#### UNITED NATIONS

# ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS



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**MEETING** 

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#### President: Mr. Hernán SANTA CRUZ (Chile).

Present: Representatives of the following countries: Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Representatives of the following specialized agencies:

International Labour Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Health Organization.

## Economic development of under-developed countries (E/2003) (continued):

#### (c) Land reform

- 1. The PRESIDENT drew attention to the amendments to the revised United States draft resolution (E/L.246/Rev.1) submitted by the delegations of India (E/L.249), Canada (E/L.250), Pakistan (E/L.251) and Sweden (E/L.252).
- 2. Mr. Hadi HUSAIN (Pakistan) said that the Secretary-General's report (E/2003), which was admirably compact, contained material that could be expanded ad infinitum. Its main gist was that in many areas of the world, the agrarian structure was in many respects unsatisfactory and prevented the optimum utilization of the land and the attainment of the highest possible standards of living for those who cultivated it. As a result, the economies of those areas remained underdeveloped. The Council and Member Governments should therefore pay great attention to improving conditions for those who worked the land.
- 3. The two attitudes expressed in the United States and Polish draft resolutions (E/L.246/Rev.1 and E/L.247) were not in fact diametrically opposed. He believed that, with good will and an over-all understanding of the problem of land reform, the Council could reconcile the different positions and thus arrive at a synthesis which

would represent the most appropriate method of dealing with the problem. The theme of the Polish draft resolution was that exploitation by certain groups prevented the optimum utilization of the land and the attainment of the highest possible standards of living for those who cultivated it; every area of the world showed the truth of that argument. But exploitation was only part of the problem, the other features of which should be tackled separately. If they were ignored, programmes for dealing with the problem would be unbalanced, as the Secretary-General's report made clear. The United States revised draft resolution contained provisions for dealing with all those additional features, but fought shy of the Polish theme. Although it should not be ignored, it was unnecessary for the Council to mention it in the resolution eventually to be adopted. In view of those considerations, the Pakistani delegation had attempted to find a compromise between the two draft resolutions by submitting amendments (E/L.251), the adoption of which, while not involving any drastic change in the United States revised draft resolution, would mean the incorporation of several principles enunciated in the Polish text.

4. The first Pakistani amendment, to substitute the word "facilities" for the word "opportunity" in paragraph 1, sub-paragraph (b), of the United States draft resolution, would give the sub-paragraph a more positive character. While not involving any commitment to provide facilities for the cultivator to acquire ownership of land, it would encourage governments to take such positive action as would help cultivators to do so. The Secretary-General's report made it clear that most governments were aware of the need to transfer land from owners who did not cultivate it to persons who did. In Pakistan, legal steps were being taken, through the provincial administrations, to transfer ownership from absentee landlords to the tenants who cultivated the land. In western Pakistan, consolidation of fragments of land was a more important problem than the splittingup of large estates; in Sind, vigorous measures were being taken to divide large estates, while in the Punjab, where there were scarcely any big properties, plans were being evolved to help tenants acquire ownership of the

- land, since many landlords treated them harshly in many ways, such as by requiring them to move frequently.

  5. The second Pakistani amendment related to paragraph 1, subparagraph (h), on co-operative organizations,
- 5. The second Pakistani amendment related to paragraph 1, subparagraph (h), on co-operative organizations, and its main purpose was to include a provision for co-operative production, a notion that perhaps ran counter to United States social philosophy. The United States representative might purposely not have made any reference to co-operative production lest it might lead to communist collectivization of farming. But there was no real justification for such fears, there being many wholly non-communist countries where co-operative production was practised. In regions newly opened up for cultivation, the Pakistani Government was encouraging co-operative production, which was not at all of the communist pattern, and did not necessarily involve joint ownership of land, but consisted merely of combining for the purpose of increasing production.
- 6. The third Pakistani amendment proposed different texts for paragraph 1, sub-paragraphs (i) to (m), of the United States draft resolution. It contained an idea which appeared in neither of the draft resolutions, namely, that governments should take steps for the "rapid industrial development of their countries so that agricultural development might proceed as part of an integrated programme of economic development". The Secretary-General's report made it clear that no land reform in an under-developed country would be really effective unless it formed part of an integrated programme which would include industrialization, not to replace but to supplement agriculture. Unless agricultural and industrial development went side by side there was a danger of unbalanced development.
- 7. The new sub-paragraph (j) proposed by the Pakistani delegation merely clarified sub-paragraph (i) of the United States text: the emphasis was still on the establishment of industries in rural areas; small-scale and cottage industries were specifically mentioned and reference was made to the fact that industries in rural areas should use indigenous agricultural products as their raw material. The government of each under-developed country would, of course, also have to establish industries using other raw materials.
- 8. The amendment in sub-paragraph (k) referred to the establishment of model farms, a provision included in the Polish draft resolution (E/L.247).
- 9. As for the sub-paragraph (l) proposed by the Pakistani delegation, he would remind the Council that the provision of agricultural machinery was one of the most important features of the United Nations expanded programme of technical assistance, and urged that efforts be made to lessen the dependence of the under-developed countries on the advanced countries for agricultural machinery, even though the process would require time.
- 10. The new sub-paragraphs (n), (o) and (p), to follow sub-paragraph (m), corresponded closely to sub-paragraphs (l), (j) and (m) of the revised United States draft resolution. The proposed sub-paragraph (p) contained the words "labourers on plantations", taken over from the original United States draft resolution (E/L.246), in order to ensure that those labourers would be covered.

