

or exacerbated nationalism which were exploited by totalitarian demagoguery, whether nazi-fascist or communist, and which obstructed economic development in certain countries.

107. The basic principles governing the utilization of capital under the new form of capitalism could constitute the foundations for an agreement to which States could voluntarily subscribe.

108. That step would seem to be the natural concomitant of the programme of technical assistance which would lead to a study of the possibilities of economic development. Such development would be financed with available capital. The financing would be effected by various methods; at times it would be undertaken by the State by means of loans; at other times it would be undertaken by private investors who would be given sufficient guarantees and would not be subjected to discriminatory measures.

109. Mr. Anze Matienzo felt that it was essential to reconcile those methods of financing in order to carry out the great joint undertaking. The State, using funds derived from loans, would have to equip areas or establish public services. Foreign capital investments could then be put to effective use in the development of the country and the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the population. Such co-ordination, first within a country and then at a regional level, between a number of countries, would finally result in the development of the whole world for the greatest happiness of all mankind.

110. The representative of Bolivia wished, in conclusion, to emphasize a point which he felt to be of the greatest importance. The United Nations would provide technical assistance to the countries which requested it; that was an admirable example of respect for the sovereignty and inde-

pendence of nations. It would be advisable, however, that the United Nations organ responsible for the co-ordination of technical assistance should utilize the sources of information and the research bodies of the United Nations as well as the studies undertaken by the regional economic commissions. It would thus be in a position to give Governments a general picture which would enable them to have a sufficiently extensive grasp of the economic conditions and factors prevailing throughout the world. Each Government could then decide to give priority to the development of a particular sector of its economy, the choice depending on whether that sector offered most advantages or was most suitable for the development of foreign trade. It would thus be able to adjust itself more easily to an organized world economy by avoiding, as far as possible, a competition seriously detrimental to the progress of certain regions.

111. The United Nations organ responsible for co-ordinating technical assistance should likewise encourage particular types of production which were of vital importance to some countries; countries which did not have the same need for those products could concentrate on other fields of production, according to the excellent maxim of live and let live.

112. When the four draft resolutions of the Second Committee were put to the vote, Bolivia would support them, thus associating itself with the hopes of the world; it did not forget the realities and difficulties inherent in the ever-perilous play of interests, but it was prepared to do its best to transform those hopes into reality.

113. The PRESIDENT declared the list of speakers closed and adjourned the discussion until the afternoon meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Wednesday, 16 November 1949, at 3 p.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines)

Economic development of under-developed countries: report of the Second Committee (A/1064) and report of the Fifth Committee (A/1072) (concluded)

1. Mr. TEJERA (Uruguay) said that for countries whose only wealth lay in the vitality of their institutions and the general culture of their inhabitants, it was of fundamental importance that the problems affecting general world harmony should be adequately settled. Among the factors exercising the greatest influence on the general destiny of human society were economic conditions.

2. The General Assembly had before it draft resolutions emanating originally from the Economic and Social Council, the Chilean delegation and the Cuban delegation, the latter having been amended by the Polish delegation. If the draft resolution submitted to the Second Committee by the Uruguayan delegation had been accepted, it would not have been necessary to discuss customs tariffs specifically, because general economic har-

mony, a product of the co-ordination of separate national economies, would have made it possible gradually to eliminate all barriers to international trade. Since, unfortunately, that had not been the case, the Uruguayan delegation had considered the amendment submitted by the Polish delegation to be adequate and had voted for it.

3. A settlement of the world economic problem was of primary importance to all nations and an undertaking in which all countries were involved. Economic activity was meaningless unless it was directed towards the service of man, just as the wealth resulting from such activity was not an end in itself.

4. In the modern world, the interdependence of nations was displayed throughout the world in striking fashion. Centuries before, it would have been possible for some tremendous war or terrible catastrophe to take place in one part of the world, while areas far distant from the scene of the tragedy would not have suffered in the least from the upheaval. But times had changed. Methods of transport and communication and the chain of interests that linked all parts of the

world had created a total interdependence among all nations. Anything happening in any part of the world affected all countries.

5. However, in regard to certain fundamental problems, the world's spiritual and material interdependence was not expressed in equal responsibilities or equal sufferings. There was a small group of wealthy countries and a large number of impoverished countries. There were parts of the world where undisguised economic anarchy prevailed. There were surpluses of basic foodstuffs and other necessities of life which could not be disposed of. There were, or had been formerly, thousands of tons of coffee which had first been stored and then thrown into the sea because there were no markets for it, while at the same time millions of people had gone without coffee. There still existed, in many parts of the world, enormous surpluses of wool which were stored in warehouses, or spoiling, while on the other hand millions of people had to go without woollen clothing and did not even have enough to wear. There were vast surpluses of wheat and yet millions of people had to go without bread because in their countries there was no wheat.

6. Those were the hard facts. The Assembly should bear them in mind and establish some form of co-ordination of the various national economies in order to produce what was necessary and also devise means of marketing surpluses so that no one should have to go without when the means to satisfy the demand existed elsewhere.

7. A serious disequilibrium existed as a result of the wealth of a few countries amid the poverty of the many. That wealth was largely the product of technical advances combined with the natural advantages by some parts of the world, in contrast to the paucity of natural resources in others. However, that inequality could be eliminated or at least alleviated by the spirit of co-operation which reigned in the Assembly and which had been abundantly and eloquently demonstrated during the discussion of the matter in the Second Committee.

8. Unless measures were taken to deal with the situation, some parts of the world would have to surround themselves by powerful tariff walls in order to protect their economies and some of their industries. Those economic factors led to autarky everywhere and made for general disequilibrium and discord, which drew the nations towards overwhelming catastrophe.

9. In political conflict, it was difficult to reconcile the ideal with reality. It was probably that difficulty which had arisen in the minds of many representatives who, without understanding the intention underlying the Uruguayan draft resolution, had expressed complete disagreement with the facts described by the delegation of Uruguay.

10. The world could not work on a basis of prejudice, fears and hesitations. In the United Nations, where the efforts of the civilized nations of the world to organize the world's future on a basis of peace and justice were being encouraged, fear, hesitation, mistrust and prejudice must be cast out so that the Organization's work could advance along a sure road. There was no need to be afraid of ideas which could be basic factors in universal advancement, as had happened in the case of the opinions put forward in the Second Committee when that topic was being discussed.

11. Although the Uruguayan delegation wished that the fundamental problem under consideration could have been discussed on the basis it had itself proposed, it felt that it would be wrong to deny that the draft resolutions before the Assembly marked a real advance; they should be greeted by all men and peoples of good will as a step forward on the path to economic rehabilitation.

12. Draft resolutions A and B on technical assistance, draft resolution C on the financing of economic development, based on the Chilean draft, and draft resolution D on international trade, based on the Cuban draft, were all focused on different aspects of the economic question which claimed the world's attention. Uruguay would co-operate to the full, within the limits of its strength and resources, in carrying out those resolutions and its delegation would therefore vote for them.

