

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**908th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 27 October 1960,  
at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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**President:** Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Matsudaira (Vice-President), took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 29**

**Economic development of under-developed countries**

**REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/4551)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The report before the General Assembly in document A/4551 contains in its paragraph 18 a draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee and entitled "Provision of food surpluses to food-deficient peoples through the United Nations system". Unless there is any proposal that this report should be open to discussion, interventions will be limited to explanations of votes.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.*

*Mr. Ahmad (Pakistan), Rapporteur of the Second Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/4551) and then spoke as follows:*

2. Mr. AHMAD (Pakistan) (Rapporteur of the Second Committee): At its 649th, 650th, 652nd and 655th to 658th meetings, the Second Committee considered a draft resolution "Provision of food surpluses to food-deficient peoples through the United Nations system", jointly co-sponsored by the delegations of Canada, Haiti, Liberia, Pakistan, the United States of America and Venezuela [A/4551, para. 18]. After an exhaustive discussion in the course of which the sponsors showed themselves willing to accommodate, as much as possible, the ideas and suggestions put forward in the Committee, the draft resolution was adopted.

3. The sponsors no less than the members of the Committee showed a great spirit of co-operation and helpfulness in developing and elaborating the ideas contained in the draft resolution. This, together with the fact that the draft resolution was adopted unanimously, reflects its fundamental humanitarian principles and purposes.

4. The draft resolution is based on the conviction of the impelling need to solve the problem of hunger and malnutrition among many peoples and of the role that the United Nations system can play in actions designed to help solve this critical problem. Among its opera-

tive paragraphs, paragraph 4 invites the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), after consulting the Governments of Member States, the Secretary-General and appropriate specialized agencies of the United Nations, to establish without delay procedures, in particular for consultation and the dissemination of information by which, with the assistance of the United Nations system, the largest practicable quantities of surplus food may be made available on mutually agreeable terms as a transitional measure against hunger. Such procedures should be compatible with normal developments as a contribution to economic development in less developed countries and without prejudice to bilateral arrangements for this purpose, and they should also be compatible with the FAO principles.

5. I recommend that the draft resolution contained in the report be adopted.

6. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

7. Mr. ZAIN (Indonesia): The purpose of my intervention is to clarify briefly my delegation's position with regard to the draft resolution on the provision of food surpluses, as introduced by Canada, Haiti, Liberia, Pakistan, the United States and Venezuela.

8. We wholeheartedly support the humanitarian objectives of this six-Power initiative. Hunger is a terrible thing; it is a disgrace to mankind, to all of us, and the sooner we eradicate it from the surface of the earth, the better. It is gratifying to note that, in facing human suffering, the Second Committee has been able to act unanimously. It proves that we can develop concerted action if we only realize that we are so dependent on each other in this small world.

9. The draft resolution has some other aspects regarding which my delegation has some reservations. I do not believe that the economic development of the less developed countries would be directly or substantially stepped up by the availability of food surpluses, however helpful they might be. Economic development requires other things on which I do not want to elaborate.

10. I would only like to mention a few requirements, such as stable revenues, savings, technical and managerial know-how and planning. It would be wrong to expect too much from the provision of food surpluses to food-deficient countries with regard to their economic development. In fact, the economy of some other countries might even be seriously harmed if the necessary precautions are not taken. I am glad to note that such precautions are incorporated in the six-Power draft resolution.

11. I would further like to go on record that we do not consider the machinery as envisaged by the draft resolution on food surpluses as institutional. There again, I am happy that a temporary, or transitional, character of relief is stressed in the draft.

12. There is another aspect to which I would like to draw attention. My delegation does not wish to consider the provision of food surpluses, as envisaged, as a pattern for the solution of the problem of surpluses of any primary products, including foodstuffs. Unstable export markets cannot and must not be overcome by way of the disposal of the relevant commodities as incorporated in the draft resolution. Fluctuations, including those caused by surpluses, are an economic problem for which adequate economic solutions must be found. They should not be confused with actions directed toward relieving the sufferings of hunger-stricken fellow human beings.

13. In my delegation's view, the draft resolution of the six Powers has a humanitarian character. It is as such that we intend to vote for it.

14. Mr. SUMULONG (Philippines): In behalf of my delegation, I should like to explain the vote that we are about to cast on the draft resolution now before the Assembly. Briefly, we wish to define our position on the salient points of this resolution.

15. By the unanimous passage of this draft resolution in the Second Committee, it is demonstrated that no country can possibly take any other position than that of supporting all possible measures that can be devised to meet the problems of hunger, malnutrition, and all other forms of human suffering that retard progress towards a higher standard of living and a closer parity between the more fortunate and highly-producing countries and those still in the process of development.

16. However, in spite of the fact that this draft resolution is, to most of us, sufficiently clear in its most important aspects, we should like to stress that our favourable vote was premised in the following understanding:

(1) That the disposal of such surpluses in the manner contemplated in this resolution must always be considered as a transitional measure;

(2) That the primary objective in the disposal of surpluses should be to take care of emergency situations or similar conditions that are temporary in character;

(3) That the supply of these surpluses to developing countries will not in any way impair the natural development of their own agricultures towards self-sufficiency;

(4) That all necessary safeguards will be taken against adverse effects on the trade of natural exporting countries and their historical markets, further taking into account the necessity of providing sufficient leeway for the expansion of this trade in years to come;

(5) That every possible precautionary measure will be taken to prevent the re-sale of products secured under special conditions on the basis of this draft resolution to other countries, in detriment to, or in interference with, the markets of the aforementioned natural exporting countries which depend on the export of food commodities for their financial stability;

(6) Every country here conversant with the world market in food products is aware of the problem arising from surpluses and over-production. To control this, several international organizations have been

established. Their operations have, at times, been successful. It is the point of view of my delegation that if, in the accumulation of surpluses in one commodity or another, nothing is done to check it at the source, in the long run such accumulations could result in a disequilibrium in prices and a dislocation of world markets.