- 11. Mr. KRISHNAMACHARI (India) congratulated the Secretary-General on his report (E/2003), which was comprehensive and provided a useful bird's-eye view of the various methods of agriculture and of land reform measures in different countries. He agreed with the Canadian representative that the report lacked concentration, but would point out that, if an effort had been made in that sense, the report might have become unwieldy and unreadable. Supplemented by the current discussion, it would form a sound basis for United Nations work on the problem.
- 12. He had listened with great interest to the United States representative, who had made a careful attempt to assess the world's land reform requirements and to explain the considerable experience acquired by the United States in the matter. Although he did not agree with all the conclusions of the Polish representative, he considered that the latter's statement had added to the material placed at the Council's disposal.
- 13. The land situation in India was the reverse of that in Canada, where considerable land problems existed although there was plenty of land and no over-population. In India the situation was particularly difficult for many reasons: the soil had been cultivated for centuries; there was a high population density; the land-tenure system had been upset by foreign domination; agriculture was dependent on the vicissitudes of the climate; and the efforts of the Indian Government to promote economic development were only five years old.
- 14. One of its greatest difficulties was that ownership was vested in many cases in persons who did not themselves cultivate the land; that was partly due to the foreign domination which had lasted for more than 800 years, the Moslem conquerors, as was not unnatural, having distributed land among their followers and thus established a form of feudalism. The British, after their arrival in India, had introduced a semi-feudal system of tax farmers, because they had found it difficult to collect land taxes by other means. The elimination of that system was one of the most important features in the Indian Government's present agricultural policy. The tax farmer was a parasite. The process of eliminating him was well under way, but was far from easy, since the Government was bound by the Constitution and had to pay compensation. The equivalent of £300 million sterling, a vast sum for India, would be required to pay compensation in the states that had instituted land reforms. There were other states which had still to tackle the problem.
- 15. The problem of absentee landlords was of great importance, since one-third of the agricultural population possessed no land whatsoever. It was difficult to decide upon the best means of altering the situation in the interests of the country's agricultural economy. There was much to be said in favour of dictatorial methods, but a democratic government, such as the Indian Government, was dependent on the electorate and could ignore neither the peoples' wishes nor the human aspects of the problem. Consequently, the measures taken by the Indian Government to improve the situation were, to some extent, compromises; their effects were inevitably not so far-reaching.

- 16. The land reform which the United States authorities had carried out in Japan, and which the United States representative had described at the 533rd meeting, had been an experiment of great psychological value; it showed what would have been done in the United States but for the limitations of that country's Constitution. The new Japanese Constitution, drafted by the United States authorities, had permitted a humane land reform suited to the conditions in Japan. While, as the Polish representative had alleged, the reform might not have been as successful as had been hoped, he was convinced that it had been carried out in all good faith. The Japanese experiment should be studied by the authorities of all countries which had to grapple with similar conditions.
- 17. It might be thought that, despite financial difficulties, the Indian Government could rapidly improve agriculture by a collectivization measure of the kind adopted in the Soviet Union; but the small peasant proprietors, who formed the bulk of the agricultural population, would never agree to such an arrangement. For centuries, the people of India, whatever their religion, had been individualists; and the desire to possess land was deeply rooted in them. The planning commission set up by the Indian Government had rejected the possibility of collectivization, and the concept of co-operative cultivation, with the village as the unit, had been adopted instead. Following the rise of the professional classes in India, the village unit had somewhat changed its form, but in many districts communal village life still continued, with communal land, communal use of water and of forests, subject to government rights over forest areas. Thus there was a solid foundation for planning co-operative cultivation with the village as the unit.
- In several Indian states, the authorities had been studying the best way of developing the communal village unit. The main difficulty was the land ownership system. Modern land reform methods all involved partition; but it was difficult to divide up land in India, where many holdings had for centuries been owned not by individuals but by families, and where absenteeism was rife owing to the growth of professional classes in the period of British domination. The most notable land reform in India had been carried out in the Punjab. It had cut across religious differences and created a new agricultural caste, but had not effected any great improvement in agricultural economy since no new blood had been brought in. The co-operative system might do some good. By means of it, rents could be paid without their payment acting as a deterrent to agricultural development. There were grounds for hoping that, if the majority would agree to co-operative cultivation with the village as the unit, the whole agricultural population would follow suit.
- 19. The questions of debt and of agricultural credit were very important. The Secretary-General's report (E/2003, chapter I, paragraph 105) discussed rural indebtedness in India on the basis of the figures available in 1929. The situation had changed considerably since then. Indebtedness among the agricultural population had increased owing to the fall of prices during the depression,