13. Mr. ZAYED (Egypt) emphasized the indisputable importance and vital necessity of economic development and technical assistance to under-developed areas in particular and to the whole world in general. That had been brought out in the discussions in the Second Committee as well as in the Assembly. He would not, therefore, dwell on the point nor on the first three draft resolutions, since they had all been unanimously adopted by the Second Committee. His delegation supported all three whole-heartedly.

14. He would confine himself to draft resolution D and, in particular, to the last phrase which referred to the recognition of "protective customs tariffs as an efficient factor in the creation and development of the national industries of under-developed countries". It was that phrase which had been so vehemently opposed at the 241st meeting by the representatives of the United States and France. The Egyptian delegation wished to express its support of draft resolution D and would not agree to any alteration in the last six lines, since that would be tantamount to a complete denial of the *raison d'être* of the whole draft.

15. It was hardly conceivable that a mild statement of the universally accepted principle that the protection of infant industries constituted legitimate grounds for the imposition of tariffs could arouse so much opposition. It was true, however, that none of the opponents of the last part of the draft resolution had gone so far as to suggest that tariffs were purposeless or unnecessary. Even the Havana Charter, which had been repeatedly invoked, recognized in article 13, paragraph 1, that "special governmental assistance may be required to promote the establishment, development or reconstruction of particular industries or branches of agriculture, and that in appropriate circumstances the grant of such assistance in the form of protective measures is justified".

16. Mr. Zayed recalled that during the discussion in the Second Committee¹, the opponents of the last paragraph of draft resolution D, while they had all invoked the Havana Charter, had differed in their reasons for doing so. Some had maintained that the wording was in flagrant contradiction to the spirit of the Havana Charter, while others had believed that it was unnecessary to reiterate the right of under-developed countries to protect their infant industries, since that right was already recognized in article 13 of the

¹ See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Second Committee, 88th to 103rd and 113th meetings.

Havana Charter. The latter interpretation obviously implied that there was no contradiction between draft resolution D and the spirit of the Havana Charter.

17. Those two interpretations could not both be right; but it was possible that they were both wrong. The Egyptian delegation held the latter view. It did not believe that the provision in question would impede the operation of the Havana Charter, if and when it entered into force but at the same time it could not agree that the reiteration of the principle was meaningless or superfluous. The reason was clear. The principal objective of the Havana Charter was the liberalization of international trade. The promotion of economic development appeared at best as a minor objective.

18. An official guide to the study of the Havana Charter published by the State Department of the United States stated that the charter of the International Trade Organization had one over-all purpose which should be borne in mind in any study of the provisions of that document; that purpose was to establish and maintain, by mutual agreement, an "open" or multilateral system of trade relations between members of the organization, and to expand on businesslike principles the trade of each member with all other members¹.

19. The Havana Charter referred to the promotion of economic development as one of the aims in view, but laid the main emphasis on the removal of barriers to international trade. That was why the recognition of the right of under-developed countries to impose protective measures was mentioned merely as an exception to be tolerated only if all the safeguards and conditions which restricted the area of practical application were met.

20. Draft resolution D, however, laid the main emphasis on economic development, not on the establishment of an open system of international trade relations.

21. As the main emphasis was laid on the various effects of international economic and commercial policy on the process of economic development, it was only appropriate to point out that protective tariffs were an efficient factor in the creation and development of domestic industries.

22. The Egyptian delegation wished to repeat that the last paragraph of draft resolution D did not espouse the cause of isolationism or discrimination. It simply stated that tariffs were an efficient factor in the creation and development of domestic industries. That had never been disputed and there was no reason, therefore, to outline again the familiar case for protective tariffs. It was only fair, however, to remind those who opposed the last part of draft resolution D that past experience testified to the effective part which tariffs had played in the creation and development of domestic industries.

23. It should also be remembered that some highly industrialized countries were still protecting their mature industries by high tariff walls, while many under-developed countries lacked any such protection for their infant industries owing to the

limitations which past or existing colonial policies had imposed on their legitimate rights in that field.

24. Mr. Zayed therefore believed that the Havana Charter did not provide valid grounds for denouncing the last paragraph of draft resolution D. The opposition of some industrial countries to the draft resolution would have the effect of raising serious doubts in under-developed countries as to the favourable attitude of the Industrial Trade Organization to the cause of economic development. Such doubts might seriously undermine the popularity of the Havana Charter.

25. The Egyptian delegation stood by the position it had maintained in the Second Committee and urged all members to vote for draft resolution D.

26. Mr. HASSAN (Pakistan) said his delegation wished to associate itself heartily with most of what had been said in support of the momentous draft resolutions under consideration. Their adoption was expected to contribute to the opening of a new era of economic progress and prosperity for under-developed countries. The existing economic disparities between various parts of the world were very glaring and formed a constant source of friction and unhappiness for mankind.

27. It was a happy augury that the General Assembly was considering measures which would, to some extent, put an end to that state of affairs. The under-developed countries, with the help of that programme, were likely to ameliorate their economic conditions and bring themselves nearer to the economic and cultural level of the rest of the world.

28. The delegation of Pakistan supported all the draft resolutions resulting from the discussions in the Second Committee. Most of the drafts had been adopted unanimously. In certain cases differences of opinion had been expressed, but on the whole the draft resolutions represented the largest measure of agreement on those vital issues. The Pakistan delegation did not wish to reopen the discussion at the moment. Although it might have wished for a difference in the emphasis laid on certain points, it was willing to maintain the unanimity of opinion reached in the Second Committee and in that spirit it would support the draft resolutions as they stood.

29. Mr. CHAUVET (Haiti) said that Haiti had had the privilege of being the first country to welcome a United Nations technical mission to study the factors influencing its economic development. In the light of that mission's work, it was possible to draw certain conclusions.

30. The structure of all the under-developed countries was marked by three features: severe pressure of population, too low a level of consumer spending and a static condition of economic development. In simple terms, the solution consisted in modernizing agriculture and putting into effect a policy of industrialization, so that there might be a substantial increase in the average annual income of consumers; that in turn would make it possible to raise the level of consumption and at the same time to stimulate individual saving. The final aim of increasing individual purchasing power harmonized with the social aim of increasing the national income.

¹ See *Havana Charter for an International Trade Organisation*, March 24, 1948, including an official guide to the study of the Charter, page 3. Department of State publication 3206, Commercial Policy Series 114.

31. The conclusions and recommendations of United Nations missions should form a single whole. The emphasis, however, should be placed on economic development. Such development presupposed the concordance of agricultural, industrial, transport, banking, monetary, fiscal and budgetary policies; moreover, in order that it might be achieved progressively, the monetary cost of reconstruction must be assessed.

32. In the execution of a programme, no account would be taken of private investment and its effects, at least during the first two years. At the outset, investment would take the form of additional government expenditure. It would serve to direct economic policy along the necessary lines; that would be the starting point in the reorganization of the structure of the various activities in which the State intervened either as legislator, producer, or partner.

