic growth. In his opinion, a mixed economy would be most suitable in the early stages of development, but the developing countries would inevitably be influenced by the contrasting policies and rates of economic growth of the free enterprise and the socialist economies, so that, on balance, a movement towards socialism seemed highly likely.

26. The less developed nations were determined to achieve a rapid rate of economic growth and should not be forced to resort to extremist solutions. Machinery should be organized without delay to make the United Nations the effective centre for world development. What was really needed was a United Nations economic development agency capable of giving effective aid to the under-developed countries in technology, capital investment and economic planning. In a world where peaceful coexistence had become a necessity for human survival, mankind should unite to meet the tremendous challenge of world development.

27. Mr. EL-MUTWALLI (Iraq) said that, in accordance with the interpretation of its functions given in the Charter, the United Nations was designed to play an integrated political, economic and social role in the life of the international community. The Secretary-General had aptly emphasized the interdependence of those functions in part II of the introduction to his last annual report on the work of the Organization (A/4800/Add.1), and it was also implicit in Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter.

28. As the Secretary-General had stated in the introduction to his report, the United Nations was far from being able to meet all the demands for assistance, as

the donor nations continued to show a strong preference for bilateral approaches on a national or a group basis. That preference was illustrated by the history of the proposals for a United Nations capital development fund. The main obstacle to the creation of the fund, which had for ten years been requested by the majority of Member States, had been the refusal of the donors to accept the idea of channelling a portion of capital assistance through the United Nations. For that reason, the Committee established by General Assembly resolution 1521 (XV) had been unable fully to discharge its task, although its formulation of the twelve unanimously accepted principles had represented some progress. The Iraqi delegation strongly supported the draft resolution proposed by the Committee for action by the General Assembly (E/3514, para. 81).

29. The Economic and Social Council still lacked sufficient vigour and sense of direction, and most of the work and initiative appeared to come from its subsidiary organs. In his statement to the Second Committee, the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs had acknowledged that the potentialities of the Council did not seem to have been fully realized. The Iraqi delegation strongly supported Council resolution 834 (XXXII), which stated that an international technical conference of Governments should be held to explore the application of science and technology for the benefit of the less developed areas.

30. Industrialization was the key to the development of the less developed countries, which could no longer accept the pattern based on their role as producers of raw materials and primary commodities and importers of manufactured goods, and it was a field in which the United Nations could play a leading role. Iraq welcomed the report of the Committee for Industrial Development on its first session (E/3476/Rev.1) and was glad to see that one of its most important recommendations, the establishment of an Industrial Development Centre within the United Nations Secretariat, had already been implemented.

31. The Iraqi delegation was awaiting the report requested in General Assembly resolution 1518 (XV) before making detailed observations on the decentralization of the United Nations economic and social activities. However, it would support any constructive and carefully planned decentralization along the lines mentioned in Economic and Social Council resolution 823 (XXXII). Some countries, such as Iraq, were not members of any regional economic commission and, in view of the increasing emphasis on decentralization, particular attention should be devoted to that problem. Activities relating to the Middle East area had been decreasing instead of expanding and the staff concerned with that area should therefore be supplemented in order to deal with wider responsibilities. Closer contact should be established between the Governments concerned and the section dealing with the Middle East.

32. The under-developed countries realized that the aid given by developed countries was far from sufficient to cover requirements and that they should rely primarily on their own resources and make the best use of their domestic savings and foreign earnings. The main component of those resources, the proceeds from the export of primary commodities, had not substantially increased due to a number of factors, the most important being the constant fluctuation in prices and volumes. Such fluctuations disrupted economic development programmes, discouraged initiative and threatened foreign exchange reserves, thus offsetting

the gains from the receipt of external economic assistance. For example, in the 1959-1960 period, the earnings of the primary exporting countries as a whole had risen because of an increase in the volume of their exports. However, the terms of exchange between primary products and manufactures, after a brief improvement in mid-1959, had resumed the uninterrupted year-to-year downward movement that had commenced in the middle of the 1950's. Such fluctuations should be minimized if the less developed countries were to make constructive use of their domestic resources. In a highly interdependent world, a sustained and balanced rate of economic growth in the major industrialized countries was not only essential to them, but was also of vital importance to the less developed countries. The United Nations and the specialized agencies could help to solve that important problem.

33. The report entitled International Compensation for Fluctuations in Commodity Trade (E/3447) had discussed the feasibility of establishing machinery within the United Nations to assist in offsetting the effects of fluctuations in commodity trade on the balance of payments. The proposal for the establishment of a development insurance fund formed a useful basis for the consideration of the question of compensatory financing. However, the contribution of the International Monetary Fund should not be underestimated and, after some review of its practices, the Fund could make an increased contribution in that field. Nevertheless, as the experts had pointed out, any compensatory financing would be no more than a partial solution to the whole problem of stability and growth in primary commodity trade. Account should be taken of the frequent intermingling of short and structural factors in commodity problems and more emphasis should be placed on the value of inter-governmental consultation and action on individual commodities within the United Nations.

34. It was recognized that the discriminatory and protective policies followed by the industrialized countries, in particular those who were members of regional economic groupings such as the European Economic Community, had an adverse effect on the efforts of the developing countries and were being intensified rather than relaxed. The elimination of those practices would expand trade and increase the receipts of many under-developed countries which depended on primary commodities and on agricultural commodities in particular.