- to failures of the rains, to pests and diseases, as well as to recurring family expenses for marriages, funerals and such like. Before the war, practically every state government had taken measures to improve the financial situation of the agricultural population, and the volume of indebtedness amongst the rural population in some Indian states had consequently decreased. recently, with the rise in the prices of agricultural produce during and after the war, most peasant proprietors who had had a surplus to sell had freed themselves from debt. There was some indebtedness among the landless agricultural workers in India, but not on a very big scale since, owing to their inability to give guarantees of repayment, they had not been granted important loans. Despite recent financial improvement, there was still a great danger that the situation might deteriorate again. 20. The United States representative's statement on agricultural credit was very interesting. The granting of such credit had in India been left mainly to co-operatives; but the banking authorities were doing much to reduce the rates of interest on agricultural loans. Cooperatives were a useful means of increasing the amount of available agricultural credit by offering collective guarantees. Other means of increasing the volume of agricultural credit were the treatment of receipts given by public warehouses as negotiable instruments, and the standardization of agricultural produce and of its packing. 21. The Indian peasant was admittedly backward, but he would accept new methods if he was convinced that they were good. His prejudices were not deep-rooted and the main problems were whether land permitted a charge and whether credit was available. Local conditions in India differed considerably from those in other countries. For example, tractors could hardly be used for wet crops such as paddy-rice. In spite of that limitation, and though too expensive to be bought by individuals, more and more tractors were being bought
- by co-operatives.

  22. The Pakistani representative had advocated model farms. That was one of the methods adopted in India, but if co-operative cultivation were practised in every village there would not be such a need for the government to establish model farms since, in a way, every village would have one.
- 23. For a long time the main source of government revenue in India had been land taxes and excise, but, after the introduction of taxes on consumption, land taxes had been greatly reduced. They could be abolished altogether, since other forms of taxation, such as income tax, could now be used. It might be that certain taxes on consumption affected the agricultural population, but the land tax should be abolished, at least for small-scale farmers, since it had a most unfortunate psychological effect due to its amount being fixed and not related to the taxpayer's means.
- 24. In most under-developed countries, agricultural production was not organized and it was therefore not possible to ensure that proper methods, such as crop rotation, would be applied to prevent soil exhaustion. Moreover, organization made it easier to increase production. The Indian Government was trying to adapt to conditions in India the United Kingdom Government's

policy of exerting some control over agricultural production by setting up local committees, whose decisions concerning the acreage to be sown to different kinds of crops were not so distasteful to farmers as the issue of orders by government authorities. Steps were therefore being taken to set up local production councils.

25. Considerable emphasis had always been placed in India on cottage industries. In most Indian states, a large proportion of the agricultural population was engaged in hand-loom weaving. In the state of Madras, nearly 70 per cent of the total population was so employed. True, the productivity of cottage industries was far less than that of large industries, but he had always held that the former were essential to India's economic development and should be encouraged. Consequently, he had been greatly heartened that the United States representative should share his view; he also agreed with the Pakistani representative's comments on the subject. There were several alternative forms of cottage industries. including village co-operative industries and small-scale industries in rural areas; the productivity of the latter was greater than that of home industries. But unless public opinion and the Government kept a careful watch, cottage industries were apt to fall into the hands of individual capitalists. For example, when power looms were introduced instead of hands looms, the entrepreneur usually gained complete control of the industry, even though it still went by the name of a co-operative.

26. The draft resolutions submitted by the United States and Polish delegations were very similarly worded, although they represented divergent attitudes. The Indian delegation considered acceptable several of the provisions in the Polish draft resolution, but greatly preferred the United States draft resolution as a whole. As for his delegation's amendment (E/L.249) to the latter, the fourth was the same in substance as the Pakistani second amendment, but he preferred his formula "co-operative organizations for cultivation" to the words "co-operative organizations for the production" used in the Pakistani amendment. Since there were no fundamental differences between the amendments submitted by the Indian and Pakistani delegations and the United States and Polish draft resolutions, it would be wise to try to reconcile them.

27. While a decision by the Council on the problem of land reform could not materially alter actual conditions, the fact that the United Nations was pressing for land reform as a means of economic development was of great assistance to all advocates of land reform in the under-developed countries. The adoption by the Council of a resolution, however general the terms, on the desirability of forming agricultural co-operatives would give great impetus to the efforts of those who, like himself, were trying to bring about that development. The concept of land not as entirely the property of the individual, but as part of the nation's resources or even as supra-national wealth, represented a great step forward. Since all countries were affected by food shortages and by economic development in other countries, land reform, though it might appear revolutionary, was necessary both in the national and in the international interest.