33. The first stage of government action would begin with the preparation of the first plan for economic equipment and modernization.

34. The plan would combine in a single solution the various partial solutions relating to population, agriculture, power, transport, industry, employment, currency and credit, public finance, and external economic relations.

35. The preparation and putting into effect of the first plan would be directed in the first place towards satisfying the community's material needs and its needs for development, and secondly towards decreasing the dependence of the local economy on international economy.

36. Such a policy in no way implied the creation of a self-sufficient economy; it required a rational mobilization of available resources in order to obtain optimum productivity, or at least the maximum productivity possible, given the factors of production.

37. The implementation of the plan should raise the national income from the existing level to a higher one. If national income was static, production must be so directed that there was an increase in income. That must be the basic objective of any plan of economic development; it must be the permanent objective if the maximum volume of consumption were to be reached and if savings were to reach a level at which they accelerated capital formation.

38. Mr. Chauvet hoped that his observations would help to facilitate plans of technical assistance and economic aid for the under-developed countries, and said his delegation would vote enthusiastically for the draft resolutions submitted to the Assembly by the Second Committee.

39. Mr. MEJÍAS PALACIOS (Colombia) said he had not intended to speak in the debate, but certain observations made in the course of it had struck him forcibly and induced him to comment upon them.

40. In the first place, it had been asserted that the plan for technical assistance for the smaller countries was too broad and too generous. Yet surely what was being planned was not charity but an undertaking of common concern to both the large and the smaller countries, since the relationship between the different parts of the world in modern times required the participation of the less developed countries in world trade in order to avoid imbalance.

41. To deal with the crisis of 1930, each country had concentrated upon the creation of employment within its own territory in order to maintain consumer capacity and the operation of its economic system as a whole. The world had changed since that time. What was immediately essential was that all nations should work in such a way that universal consumer capacity equalled productive capacity and that the great industrial countries were able to market their surpluses in consumer countries. To that end, those countries must be helped to increase their consumption. Thus the matter under discussion could well be called a matter of common concern.

42. With regard to draft resolution D, Mr. Mejías Palacios reminded the Assembly that he had abstained from voting for it in the Second Committee. The Committee had adopted it, however, and it should therefore be supported by the Assembly. The programme of technical assistance had as its objective the satisfaction of the needs of the peoples; no restrictions should be placed upon it for fear that it might, directly or indirectly, prejudice the interests of other regions. Some degree of tariff protection was the only way in which industry in growing countries could develop. Colombia had always upheld that principle.

43. The representative of Colombia recalled that the Economic and Social Council at its ninth session had adopted its resolution 222 B (IX) under which the programme of technical assistance would be carried out through the United Nations and its specialized agencies and also in conjunction with certain regional organs of great international importance. That resolution should be taken into account when the general United Nations programme of technical assistance was put into effect and every effort should be made to ensure the co-operation of those regional organs and to avoid hampering them or interfering with their plans. Mr. Mejías Palacios called particular attention in that connexion to the Organization of American States.

44. Mr. CORTINA (Mexico) said he would comment only on the Lebanese representative's statement (241st meeting) that new ideas were needed to direct and guide investment designed to promote the economic development of under-developed countries, because private capital would not be interested in investments which did not offer attractive prospects of profit.

45. Mr. Cortina agreed with that statement in so far as it drew attention to the existence of regions where only governmental action could produce results conducive to general prosperity. It should be borne in mind, however, that where governmental control was necessary for the execution of development plans, the possibility of carrying out those plans in the interests of the entire population, rather than in the interests of small oligarchic groups within the under-developed country concerned, was as important as the return on foreign capital investment. What was needed was not the initiation of negotiations with a view to enriching the bankers in the under-developed countries, but generous and large-scale action in the interests of the people of each country.

46. Mr. Cortina hoped that draft resolutions A, B and C would be adopted by the Assembly with the same unanimity as had been displayed in the Second Committee.

47. Draft resolution D consisted of two parts. The first was a recommendation that the Economic and Social Council in its studies on development of under-developed countries, should pay further attention to questions of international economic and commercial policy. The second was a request that the Council, when it engaged in that work, should take into account the discussion which had taken place in the Second Committee and, in particular, the opinions about the necessity of protective customs tariffs as an efficient factor in industrialization.

48. With regard to the first part, it appeared that the consensus of opinion was favourable.

49. With regard to the second, certain objections had arisen which could be attributed to misunderstanding or ignorance of the subject matter. The only virtue of that second part was that it was a reference to a fact which the General Assembly could not disregard even if it wished to do so because what had already happened belonged to the past and therefore was part of history.

50. The second part of the third paragraph of draft resolution D merely requested the Economic and Social Council to take the record into account. That would be done in any case, whatever the Assembly's decision might be. Since the matters discussed in the Second Committee were a *fait accompli* which the Economic and Social Council could not fail to take into account, that part of the draft resolution might appear to be superfluous. It should, however, be retained, because, if it were debated, it might be said subsequently that the Assembly had decided against protective tariffs. It was obvious that such an assertion would be absolutely and utterly incorrect. The representative of France, however, had said at the 241st meeting that he interpreted the second part of the draft resolution as an affirmation of the need for protecting economic development by means of tariffs. That representative could consequently assert in the Economic and Social Council that the rejection by the Assembly of that part of the draft resolution was tantamount to the condemnation of the principles of protective tariffs.

51. Mr. Cortina believed that countries which, like Mexico, still needed tariff barriers for their industrialization, should exercise great caution in the matter.

52. Mr. ARUTIUNIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said the question of economic development of under-developed countries and technical assistance to such countries was not new. On the initiative of the economically less developed countries, that question had been discussed by various organs of the United Nations. It had been thoroughly considered by the Economic and Social Council at its ninth session and by the Second Committee during the current session of the General Assembly. Hence he would be brief, as the President had requested, but he felt bound to say a few words in reply to statements made before the General Assembly by certain representatives.

53. The representative of the United States had said (241st meeting) that he would vote against the second part of the last paragraph of draft resolution D and that, if that part were adopted, he would vote against the draft as a whole. He had not discussed the substance of the text; he had reduced the whole question to one of procedure

and had asked that the text should be voted on in parts.

54. Mr. Arutiunian had noted with pleasure that all the speakers who had followed the representative of the United States and who had spoken in the name of the economically under-developed countries had opposed the position adopted by that representative. Thus on the extremely important question of the development of the national industries of the under-developed countries, two points of view had emerged.

55. Draft resolution D proposed very limited objectives; it asked the Economic and Social Council to study the question of the influence of tariff protection on the development of the industries of the under-developed countries. The representative of the United States, however, opposed that proposal with a persistence which gave cause for reflection.

56. Everyone knew that the only way to protect the industries of young countries which were only beginning to develop was to take measures to protect them against the competition of the industrially stronger countries. In the absence of protective measures of that sort, the great capitalistic monopolies, the corporations, trusts and cartels, had only to export on a large scale in order to destroy every attempt to organize national industries in the under-developed countries.