35. So far as the economic development of Iraq was concerned, the Government had adopted a new five-year plan for 1961-1966. A total of \$1,558 million would be spent on major development projects in industry, agriculture, transport and communications, and social services. The Iraqi Government would provide \$1,288 million and the balance would come from the private sector. The plan would be financed by oil revenue, foreign loans, mainly from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and semi-governmental organizations. The general objectives of the plan could be summarized under four main headings: firstly, to double the national income of the non-oil sectors over about ten years, the rate of growth being approximately 9 per cent per annum; secondly, to lay the foundations for economic independence, thus freeing the economy from its dependence on oil revenue by increasing investment in industry and agriculture; thirdly, to achieve full utilization of natural resources and a

higher level of income and employment; and, fourthly, to provide health, social, housing and educational facilities at a rate compatible with the general economic development of the country. During the five-year period, the net output of the national economy was expected to increase by about 40-50 per cent, and industrial output by about 60-70 per cent. New fields of industrial development would be opened up and agricultural output would also rise. By such measures, the Iraqi Government was endeavouring to remove the injustices and inequalities of the former régime and to avail its citizens of every opportunity to participate in the constructive efforts of other peace-loving peoples for a better future for mankind.

36. In his statement (721st meeting), the representative of the United Kingdom had alluded to a speech by the Foreign Minister of Iraq, without mentioning his name, had painted a glorified picture of his own country and described neo-colonialism as a myth. The falseness of that description was proved by recent events in the Congo. Western colonialism, allied with the evil forces of racialism and reaction in Africa, had been trying desperately to preserve the enormous stakes of Western capital in Katanga at the price of strangling the young Republic of the Congo and crippling the greatest single operation undertaken by the United Nations, thereby jeopardizing the very future of the Organization. The colonial Powers had realized that they could not rely on the traditional form of colonialism to maintain their economic domination and exploitation. Neo-colonialism attempted to eliminate the political status of direct rule, while essentially preserving the former economic relations between the colonial Power and its territories. That was precisely what the United Kingdom Government was doing in the Arabian Peninsula region, starting with Kuwait, which was an integral and natural part of Iraq. The Iraqi delegation would like the United Kingdom delegation to state whether the granting of an artificial independence had in any way affected the enormous economic stake of the United Kingdom in Kuwait, the magnitude of which had been described by Baroness Summerskill in the House of Lords on 19 July 1961. She had referred to the large profits of the oil companies in the Middle East, which had been largely reinvested in the United Kingdom, and had said that the Sheik received about £100 million a year from the Kuwait Oil Company, between £30 million and £40 million of which was invested in the London Stock Market. The Sheik's total holding was estimated to be at least £300 million, and his investment represented between 8 and 10 per cent of all the new money available for investment each year in the United Kingdom. That was Arab economic aid to Britain on a scale far larger than any aid enjoyed by an under-developed country.

37. Those were conservative estimates, and he asked the representative of the United Kingdom to inform the Committee of the actual amounts involved.

38. Mr. BRUNO (Uruguay) emphasized that, as the President of his country had stated at the 1012th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, freedom began with the liberation of mankind from material needs. The world was divided by customs barriers and other restrictions resulting from the fact that certain nations had united in order to defend themselves. Uruguay was linked to the West by many historical and traditional bonds. It invited all countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia to consider the tragic and dramatic world panorama. Nations were still struggling to achieve greater well-being, but there was no

assurance that their increased production would find markets. It was regrettable that the documents of the Economic and Social Council contained no detailed information on trade in the staple commodities of wheat, meat and wool, which his country produced. That fact was all the more regrettable because the production of those commodities could help to alleviate the sufferings of mankind. Instead, more and more was spoken about war.

39. Uruguay was engaged in its industrialization, but the process was not a new one and it was already facing a problem due to the over-production of raw materials. The report of the Economic and Social Council (A/4820 and Corr.2) contained a recommendation to the effect that, during the next twenty years, the developing countries would need to increase their imports two and a half times and that one third of them should be manufactured goods. His country was concerned at the paradox which that implied.

40. The well-being of workers in the industrialized countries, who enjoyed a high standard of living with all the advantages of modern science, was in striking contradiction to the situation of their counterparts in Latin America. Millions of human beings whose sacrifices were ignored were becoming poorer, while others who did no productive work were becoming richer. At the time of the floods, Uruguay had benefited from the provision of food surpluses by the United States. However, it should be emphasized that Public Law 480, under which that aid was given, was merely a tem-

porary, emergency arrangement which, if it were perpetuated, would distort the pattern of trade still further.

41. Although, according to the Charter, the United Nations was not an executive, but a deliberative organ, the time had come to take practical steps to help the under-developed countries. Uruguay had faith in the understanding and co-operation of the Members of the United Nations. It supported the Alliance for Progress, which should be synonymous with equality and justice. It would also support the draft resolution mentioned at the 726th meeting by the representative of Argentina (A/C.2/L.550).

42. Mr. BAYNE (United Kingdom) reserved his delegation's right to reply to the points raised by the representative of Iraq at a later stage of the debate.

43. Mr. KANO (Nigeria), referring to the reply given by the representative of South Africa to comments he had made on the situation in the Republic of South Africa (725th meeting), explained that he had meant to imply that, in economic development, it was essential to utilize human resources and that discrimination was therefore contrary to the spirit of development. He would like to know whether the people entering South Africa were offered equal rights and would welcome a clarification on the economic development policy of the Government of South Africa in relation to fundamental human rights.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.