- 28. Mr. STERNER (Sweden) considered it encouraging that there was general agreement that the problems of land tenure and other cognate problems were of special significance in many parts of the world, and that there was need for land reform in a large number of countries. The latter question affected not only under-developed countries but also those more highly developed, although it was more particularly important in the former.
- 29. In view of the full debate which had taken place, he would confine himself to the draft resolutions before the Council.
- 30. While there was much in the Polish draft resolution (E/247) with which he could agree, it contained certain points with which he was unable to associate himself, his main objection being that it was based on the idea that all the evils in the land situation were due to one cause: the existence of large properties. In many instances that might well be an important factor, but, broadly speaking, there were other difficulties which were equally significant, if not more so—such as, for example, over-population and soil erosion. Since the operative clauses of the Polish draft resolution were founded on that one premise, he would be unable to support it.
- 31. As the Indian representative had rightly said, the United States draft resolution (E/L.246/Rev.1) was more comprehensive and realistic in that it approached the problem from various angles. He would support it for that reason. He also considered that the points raised in the Canadian amendment (E/L.250) and the Philippines amendment (E/L.253) to the United States draft resolution were well taken. He found it particularly appropriate that positive reference should be made to the evils of monoculture. There was also merit in the Indian (E/L.249) and Pakistani amendments (E/L.251) but he considered that paragraph 1, sub-paragraphs (a), (b) and (c), in the United States draft resolution were too crucial to warrant support of the Indian proposal that they be deleted. The two amendments proposed by his own delegation (E/L.252) had as their object, the first to widen the scope of the Secretary-General's activities and the second to avoid any impression, under paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, that governments would be obliged to make suggestions for international action to promote land reform.

## International action on critical shortage of insecticides for public health purposes (E/2017)

32. The PRESIDENT invited representatives to consider the question of international action on critical shortages of insecticides for public health purposes, and drew attention to the communication from the Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO) to the Secretary-General (E/2017), transmitting resolution A4/R/73, adopted by the Fourth World Health Assembly. The Council also had before it draft resolutions submitted by the French delegation (E/L.187) and jointly by the United Kingdom and United States delegations (E/L.232), and amendments to the latter submitted by the French delegation (E/L.238/Rev.1). He assumed,

therefore, that the French delegation proposed to withdraw its own draft resolution.

- 33. Mr. LUBIN (United States of America) said that his Government had carefully examined WHO's resolution A4/R/73. Fully conscious of the effect which a critical shortage of insecticides might have upon world health, it was anxious to join with other members of the Council in endeavouring to discover whether such a shortage did in fact exist or not and, if it did, to participate in practical, immediate and collective action for its alleviation.
- 34. The question to be examined was that of world supply in relation to world demand for insecticides. The examination would probably take three of four months if properly carried out by qualified experts. It would entail a careful tabulation of both health and agricultural demand and a technical analysis of plant capacity, raw material availabilities and other factors determining the world supply. The joint draft resolution before the Council was a practical proposal for determining whether a significant shortage of insecticides in fact existed.
- 35. Whether a global shortage was found to exist or not, short-term problems of insecticide supplies would continue to cause difficulty: such problems as delayed ordering, under-estimation of demand and unforeseen requirements arising out of rapidly changing conditions. In most cases short-term needs could be met, provided consuming and producing countries took immediate co-operative action. His Government had tried to detect such unforeseen shortages as they arose, and either to prevent them from developing or to relieve them when they had developed.
- 36. Early in the second quarter of 1951, his Government had requested countries which anticipated that increased quantities of insecticides would be required during the second half of the year to place their orders as early as possible; and in the latter part of the second quarter, when unforeseen and urgent needs had arisen in some under-developed countries, it had assisted those countries in the immediate procurement and transport of the insecticides they required. Late in June, for example, the United States Government had met the urgent needs of Iran, ensuring that the necessary supplies arrived in time to be of maximum effect.
- 37. Before describing his Government's activities and proposed activities in that field, he would say a few words about the technical side of the problem. Chlorinebased insecticides of the DDT type were produced in eleven highly-industrialized countries of the free world. No production figures for such insecticides were available for the Soviet Union or the industrial areas under its control. In the eleven free countries, low-cost production was achieved through the use of processes made possible by materials derived from a large, well-integrated chemical industry. The materials required for the manufacture of insecticides were chlorine, benzene and sulphuric acid. At that time, both sulphuric acid and chlorine were in short supply in the free world. An immediate increase of insecticide output depended more upon the supplies of sulphuric acid and chlorine than upon an increase in total plant capacity. The prospects of obtaining increased

- amounts of those materials in the coming months were poor. Immediate action must therefore be taken by various governments to divert as large an amount of the existing supplies of insecticides as possible from less urgent to more urgent public health uses. His Government had followed the practice of releasing approximately 25 per cent of the United States annual output of chlorine-based insecticides for distribution outside the United States, and it had just made available 15 million pounds of DDT for shipment to areas where there were shortages. That represented a major, if not a decisive, contribution towards solving the short-term problem. A World Health official had informed the United States delegation that that quantity of DDT would more than cover existing shortages.
- As to the long-term problem, the joint draft resolution before the Council proposed a systematic method of determining whether global supply was keeping pace with global demand. It called for the immediate establishment of a working party, composed of carefully selected, established experts in one or more of the various technical aspects of the problem. It would include persons competent to deal with problems connected with the manufacture of the major types of insecticides, persons competent to deal with problems concerning availabilities of raw materials, persons experienced in the proper application and latest use of such insecticides, including their agricultural uses, and persons thoroughly familiar, by training and experience, with the various economic factors involved in the production, distribution, export and import of such insecticides. His delegation felt it essential that the working party should, from the outset, be a body of the highest technical competence, receive clear instructions, and be empowered to draw upon all available sources so as to be able to complete, as rapidly as possible, a purposive and technically informed study. The joint draft resolution did not specifically provide for consultation between the working party and the various specialized agencies and governmental agencies interested in the problem, since it was assumed that such consultation as might prove necessary would take place in the normal manner and that the working party would avail itself of all existing information and studies.
- 39. In view of the urgency of the problem, his delegation suggested that, upon completion of its examination of the facts, the working party should submit a report of its findings, conclusions and recommendations at the earliest practicable moment and if possible by January 1952, and that the report should be distributed promptly to governments and specialized agencies without waiting for the next session of the Council.
- 40. His Government was very anxious that short-term needs for insecticides should be met, and offered to assist in every way in solving the long-range supply problems. His delegation assumed that all interested governments shared its desire to take immediate steps to ensure adequate future supplies of insecticides and that those governments would join the United States Government in a concerted attempt to ascertain the facts about the relation between supply and demand in that field.
- 41. As for the French amendment to the joint draft resolution (E/L.238/Rev.1), he could not accept para-