57. Some speakers had spoken of past history. But history showed that no industrial country had been able to develop its production without the protection of customs tariffs. That had been the case in the United Kingdom, Germany, France and the United States. Far from constituting the exception, the United States was among those which most consistently practised a policy of protective tariffs. Despite its highly developed industry, the United States was the country with the highest tariffs. Mr. Arutiunian was reminded of the well known adage to the effect that precept should be followed rather than example.

58. For the under-developed countries, the question of the development of their industries was of considerable importance, for their independence depended upon it. They could free themselves from all political or economic oppression only by establishing well-balanced industries.

59. For all those reasons, the USSR delegation would vote for the draft resolution submitted by the Second Committee and against the proposals of the United States representative.

60. Mr. Arutiunian wished to comment next on the question of private capital investments. It was interesting to see the motives which led private capital to invest abroad. Certain representatives, in particular the representative of Bolivia (241st meeting), had painted a truly idyllic picture to the Assembly; to judge by his remarks one was led to believe that private capital would rush to invest abroad in order to raise the standard of living of backward populations—a truly Christian mission. If that were really so, private capital should not forget that there was much to be done at home to raise the standard of living.

61. The newspapers had just published the figures furnished by one of the Sub-Committees of the United States Congress, which indicated that, in 1948, 8 million families or persons in the United States had had an income of 1,000 dollars

or less. Moreover, 25 per cent of all the families or persons living in the United States had an average income of less than 2,000 dollars. The Sub-Committee considered that that income could not suffice to meet the minimum needs of those concerned.

62. If, therefore, American capital was inspired by the idealistic considerations ascribed to it by the Bolivian representative, it should begin by putting an end to poverty in the United States itself.

63. The true reasons for the export of capital were quite different. If capital was exported from a country, it was because that country did not provide the necessary conditions and did not present an adequate field for the advantageous utilization of capital. By contrast, the high profits which could be obtained in under-developed countries attracted capital. In those countries, labour and raw materials were generally cheap, whereas the price of manufactured goods was high. In the final analysis, the question was one of a difference in the level of profits.

64. According to the latest figures, private American capital invested abroad in 1947 had amounted to 16,700 million dollars. That had been a perfectly natural and normal export of capital, for the export of capital, in the same way as all international trade, was an essential part of international relations in the economic field.

65. Such measures had nothing to do with humanitarian considerations; they were simply a normal phenomenon of the world market. But there was a move afoot to use the United Nations in order to create more favourable conditions for the export of capital so as to swell the profits of capitalistic banks, corporations, trusts and monopolies. There was much talk of drawing up conventions and of giving safeguards to investors of private capital. Such safeguards, however, had nothing to do with the United Nations; the Organization could not sacrifice its authority to the interests of banks and monopolies. The United Nations consisted of States and it was not its task to protect the interests of the large capitalistic undertakings.

66. Mr. Arutiunian knew full well that certain States, in particular the United States, were developing a vast programme for the export of capital in order to obtain control, at little cost, of the under-developed countries, the colonies of the European States and other areas of the world. That programme was known as point 4 of President Truman's programme. Democratic circles in the United States itself had emphasized that the programme was nothing other than a plan for United States colonial expansion. That was the programme which was linked to the question of safeguards for foreign capital.

67. In connexion with point 4 of the United States programme of colonial expansion, Mr. Arutiunian felt bound to say that there was a fundamental difference between the United Nations programme of technical assistance and the one which was set forth in point 4. The United Nations programme was based on the principle of respect for the independence and sovereignty of under-developed countries; its aim was to help such countries to strengthen their national economy so as to enable them to achieve complete economic and political independence and

to raise their standard of living, in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. But point 4 of President Truman's programme was in fact directed against the political and economic independence of the under-developed countries.

68. The United Nations programme was based on the principle that there should be no discrimination because of the political régime of a country or because of the race or the religion of its inhabitants. By contrast, point 4 of President Truman's programme drew political distinctions based on the frontiers which divided the world. Just as the Marshall Plan had divided Europe, so the new programme was aimed at dividing the under-developed countries.

69. The United Nations programme provided that technical assistance should not serve as a pretext for any economic or political interference in the affairs of another country and that it should not be made subject to any kind of political conditions. Point 4 of the Truman programme provided exactly the opposite. The idea underlying that programme was that it should serve as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of under-developed countries. The situation in Latin America was the best proof of that.

70. Since the representative of Bolivia had spoken in the discussion, Mr. Arutiunian would take Bolivia as an example. That country's economy was totally unbalanced; it was developed along unilateral lines and bore semi-colonial features. It was based entirely on the mining and export of a single raw material, tin, and that industry was mainly in the hands of United States nationals. The economy of Bolivia was entirely dominated by United States capital and Bolivia had thus become nothing but an adjunct of the large American monopolies which it supplied with tin.

71. It was difficult to believe that a country whose economy was completely dominated by big United States monopolies could be really free in the political or economic sense. The Bolivian representative's words in praise of foreign capital provided the best answer to that question.

72. The return on United States capital invested in Latin-American countries had amounted to over 500 million dollars in 1948. That huge sum had been extracted by monopolies in one year from countries most of which were under-developed. It was clear, therefore, that those countries afforded possibilities for the formation of local capital; yet the representatives of Latin-American countries, and the Bolivian representative in particular, did not take that factor into consideration.

73. Citing another example, Mr. Arutiunian said that several hundred million dollars were exported from Venezuela every year. The profits earned by foreign oil companies left the country and were not included in Venezuela's national income. Indeed, many colonies received better treatment than that given to Venezuela by the large oil companies of the United States.

74. All those considerations forced the USSR delegation to state that the question of private capital investment was not a matter with which the United Nations should concern itself. The United Nations could not draw up codes providing guarantees for private capital investments; the problems it had to deal with in the field of inter-

national economic co-operation were much more important and much more serious.

75. It was clear, in the light of the brief remarks Mr. Arutiunian had just made, that although the draft resolutions on technical assistance had been unanimously approved by the Second Committee, their execution would reveal the existence of two opposite tendencies on many questions. The first would be represented by colonial countries headed by the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Their aim would be to use technical assistance for gaining control of under-developed countries. Those countries would fight among themselves. The United States would try to evict the old European colonial Powers from their positions. The other tendency would be to achieve an honest application of the provisions of those resolutions. Its main supporters would be the under-developed countries in need of technical assistance.

76. The Soviet Union would give all possible aid and encouragement to the small Powers which endeavoured to pursue an honest policy designed to fulfil the excellent purposes of technical assistance to under-developed countries.

77. The future, therefore, was not as cloudless as it might appear in view of the unanimity displayed during the voting in the Second Committee. That unanimity concealed two extremely different outlooks on the way in which technical assistance should be granted. History would show which of the two tendencies prevailed.

78. The USSR delegation supported the four draft resolutions submitted by the Second Committee to the General Assembly and would vote for them as they stood.

79. Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) recalled that during the general debate (227th meeting), he had stressed the importance which his delegation attached to the solution of the problem of assistance to under-developed countries. He had said that Poland supported the idea of the economic development of under-developed countries and that the Polish delegation, which had taken that position in the general discussion on that question during the Economic and Social Council's ninth session, would continue to support that idea. But he had drawn attention to the danger that the national sovereignty of economically under-developed countries might be violated and that their interests might be subordinated to those of capitalism.

80. The General Assembly had before it the Second Committee's report on the expanded programme of technical assistance, in addition to the United Nations permanent programme. The draft resolutions submitted by the Committee represented the culmination of the efforts of the Economic and Social Council, which had devoted much time to the study of the problem; they were the fruits of the discussion held in the Second Committee during the current session of the General Assembly.

81. Those draft resolutions confirmed the principles embodied in the resolutions which the Economic and Social Council had adopted at its ninth session. In the Council, Poland had persistently striven for the adoption of the principles which, it felt, should constitute the permanent basis of United Nations activities in the under-developed

countries. Several of those principles had in fact found expression in the resolutions of the Economic and Social Council as a result of the proposals made by the Polish delegation at the ninth session of the Council. Although some of the Polish amendments had not met with the support of the majority, the Polish delegation felt that the text finally adopted by the Council represented progress in the Organization's work on economic development.

82. It was for that reason that, in the Second Committee, the Polish delegation had voted for the draft resolutions submitted to the Committee by the Economic and Social Council. It intended to pursue the same policy in the Assembly. It was firmly convinced that the General Assembly by adopting the draft resolutions submitted to it and thereby endorsing the principles embodied in the resolutions of the Economic and Social Council would be taking a great step forward. Its action would really amount to a new and bold programme for putting those principles into practice. By adopting them, the General Assembly would also pass stern judgment on the former policy of the colonial and imperialist Powers towards the under-developed countries.

83. It was obvious that the reason why those countries had failed to reach an advanced stage of economic, social or political development was that they had long been subjected to the ruthless economic exploitation and political domination of foreign Powers. The delegation of Poland believed that the elimination of that factor constituted a *sine qua non* for the further development of under-developed countries. The abolition of every kind of economic exploitation and political domination could create the conditions indispensable to the achievement of the necessary internal reform of under-developed countries. Such reforms consisted in the abolition of all the anachronistic features of the social, economic and political systems in the under-developed countries and in the mobilization of the internal forces and resources for the promotion of true economic and social development. The chief aim should be to strengthen the economic and political independence of those countries, to raise the whole community's standard of living by better and fuller use of the human and natural resources available and to ensure to all the inhabitants better conditions of work, health and education. For that reason it was particularly important that the peoples of the under-developed countries should, from the outset, exercise a decisive influence on the development policy adopted by their Governments. Only thus could the development of productive resources in under-developed countries be prevented from becoming the means of enriching a small group of capitalists at the expense of the toiling masses. Only thus could the striking disproportion in the standards of living of the different population groups in those countries be lessened.

84. The efforts of the United Nations to help the under-developed countries towards economic development should be dissociated from the United States Government's efforts to deal with the same problem. The repeated attempts of the United States and other delegations to combine the United Nations programme with what was usually called point 4 showed that the implications of the principles adopted by the Economic and

Social Council and about to be confirmed by the General Assembly through the adoption of the draft resolutions submitted to it by the Second Committee had not yet been adequately grasped by all Members of the Organization.

85. It was perfectly obvious that the chief object of point 4 was to open the under-developed countries to penetration by American private capital which, as a result of the economic evolution of the United States, had been driven to seek opportunities for profitable investment abroad.

86. American capital was not interested in the industrial development of under-developed countries. Past experience and statements recently made by representatives of high finance proved that American capitalists were seeking only to exploit large natural resources for the benefit of the United States economic system. They claimed that under-developed countries should remain a source of cheap raw materials, exported in exchange for manufactured goods supplied by American industry.

87. It was obvious that such a programme did not correspond to the needs of the under-developed countries and was in flagrant contradiction with the principles which should govern the activities of the United Nations in respect of economic development.

88. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, economic development constituted a process which should involve all branches of the economic activity of the countries concerned. It could not be limited solely to agriculture or to the production of raw materials. The development of the different branches of industry, including heavy industry, depending, of course, upon the character of existing natural resources, was an indispensable part of any true economic advancement. It was clear that if such progress was to be achieved, the existing form of what was called regional specialization would have to be thoroughly changed. The Polish delegation believed that the process it had in mind would be healthy and natural.

89. Regional specialization, which various delegations had attempted to defend during the debate on that subject in the Second Committee, resulted from the existence of specific relationships between the prices of the products exchanged by various economic regions. Those relationships, however, were only the consequence of maintaining a great number of countries in a state of economic under-development and political dependence. It was just that which should be eliminated.

90. For those reasons the Polish delegation in the Second Committee had opposed the adoption of a draft resolution presented by the delegation of Uruguay which had stressed the importance of maintaining regional specialization. That draft resolution which had encountered the opposition of a large number of delegations had finally been withdrawn.

91. But the debate on that draft had shown that although a group of principles which should govern the future action of the United Nations in the field of economic development had been adopted certain delegations were attempting from the outset to limit the scope of that action and to restrain the legitimate aspirations of under-

developed countries. It was hardly necessary to stress the danger which such tendencies represented to the success of that undertaking. It demonstrated once again that some delegations confined themselves to purely formal statements in favour of the idea of the economic development of under-developed countries, whereas they actually thought that such development endangered their selfish interests.

92. The tendency had emerged even more clearly when the Second Committee had considered a draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Cuba. That draft had dealt with the problem of economic development from the point of view of trade policy. The Cuban delegation had asked the Assembly to recognize the legitimacy of a policy of protective customs tariffs favouring newly created industries in the under-developed countries.

93. That request had met with strong opposition on the part of delegations representing industrialized countries and in particular on the part of the United States delegation. Some delegations had even raised objections to the inclusion in the Cuban draft resolution of any mention of the problem of protective customs tariffs which, after all, had been the chief topic under discussion. The adoption by the Committee of an amendment submitted by the Polish delegation, asking the Economic and Social Council in the studies it might later undertake on that subject to consider the opinions expressed in the Committee on the need for protective customs tariffs as a stimulus to the economic development of under-developed countries, had led to a split in the vote so that the Cuban draft resolution had been adopted by a majority of 30 votes to 12, with one abstention. That had been, as it were, the touchstone of the sincerity of certain delegations. Once more proof had been offered that a vote on a principle could become pointless if there was no will to put that principle into practice.

94. The United States representative had said that his delegation would ask for a separate vote on the last part of the final paragraph of draft resolution D. It was clear that his object was the deletion of that part. That attitude was regrettable. It was hoped that draft resolution D would be approved as it stood.

95. The threat which such an attitude constituted to the success of the undertaking must not be underestimated. It was not enough to vote in favour of certain principles; it was more important to give sympathetic consideration to the aspirations of the under-developed countries. But it was impossible to find the least trace of sympathy or understanding in the attitude which the United States delegation had adopted on the matter.