- graph 2, since it introduced the question of medical supplies. No official indication pointed to a shortage of medical supplies; moreover, the Council had not been requested to take action in that connexion. He fully concurred with the amendments in paragraphs 4 and 5 of the French amendment, but, since paragraph 3 seemed to imply that there were restrictions on imports and exports of insecticides, and his delegation was not aware that such was the case, it was doubtful whether the addition of that point of the preamble of the draft resolution was appropriate.
- 42. Answering the PRESIDENT, he stated that it was not the intention of the sponsors of the joint draft resolution to name the countries which should designate technically qualified representatives; the matter could be left to the Secretary-General, who would know which were the major producing and consuming countries.
- 43. Mr. BUTLER (United Kingdom) said that WHO had undoubtedly performed a valuable service in directing the attention of governments to the grave repercussions on world health of any shortage in the supply of insecticides. If such a shortage was indeed critical, his Government would be among the first to consider what urgent action could be taken to alleviate the situation as quickly as possible.
- 44. It was not yet known whether the problem to which the World Health Assembly had drawn attention was a short-term or a long-term problem. Assessments of the world shortage of certain insecticides, such as DDT, had been made, but there was no certainty about their accuracy. Further, was such a shortage due to a lack of producing capacity or to exaggeration of demand due to the cumbersome procedure used by some of the purchasing governments?
- 45. The task before the Council was to assess the extent and urgency of the problem and, if a critical shortage did exist, to suggest ways and means of meeting it. The United Kingdom had therefore joined with the United States in submitting the joint draft resolution (E/L.232) requesting the Secretary-General to set up immediately a working party whose composition and terms of reference would endow it with responsibility, technical ability and elasticity. It would consist of representatives nominated by governments; who would be qualified both to discuss the technical questions involved and to deal with any policy matters coming within the working party's competence. Its first task would be to examine the world supply and requirements position for the two principal insecticides, DDT and BHC. If the examination revealed a significant shortage, the working party should then make recommendations for the alleviation of the situation. His delegation believed that a wider study of the use of DDT and BHC, or of other insecticides which might in some cases replace DDT and BHC, should not be undertaken until the working party had established whether or not a significant shortage existed. That, in his delegation's view, was the quickest and most effective way of tackling the problem; it would be a mistake at the present stage to saddle the working party with more detailed instructions. The United Kingdom Government would be ready and willing to serve on such a

- working party and suggested that its headquarters might be in London or in Paris.
- 46. The Fourth World Health Assembly's resolution A4/R/73 also called for other action. First, it asked for the assistance of the governments of producing countries in maintaining exports of insecticides to meet health requirements; secondly, it called upon users to exercise the utmost economy consistent with technical efficiency; and thirdly, it urged the governments of producing countries to provide manufacturers with sufficient raw materials to enable them to maintain full production in order, once domestic needs had been met, to give first priority to overseas public health services orders and to exports for health purposes.
- 47. Since WHO had first taken up the matter, United Kingdom production of insecticides had increased by some 50 per cent, current production reaching the annual rate of 6 million pounds of DDT and 10 million pounds of BHC. The United Kingdom Government would be extremely reluctant, however, to indicate priorities for health to either the manufacturers of the active ingredients or the manufacturers of the formulations containing those ingredients, since, in its view, non-health purposes were also important.
- 48. It was estimated that some 80 per cent of United Kingdom production of DDT and BHC was exported, mainly to the Commonwealth, partly in the form of the original product and partly in the form of proprietary formulations containing varying percentages of the active ingredients. Exports of insecticides from the United Kingdom were not controlled.
- 49. So far as raw materials were concerned, everything possible had been done to ensure that United Kingdom manufacturers received reasonable allocations of scarce raw materials, and according to present information, manufacturing capacity was fully or almost fully employed. Any significant increase of insecticide production in the United Kingdom would require additional capital investment, which in turn would depend largely upon the manufacturers' long-term view of the market and on government capital investment policy. For those reasons, a working party such as that proposed in the joint draft resolution would be essential.
- 50. The United Kingdom Government could not undertake to give preferential treatment in the allocation of scarce raw materials, but every effort would be made to see to it that manufacturers of pesticides got their fair share. The maximum possible export of insecticides after domestic needs had been met would not be prevented, but the United Kingdom was neither willing nor able to give priority to health needs over other needs, many of which might be of equal importance.
- 51. His delegation hoped that the working party would, as the joint draft resolution envisaged, be set up speedily and move flexibly and that, if a critical shortage were revealed, governments would be willing and able to take whatever action it recommended for the early alleviation of the position.
- 52. Turning to the French amendment to the joint draft resolution (E/L.238/Rev.1), he said that paragraph 4 thereof contained a particularly valuable suggestion

which was entirely acceptable to him. He also accepted the proposal that the words "Requests further" be substituted for the word "Requires" in paragraph 4 of the joint draft resolution. His delegation could not, for the same reasons as the United States representative had given, agree to paragraph 2 of the French amendment, which included a reference to medical supplies. Nor could it accept paragraph 3 of the French amendment if it dealt with the question of tariffs and quota restrictions. Those were questions which pertained to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and could be properly handled only within its framework. Furthermore, there was no proof that such restrictions had any serious effects on the distribution of insecticides for health.

- 53. Miss LISSAC (France), having pointed out that the French delegation had withdrawn its original draft resolution (E/L.187) and instead submitted amendments (E/L.238/Rev.1) to the joint draft resolution, explained why the French Government had thought it advisable to cover medical supplies in the draft resolution. Item 25 of the agenda had originally been entitled "Imports and exports of medical supplies" and not, as now, "International action on critical shortage of insecticides for public health purposes". Moreover, when the first contacts had been established between WHO and ICITO with a view to drafting an agreement to facilitate the circulation and distribution of products required for public health purposes, it had been proposed that it should include not only insecticides but also medical supplies. The field had been gradually narrowed down to certain classes of insecticides.
- 54. Although WHO was fully entitled to reduce a wide problem to the framework of its own field of action, the Economic and Social Council should take a wider view of world problems. In the French delegation's view, it was necessary to go back to the cause of the shortage, namely, the lack of raw materials. That shortage might in future affect all medical supplies and all the pharmaceutical products essential for public health.
- The concern of WHO lest the shortage of insecticides might result in a suspension of the anti-malaria campaigns and in a recrudescence of the disease illustrated the link between preventives and cures. In such a case, lack of preventives ought to be offset by an abundance of cures. But the Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for 1951 of WHO showed that medical supplies in the underdeveloped areas were inadequate to secure the fulfilment of health projects, and that a wider range of articles would be required to ensure the success of health programmes affecting the economic development of those areas. In the French delegation's view, therefore, not only should there be an increase in the production of health requisites, but their distribution and allocation, which were sometimes hampered by artificial barriers, ought to be improved.
- 56. France was prepared to practise a comprehensive trade policy in connexion with health and medical products, as its delegations had stated both at the fifth session of the Contracting Parties to GATT at Torquay and in the Organization for European Economic Co-

- operation (OEEC). She felt that measures were called for in that field similar to those adopted by many countries as a result of the Agreement on the Importation and Free Circulation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, concluded in November 1950 under the auspices of UNESCO.
- 57. Anxious as it was, however, that the particular problem of the shortage of insecticides should be placed in its setting as part of a more general problem, the French delegation was prepared, on practical grounds, to support any proposals which would enable immediate steps to be taken to remedy the shortage of insecticides. It was therefore ready to approve, in their broad lines, the proposals of WHO for establishing a working party, incorporated in the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom and the United States.
- 58. A start had, moreover, been made, within the framework of the Economic Commission for Europe, towards carrying out WHO's proposals, and during recent conversations French experts had announced that French production of insecticides could be considerably increased so as not only to meet the requirements of home consumption but also to allow of fairly considerable exports.
- 59. As for paragraph 3 of the United States and United Kingdom draft resolution, she felt that the Secretary-General, who was requested to take prompt action and establish a working party immediately, should be given as clear and detailed instructions as possible. For that reason the French delegation proposed the deletion of the word "basically" in paragraph 3. Moreover, it considered it desirable to advise the Secretary-General as to the size of the working party, for which the French delegation suggested a maximum of fifteen members. It also suggested a provision to the effect that the members of the working party should be technically qualified representatives designated by governments.
- 60. Mr. KAZEMI (Iran) expressed his delegation's support of the joint draft resolution (E/L.232).
- 61. The fight against malaria had always been one of the Iranian Government's main concerns, the bulk of the population being affected by that disease; it had for years expended vast efforts in that field, and the seven-year plan for economic development provided for a whole series of measures to that end. The disinfection programme prepared with the assistance of WHO and applied since 1949 in the area bordering on the Caspian Sea had yielded significant results. It was important to persist with the programme, since DDT treatment, to be effective, should continue over a period of years. To do so, Iran had to import 800 tons of DDT annually to meet essential requirements in the northern part of the country alone.
- 62. The position in regard to DDT imports had been very difficult during 1950, and his Government had been unable to obtain more than 300 tons, of which 100 had been supplied by the United States Government. It was essential, however, to go ahead with the campaign already initiated if the results achieved were not to be wasted. One way of obtaining the necessary insecticides would be to set up a DDT factory in Iran, which

possessed two of the raw materials needed for its manufacture—sulphur and benzene.