96. If the draft resolutions submitted by the Second Committee were adopted, the General Assembly would certainly have taken a great step forward; but it was only the first step. No matter how important technical assistance was, it would not solve the problem of the economic development of under-developed countries unless it was followed by other measures. The Polish delegation laid particular emphasis on the financing of economic development which was to be discussed by the Economic and Social Council at its following session. It hoped that those discussions would be

fruitful and that a number of specific recommendations would be submitted to the General Assembly. It also hoped that those recommendations would be in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the principles which the General Assembly would endorse when it approved the draft resolutions before it. Those principles, which had been adopted at the ninth session of the Economic and Social Council, should underlie all current and future action by the United Nations with respect to economic development; they should also guide the policy of Member States towards the under-developed countries. Only thus could the United Nations successfully accomplish its work and help to promote the economic, social and political development of those countries.

97. In conclusion, Mr. Wierblowski recalled that a degree of unanimity almost unprecedented in the history of the United Nations had been achieved in the Second Committee. That proved that despite existing differences of opinion it was possible to reach agreement, given enough good will. He also thought that that degree of unanimity had been achieved because the principles of the United Nations Charter had consistently been taken as the basis in drafting the recommendations. It was therefore clear that the faithful application of the spirit and the letter of the Charter constituted a solid basis for co-operation between Member States.

98. Mr. PATIJN (Netherlands) felt that the last paragraph of draft resolution D should not be accepted by the General Assembly. That paragraph recommended that the Economic and Social Council should take into account a discussion which had taken place in the Second Committee and, in particular, the opinions expressed regarding the necessity for protective customs tariffs as an efficient factor in the creation and development of the national industries of under-developed countries.

99. The fact that special governmental assistance might be needed to promote the establishment, development or reconstruction of particular industries and that, in appropriate circumstances, the grant of such assistance in the form of protective measures was justified, was no longer open to question and did not require recognition by the General Assembly as a new general principle. That principle had already been codified in article 13 of the Havana Charter and provision had been made for its application in article 18 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The last part of the final paragraph of draft resolution D therefore raised an important point of procedure. Most Members of the United Nations had already accepted explicit obligations covering the problem of commercial protection for economic development.

100. The Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment had been signed by fifty-six countries, of which forty-seven were Members of the United Nations. The Havana Charter was at the moment before the legislatures of almost all those countries, and some of its provisions were already being applied by thirty-three nations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Notwithstanding those facts, the draft resolution before the Assembly stated in general terms a principle which had been incorporated in the Havana Charter and in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in a

special article of no less than ten paragraphs and many sub-paragraphs, each of which had its own long history of study and debate.

101. It was impossible to put such a principle into one short sentence without disturbing the balance of the complicated text of the convention. The experts had found it impossible to condense the idea and the procedure for its application, and the Netherlands delegation therefore felt that the General Assembly should not try to do so. Any attempt by the General Assembly to summarize a carefully drafted and lengthy text was bound to change the meaning of the text.

102. Since the draft resolution as it stood stressed only one general idea out of a complicated context of rules and procedures, it would be understood as an attempt to change the emphasis, to disturb the balance, to by-pass the provisions of the Havana Charter and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

103. Mr. Patijn did not agree, therefore, with the representatives of Egypt and Mexico that the latter part of draft resolution D repeated a principle which had already found expression in the Havana Charter and that its deletion would tend to change the provisions of the Havana Charter regarding protective customs tariffs. If all the provisions of the Havana Charter on that point had been repeated, that would be true. The difficulty was, however, that the last part of the draft resolution stated only one part of the principles laid down in the Havana Charter and therefore altered the emphasis and impaired a carefully established balance.

104. While opposing that part of the draft resolution, the Netherlands delegation did not in any way oppose the idea of special protective measures for the promotion of economic development. It had not the slightest intention of opposing an idea that had been laid down in the Havana Charter.

105. The representative of Poland had just stated that those who opposed that part of the draft resolution were insincere. That was a somewhat sweeping statement. The Netherlands delegation opposed the idea that the General Assembly should intervene by means of a resolution in a subject which had been fully covered by an expert body of its own Members at a conference convened under its own auspices.

106. The delegation of the Netherlands would therefore vote against the latter part of the last paragraph of draft resolution D.

107. Mr. ALVAREZ (Cuba) said his country fully agreed with the principles set forth in draft resolutions A, B and C. With reference to draft resolution D, he recalled that the original draft resolution presented by his delegation had contained a paragraph in which the General Assembly recognized the necessity of establishing special protective customs tariffs in certain cases in under-developed countries in order to stimulate and promote their industrialization and economic development. That paragraph had met with particular opposition, not so much because it stated the principle, recognized in commercial agreements and treaties, that protective tariffs assisted economic development, but because it had been thought that to enunciate that principle in a resolution whose main purpose was to recommend

study of aspects of international economic and commercial policy likely to further or hinder the economic development of backward countries, might to some extent prejudice that study.

108. Possibly in deference to the suggestions of many delegations, the representatives of Iraq, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Syria had submitted an amendment to the Cuban draft resolution substituting for the two last paragraphs, one of which referred to special protective tariffs, a text which, while remaining faithful to the spirit of the original draft, attempted to reconcile the most important differences which had emerged during the debate.

109. At a subsequent informal meeting, the Cuban delegation had agreed to the amendment and to the deletion of the paragraph on protective tariffs. It had done so in order to gain as many supporters as possible for the draft resolution and because it had thought that the operative part of the text would be more effective in practice if it were adopted unanimously or at least by a great majority.

110. The organs of the United Nations could not impose their decisions in economic matters on Member States. They could only approve recommendations, which would be accepted by Governments of Member States only to the extent to which agreement had been achieved among them. The economic dependence of the under-developed countries on the industrialized countries was so great that if the latter did not of their own free will make the necessary adjustments in tariffs and trade, it would be very difficult to achieve the objectives of draft resolution D.

111. In order to obtain unanimous approval of its draft resolution, the Cuban delegation had not only accepted the amendment of Iraq, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Syria and deleted the paragraph on protective tariffs, but had also accepted the Chinese representative's suggestion; that suggestion had met with the support of the countries which until then had opposed the draft resolution.

112. When unanimous approval of the Cuban draft had seemed certain, Poland had suddenly submitted an amendment. The amendment had been an attenuated version of the Cuban paragraph concerning the necessity of special protective tariffs, the paragraph which had been deleted as a result of the amendment of Iraq, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Syria. The Polish amendment had been adopted by a majority of only one vote.

113. The inclusion of the Polish amendment in the Cuban draft resolution had dispelled the hope of unanimous approval which, as Mr. Alvarez had said, would have been of great importance for the accomplishment of the basic aims of the resolution.