- 63. The conference organized by WHO in 1950 at Istanbul had already broached that question, and the Technical Assistance Board (TAB) was to examine it in its turn. The Iranian Government hoped it would adopt a favourable decision, since the installation of a factory in Iran could assist most of the Middle Eastern countries, which were in a position similar to Iran's, to solve their problems. Should a working party be set up, its first task should be to study the question of establishing DDT factories in countries where the basic raw materials were available and where DDT requirements were constantly increasing.
- 64. Mr. BERLIS (Canada) said that his Government had been concerned with the problem under discussion and was appreciative of the work done by WHO. The fact that the production of insecticides had increased during the preceding year showed that the representations made by WHO had borne fruit and that governments realized the urgency of the situation. An effort had been made in Canada to increase production, and an arrangement had been made between one manufacturing concern and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) for the supply of 855,000 pounds of DDT before the end of 1952. That represented a considerable expansion when it was considered that export of insecticides from Canada had previously been insignificant. Canada depended on outside supplies of key raw materials for the production of insecticides, which would therefore necessarily be limited by the amount of raw materials available.
- 65. His Government was prepared to give sympathetic consideration to any proposal offering reasonable prospects of increasing production and of making the best use of such products. Although doubtful at first as to whether the establishment of a working party would be preferable, from the point of view of efficiency and cost, to continued action by WHO or the Council for ascertaining world requirements of insecticides, his delegation, after hearing the statements of the United Kingdom and United States representatives, was prepared to support the joint draft resolution, subject to the amendments which they had already accepted. He could not vote for paragraphs 2 and 3 of the French amendment, for the reasons stated by the United Kingdom and United States representatives.
- 66. Mr. KRISHNAMACHARI (India) said that he was somewhat disappointed at the attitude shown by the United Kingdom and the United States delegations towards the French amendment. While his delegation might agree that the mention of medical supplies in the resolution might not be desirable, it took exception to the fact that certain governments were not prepared to direct exports of insecticides for purposes which were at the moment of extreme importance—namely, health purposes. That seemed to be an unsound and unfortunate policy which could not but have an effect on the health of the world, and he would have thought that, in the light of the directives given to importers with regard to the placing of orders by the Director-General of WHO,

- the response of the chief exporting countries would have been more favourable than it appeared to be. Admittedly there were demands outside the field of health for insecticides, and it was understandable that manufacturers might be reluctant to abandon established channels for the marketing of their products, but it seemed a contradiction that all the strivings in the international field for health should be sacrificed for such considerations. Thus, while he could understand the objection to paragraph 2 of the French amendment, he would be inclined to urge the retention of the introductory clause proposed in paragraph 3 with regard to the desirability of eliminating restrictions still imposed on the import and export of insecticides. Surely, in the light of their relative achievements, WHO meant more to the Council than GATT. If the French delegation wished that paragraph to be put to the vote, his delegation would support it.
- 67. With regard to the desire of some countries to manufacture DDT, he believed that they might ultimately find themselves faced with difficulties in procuring the necessary raw materials, owing to the essential requirements of other countries. India required 800 tons of insecticides per annum and would continue to use the good offices of WHO for its supplies. His delegation would not subscribe to any proposal that placed health needs second to other needs.
- 68. As to the proposal for a working party, he feared that, in view of the attitude of the United Kingdom and United States Governments, such a body might not achieve very much. He would support the French amendment with the exception of paragraph 2, which was not germane to the issue before the Council.
- 69. Mr. BUTLER (United Kingdom) thought the Indian representative had misunderstood his statement on the United Kingdom Government's attitude to the question of priorities. When he had spoken of priorities, he had suggested that his Government would be reluctant to direct manufacturers of the active ingredients, or of the formulations containing those ingredients, to give any priorities to health or other purposes, since it considered that other non-health purposes were also important. The latter included such matters as food production, cotton and anti-locust control, which themselves were related to health. His Government would not wish to commit itself to an arrangement conferring a permanent priority for health purposes.
- 70. M. LUBIN (United States of America) said that he failed to understand the criticism levelled by the Indian representative against the United States Government's policy in the matter of insecticides. That policy had been to persuade consuming countries to furnish information of their needs sufficiently—at least, one or two quarters—in advance, so that United States production could be geared to meet their requirements, and to assure consumers that, where timely information was given, those requirements would be met. In cases of shortages due to unforeseen circumstances, the United States had endeavoured to meet increased demands and the result of that effort had been duly recognized by WHO.