114. The Cuban delegation drew the General Assembly's attention to that important fact. The paragraph concerning protective tariffs for under-developed countries had been deleted from the original draft resolution for the sake of securing very general, if not unanimous, support for what could be considered the most important part of the draft resolution. It had been dropped for reasons of expediency and procedure, as the Cuban delegation in fact felt that the principle of

protective tariffs for under-developed countries could be considered in due time by the Economic and Social Council once some progress had been made in the studies on the influence of international economic and commercial policy on the economic development of under-developed countries.

115. The Cuban delegation therefore expressly reserved its right to reconsider, whenever circumstances warranted, the important problem of protective tariffs as an effective factor in the development of the economies of under-developed countries.

116. If those considerations were borne in mind, it would be possible to promote a spirit of understanding and compromise which would make it easier to arrive at the radical solutions whose necessity would become apparent as a result of the studies and investigations on the effects of international economic and commercial policy on the economic development of under-developed countries.

117. The PRESIDENT said that to judge from the voting in the Second Committee and from the debate which had taken place in the Assembly, there was unanimity with regard to draft resolutions A, B and C. Hence, if there were no objections he would declare draft resolutions A, B and C adopted unanimously.

Resolutions A, B and C were adopted unanimously.

118. The PRESIDENT stated that, at the request of the representative of the United States, draft resolution D would be voted upon in two parts. He would therefore begin by putting to the vote the first and second paragraphs and the first part of the third paragraph, ending with the words "with a view to making recommendations to the General Assembly". A roll-call vote had been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Cuba, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: None.

The first part of the resolution was adopted by 55 votes to none.

119. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the remainder of the last paragraph of draft resolution D beginning with the words "taking into account the discussion".

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Turkey, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia.

Against: Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, Sweden.

Abstaining: Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Nicaragua, Philippines, Syria, Thailand.

The second part of the last paragraph was rejected by 21 votes to 20, with 14 abstentions.

120. The PRESIDENT stated that if there were no objections, he would declare draft resolution D adopted as amended.

Resolution D was adopted.

121. The PRESIDENT next turned to the report of the Fifth Committee (A/1072). Inasmuch as no action was required on the budgetary aspects of resolutions A and B which had just been adopted, the General Assembly could simply take note of the comments of the Fifth Committee.

122. He would depart from the President's accustomed non-participation in debates to speak on the question on which the Assembly had just taken a decision. In justification of that unusual procedure, he cited the fact that the three resolutions on technical assistance to under-developed countries had been unanimously approved, thus establishing one more solid precedent, unfortunately all too rare in the Assembly's deliberations, of general agreement on a matter of universal concern. It was heartening to witness that demonstration of unanimity upon such a vital subject. Despite the bitter political differences which had divided Members on other questions, they had not hesitated to accept joint responsibility for the success of that beneficent enterprise.

123. He wished to commend the efforts of the Chairman of the Second Committee, Mr. Santa Cruz, under whose able chairmanship the resolutions had been drafted, debated and adopted by a Committee composed of Member States, all of which must be praised for their co-operation in bringing about the successful result.

124. Credit must also be given to the Secretary-General and to his staff. The Secretary-General had fought for the idea during the most difficult days of the United Nations and had been untiring in his efforts to have the plan properly implemented. Four months previously the Economic and Social Council had done excellent and constructive pioneering work on the subject. The programme of technical assistance was one of the most constructive acts of international statesmanship ever performed under the auspices of the United Nations. Members should all feel proud that it was going to be reported as one of the

achievements of the current session of the General Assembly.

Discriminations practised by certain States against immigrating labour and, in particular, against labour recruited from the ranks of refugees: report of the Third Committee (A/1052)

125. Mr. VRBA (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur of the Third Committee, presented the report of that Committee and the accompanying draft resolution (A/1052).

126. The item had originally been proposed by the Polish delegation at the first part of the third session of the General Assembly¹ and had been considered by the Third Committee at its meetings on 14, 15 and 17 October 1949².

127. The report showed that a Polish draft resolution had been rejected in the Committee by a series of votes on the individual paragraphs. The votes on the different paragraphs had ranged from 18 to 25 votes against the draft resolution and from 6 to 8 votes in favour of it, with 15 to 21 abstentions. A counter-proposal to the Polish draft resolution, namely, a draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the United Kingdom, had been adopted by the Third Committee by 37 votes to 6, with 4 abstentions, after it had been completed by the amendment of the Mexican delegation.

128. Mrs. ROOSEVELT (United States of America) stated that the draft resolution submitted by the Polish delegation, which had been defeated in the Third Committee by a series of decisive votes, was being reintroduced as document A/1084. She would like to recapitulate very briefly the reasons which had led her delegation to oppose that draft resolution in the Committee and which would, in her view, lead to its defeat in the Assembly.

129. The Polish draft resolution dealt in a very general way with a principle of which all Members were in favour. Discrimination against immigrant labour was something which all Governments deplored and sought to eradicate. It was a question, however, which had many technical ramifications. It was not possible to set down in half a page of general clauses the basis for international action on an extremely complicated subject.

130. Fortunately, the conclusions of the International Labour Organisation on the subject were available. The ILO's Convention concerning Migration for Employment and its recommendation on that matter were instruments which had been carefully prepared and carefully negotiated. What was even more significant was that they had been adopted by most Member States of the United Nations. Mrs. Roosevelt saw no reason for the United Nations to traverse that ground again. The draft resolution adopted by the majority of the members of the Third Committee took into account the work which had been done by the ILO and provided that the ILO should be informed of the Assembly's discussions. That seemed to her sufficient.

131. The United States delegation therefore supported the draft resolution adopted by the Third

¹ See *Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Part I, Plenary Meetings of the General Assembly, Annexes, document A/614.*

² See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly, Third Committee, 249th, 250th and 251st meetings.*

Committee and would vote against the draft resolution which had been resubmitted by the Polish delegation.

132. The PRESIDENT regretted that he had failed to call on the representative of Poland, who had registered his name first. The General Assembly had before it a substitute draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Poland. With due apologies to the delegation of Poland, he called on the Polish representative.

133. Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) said that the Polish delegation had submitted its draft resolution on immigrating labour because the problem was of great importance to millions of human beings in many countries both from a social and from a humanitarian point of view.

134. It was well known that foreign workers were the victims of particular exploitation and discrimination. The General Assembly must take action to afford them social, legal and economic protection. Millions of human beings could not find work in their homelands and were obliged to look for it elsewhere. At the moment their number was increased by the refugees and displaced persons recruited from camps in Germany by missions from the countries of immigration which were thus obtaining cheap labour.

135. Although Poland was no longer a country of emigration and ensured full employment for all its citizens within its own boundaries, it was directly interested in the problem since it was concerned about the fate of Polish citizens who had left their fatherland between the two wars, seeking the bitter bread of exile, or who had been forcibly driven from their native country by the Nazis and were scattered throughout the capitalistic world which looked on them as easily exploitable labour.

136. The discussion in the Third Committee had shown that the problem was serious and demanded an effective solution. The problem was all the more urgent since migration was still continuing as a result of the policy of the International Refugee Organization and its agents and as a result of the increase in unemployment in some of the "Marshallized" countries of Europe, especially Italy.