- 71. Mr. KRISHNAMACHARI (India) expressed regret that he had misunderstood the original statements made by the United Kingdom and United States representatives and expressed appreciation of their further clarifications, which considerably altered the position.
- 72. Mr. MOROSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that, in dealing with the technical aspect of the question, the United States representative had not been able to refrain from an attack on the Soviet Union. It was undeniable that the history of the Soviet Union's relations with other countries confirmed that the Soviet Union had always sought to deal with other countries on the basis of equality and to defend and strengthen the sovereignty of all peoples throughout the world.
- The matter under consideration had, it would be recalled, been dealt with at the Council's ninth session, when his delegation had urged that the only method of solving the problem was to increase the production of insecticides in all countries. That view still held good. At the same session, a recommendation (resolution 225) (IX)) had been imposed which would damage the interests of certain countries, and particularly of the underdeveloped countries, in that it tended to the removal of all restrictions on imports into those countries, so as to make them good markets for the products of the industrialized countries to the detriment of the national production of others, particularly of the under-developed countries. A similar attempt seemed again to be contemplated in paragraph 3 of the French amendment, and his delegation could not agree to a provision which would be detrimental to the production of insecticides in non-industrial countries; nor could it accept any recommendation which would endanger the national production of certain countries by the lifting of import restrictions on the products in question.
- 74. Mr. LUBIN (United States of America) observed with reference to the Soviet Union representative's remarks that it was strange to talk about "imposing supplies" on countries in dire need of them. There were periods when, owing to unforeseen circumstances, the demand for insecticides rose suddenly and gave rise to short-term shortages. Such a period had occurred in 1951, and WHO had asked producer countries to make supplies available in order to continue the work that had been begun. No evidence existed of any supplies whatsoever having been contributed by the Soviet Union or by the countries under its domination, with the exception perhaps of a small quantity of chlorine-based insecticide delivered to a border area of Iran. In contrast, he would point to the 15 million pounds of insecticides made available by the United States.
- 75. The joint draft resolution suggested a technical approach to the long-term problem, and that problem could be satisfactorily dealt with only by such technical action and not by propaganda.
- 76. Mr. MOROSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) believed it would be clear to all that the statement just made by the United States representative contained nothing but propaganda. He therefore saw no need to reply to it.

- 77. Mr. CHAVAL (Belgium) regretted that the French delegation's amendments to the joint draft resolution had not won the support of the representative of either of the authors of the resolution. He regretted it, firstly because Belgium feared that the shortage would soon spread to other medical products, and secondly because his country was in favour of the liberalization of trade. If the French delegation wished to maintain its amendments, the Belgian delegation would support them.
- 78. Miss LISSAC (France), replying to an observation by the Soviet Union representative, pointed out that the French delegation had wished to emphasize the sharing and distribution of products essential to public health as well as their local production.
- 79. Since several delegations had indicated that they would support those amendments, she would not withdraw them. She hoped that the Council would see fit to adopt the general humanitarian ideas which the French delegation wished to see included in the preamble to the resolution.
- 80. Mr. Hadi HUSAIN (Pakistan) said that the problem was to bring producers and consumers together with a view to increasing the production and ensuring the better distribution of insecticides.
- 81. Pakistan, too, was anxious to obtain assistance for the erection of a plant for the manufacture of insecticides and other medical supplies. His country's requirements amounted to some 300 tons a year. As to raw materials, Pakistan could export none, owing to its small production and its requirements for the manufacture of DDT when the arrangements for the erection of the plant had been completed.
- 82. His delegation supported in principle the proposal for a working party. It preferred paragraph 4 of the French amendment to paragraph 3 of the joint draft resolution, but considered that, since the Council was concerned only with the question of the shortage of insecticides, the words "medical supplies and "should be deleted from paragraph 2 of the French amendment.
- 83. With regard to the question of import and export restrictions, his delegation was interested in the elimination of such restrictions as far as possible. Since the working party was to consider measures to ensure that the export of insecticides for health programmes was facilitated, it followed logically that governments interested in importing insecticides would wish to see such export restrictions removed.
- 84. Mr. OWEN (Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the Department of Economic Affairs) explained that, if and when the joint draft resolution before the Council was adopted, the Secretary-General would immediately get in touch with Member States regarding the designation of experts to serve on the working party. Experience and certain technical considerations made it unlikely that the working party could be convened much before the end of the General Assembly's next session in Paris. It would therefore be doubtful whether the report of the experts could be made available by January 1952. On the question of cost, it was assumed that, since the members of the working party would be

designated by their respective governments, the latter would pay their travel and subsistence expenses. Consequently, if the working party were to meet at Headquarters, it would be possible to provide the necessary technical and substantive services without additional cost to the United Nations. Should it be decided, on the other hand, that the working party should meet in Paris towards the close of the General Assembly's session, the technical services would be available, and the only additional cost would be for substantive staff which would amount to some three or four thousand dollars. If the working party were convened in London, where no conference services would be available, the cost would be somewhat higher.

85. The PRESIDENT, declaring the discussion closed, pointed out that, as the authors of the joint draft resolu-

tion (E/L.232) had accepted paragraphs 4 and 5 of the French amendment (E/L.238/Rev.1), he would put to the vote only paragraphs 2 and 3 of the French amendment.

Paragraph 2 of the French amendment was rejected by 9 votes to 4, with 5 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 of the French amendment was rejected by 7 votes to 7, with 4 abstentions.

86. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the joint draft resolution (E/L.232) as amended.

The resolution, as amended, was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.