137. The Polish representative had given many examples to the Third Committee showing that discrimination of which immigrant labour was the victim, was particularly noticeable in the matter of salaries. Immigrant workers were given the hardest kind of unskilled work and had no chances of promotion or professional training. There was no need to go into details to show the low level of wages which, for example, immigrant miners received in the United Kingdom, manual workers in Latin America or Puerto Ricans in the United States.

138. Discrimination was equally serious where security and work hygiene were concerned. Furthermore, in many countries foreign workers who had accidents at work or who suffered from occupational diseases did not enjoy the social insurance and allowances to which national workers were entitled. When incapacitated they were thrown out and left to starve to death. The case of the displaced persons working without contracts in Belgium who had been sent back to Germany when they had fallen ill would not be forgotten.

139. Housing conditions for immigrant workers were generally bad. In that connexion it was sufficient to recall a series of articles on the shocking housing conditions of Puerto Ricans in the slums of the great modern metropolis in which the United Nations was situated; those articles had been published a few weeks previously in the *New York Post* at the very time when one delegation had submitted a counter-proposal in the Third Committee and had expressed doubt regarding the expediency of the discussion and the need for United Nations action in the matter. As a further example, mention might be made of the primitive living conditions prevailing in the frequently vermin-infested barracks which did not meet the most elementary needs of hygiene and which were inhabited by displaced persons working in the United Kingdom, in France, and in Louisiana and elsewhere in the United States.

140. The members of the Assembly would certainly remember the story of the famous farm in Manitoba, Canada, where displaced persons, dressed in rags, had worked on the sugar beet plantations ten hours a day and had lived packed in tumble-down, badly heated, filthy huts infested with vermin and rats, no more than thirty miles from Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba. There was no need to go into the wretched living and working conditions of the displaced persons in certain countries in Latin America, since the IRO itself had had to give up the idea of settling them in those countries.

141. Displaced persons were subjected to exceptional discrimination among immigrant workers. It was well known that in certain recruiting countries, such as Canada, immigrating displaced persons were forced to accept contracts of one or two years' duration which bound them to the factories or plantations and gave them no possibility of changing not only the kind but even the place of their work. Their position became very much that of serfs in the Middle Ages.

142. How could certain delegations rise in indignation when the Polish delegation called the IRO a slave-trading agency?

143. It was the duty of the United Nations to put an end to the wretched situation of hundreds of thousands of miserable human beings torn from their native soil.

144. It was obvious that immigrant labour needed effective protection. Although the laws of several countries theoretically recognized the equality of the economic and social rights of immigrant workers, in practice the immigrants fell victim to every kind of abuse.

145. In order to protect the equality of rights of immigrant workers more effectively and in order to prevent employers from exploiting the peculiarly difficult position of those workers as a means of pressure to lower the living standards of national workers, the Polish delegation was proposing in its draft resolution the conclusion of bilateral inter-governmental conventions. Those conventions must lay down immigration conditions as well as living and working conditions and must be negotiated in participation with the trade unions of the countries concerned.

146. The protection of trade union rights was of the first importance. In various countries, recently, the danger to which the immigrant worker was exposed when he took part in union activities

carried on by national workers in order to assert their rights had been clearly demonstrated. Administrative bodies took savage action against him and, when that was not sufficient, deported him.

147. In France, Polish workers and miners, although settled there for many years, were arrested or deported when they took part in the union activities of their French comrades; yet the convention concluded between France and Poland in 1920 was still in force and guaranteed trade union rights for Polish workers, including the right to strike. At the same time, paradoxical as it might seem, the French Government, since 1948, had placed difficulties in the way of the repatriation of workers who wished to return to Poland.

148. The representative of Poland on the Third Committee had cited many cases of the arrest of Polish workers, of brutal treatment by the police and of expulsions without due warning for the mere fact of having taken part in a strike. Although the representative of France on the Third Committee had alleged that those had been isolated cases, it must be pointed out that those so-called isolated cases were increasing to such an extent that they were becoming a system. The mere fact that Polish workers were deprived of the right to strike was a flagrant violation of an essential trade union right. The representative of France had believed he could put matters right by asserting that reprisals for strike activities, especially during the miners' strike in 1948, had been applied equally to the French miners. The feelings which the French working class harboured about the authors of such reprisals were well known. And that attack on the trade union rights of the working class had occurred at the very moment when the French delegation was styling itself the champion of the universality of the declaration of human rights at the Third session of the General Assembly in Paris.

149. In its reprisals against foreign workers who took part in strikes, the French Government had gone so far as to deport such workers from French territory.

150. All those facts served to show the great importance of ensuring equality of treatment for immigrant labour in connexion with the application of trade union rights.

151. Under the Polish draft resolution, emigrant workers had an opportunity to transmit part of

their wages to their families in the country of emigration. The sole purpose of that measure was to mitigate the poverty of those families; it had been one of the recommendations of the World Federation of Trade Unions, designed in the first place to affect Italian workers. The objection had been raised that it should be possible to transmit savings not to the country of origin but to the country where the family of the emigrant worker was living. The representative of Poland would be prepared to accept an amendment to that effect.

152. Finally, the Polish draft resolution proposed repatriation at the expense of the country of immigration; such a measure would serve as a weapon against the iniquitous exploitation of foreign labour.

153. The Polish representative was absolutely opposed to the draft resolution of the Third Committee, based on the draft submitted by the United Kingdom, the purpose of which was to strike the problem from the agenda of the Assembly.

154. The convention of the International Labour Organisation, to which the delegations of the United Kingdom and the United States had referred, would not settle the problem. Like many other instruments of the ILO, that convention would probably be ratified by many of the members of that organization but many Members of the United Nations were not members of the ILO. The convention itself consisted of a basic text, comprising extremely general principles and three annexes dealing with the most important detailed regulations. Yet, according to article 14 of the convention, that instrument might be ratified even if one, two or all the annexes were dropped and the convention as a whole would therefore become useless.

155. The Polish representative wished to point out that his country had ratified ILO conventions and had implemented them. The reason why it had not voted for the convention in question was that it did not consider that it could be effective. A resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations recommending non-discrimination against emigrant workers would, however, have such extensive moral force that it might contribute to the solution of a highly important social problem.

156. The PRESIDENT declared the list of speakers closed.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Thursday, 17 November 1949, at 10.45 a.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

Discriminations practised by certain States against immigrating labour and, in particular, against labour recruited from the ranks of refugees: report of the Third Committee (A/1052) (concluded)

1. Mrs. CASTLE (United Kingdom), speaking on a point of order, asked how it was that although the USSR had not been among the remaining

speakers on the item under consideration when the President had closed the list at the 242nd meeting, the USSR representative was to be allowed to speak.

2. The PRESIDENT explained that the representative of the Soviet Union had said he had sent his secretary to the administrative officer to place his name on the list of speakers at the time of the closing of the list. The same had happened in the case of the representative of Yugoslavia. The