17. The motives which prompted the sponsors to submit this draft resolution are not disputed. It would seem, however, that the machinery or measures proposed to implement it are, to a certain extent, too complicated and cumbersome, and not commensurate with its objective, which is to make the surpluses available to the needy without unnecessary delay, without delay caused unnecessarily and, at times, by excessive bureaucratic practices. However, we have implicit faith and confidence in FAO. Our faith and confidence in this Organization is the guarantee that the purposes and aims of this resolution will be implemented with utmost efficiency.

18. The Philippines is proud of the fact that it was one of the founders of the FAO and signed its original charter in 1943. Since then, we have continued our membership therein and have always taken active and sustained interest in the organization. We therefore hope that, in line with its campaign of freedom from hunger, FAO will adopt measures and procedures for the speedy and effective implementation of this resolution.

19. Mr. RAJAPATIRANA (Ceylon): The Ceylon delegation is happy to support the draft resolution which aims eventually at providing food surpluses to food-deficient peoples. There are, however, certain observations which the Ceylon delegation would wish to make.

20. The production of food surpluses and their distribution on mutually agreeable terms is not a permanent solution of the problems of surpluses of the countries faced with surpluses, nor of the problems of economic development of the less developed countries. The real solution to the problem is the accelerated economic development of the less developed countries; and for that, international capital assistance on a massive scale is necessary. With such capital assistance the world economy will truly expand, and not be as it is, with one part of the world blest with surpluses or even economic waste, and the other part of the world undergoing the hardships of food deficiency, if not the pangs of hunger.

21. This draft resolution, for a variety of reasons, cannot, of course, reflect the many views expressed in the Committee; nor is it reasonably possible to expect the Rapporteur's report to take into account all the views, which are various and at times have been divergent. Nevertheless, the views of delegations as expressed in the Committee were very important. Hence, the Ceylon delegation suggested that the views expressed in the Committee should be considered by those who are required to make the report as under the resolution and that this might be done by making the records available. We are happy that the suggestion was accepted and that the records will be submitted to FAO and the other agencies. We take it that the Secretary-General and the agencies will, of course, have the records before them in making the report as required under the draft resolution.

22. The PRESIDENT: Since the Second Committee adopted the draft resolution contained in document A/4551, paragraph 18, unanimously, may I take it that it is likewise adopted in plenary?

*In the absence of any objection, the draft resolution was adopted.*

23. The PRESIDENT: I now recognize the representative of the Sudan who wishes to explain his vote.

24. Mr. HASSAN (Sudan): The Sudan delegation voted in favour of this draft resolution on the provision of food surpluses to food-deficient peoples through the United Nations system for the following three reasons: first, because of its humanitarian objective, that of feeding the hungry. When FAO launched its "freedom from hunger" campaign, the Sudan pledged moral and material support to foster the aims of this noble movement. As a matter of fact, the "freedom from hunger" campaign was launched in the Sudan in the name of His Excellency the President of the Sudan, thus giving it the highest significance and endorsement possible.

25. When the tragic natural disasters occurred in Morocco and Chile, the Sudan delegation showed deep concern over the lack or inadequacy of the United Nations system in meeting such emergency situations. We do hope that the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, will take the necessary steps to create a machinery for assisting peoples that face emergency disasters such as those which only recently struck our sister country, Pakistan, causing great devastation, loss of life and material damage. Again, emergency situations could be caused by political and economic breakdown, as recently happened in the Congo, disrupting the normal progress of agricultural production and commercial activities in that country. The Sudan was among the first countries to send food to the Congo. Whatever the causes may be, the Sudan delegation supports the draft resolution on the provision of food surpluses to food-deficient peoples through the United Nations system, on condition that the disposal of these surpluses does not damage the desirable agricultural development of the less-developed countries.

26. The second reason for giving our support to this draft resolution is that we believe that it is a step forward towards the expansion of existing United Nations facilities for promoting international co-operation and consultation. Effective consultations and exchanges of information are the only safeguards, in this world of inter-dependence, against possible damage to normal trading. It is a healthy development indeed, thanks to the continuous efforts and activities of the United Nations, that the world community has developed a sense of responsibility and adequate experience in the technique of international co-operation and consultation.

27. We look forward to the FAO's report in this matter and to its recommendations on this serious problem of the disposal of surplus food commodities. We are confident that FAO will produce, as usual, an objective and positive report which will be the first practical step towards action and to a solution compatible with its principles, as well as guidance for the implementation of the disposal of surplus foods.

28. Now we come to the third reason for voting in favour of this six-Power draft resolution, namely, recognition of the fact that the most effective and most

permanent solution of the problem of poverty and hunger in the world is to help the under-developed countries to produce their own foods and utilize their own natural resources in the interest of their progressive and well-balanced economy and development.

29. The aim of all this should always be to help the under-developed countries to raise their productivity by accelerated industrialization and diversification of their production, thus contributing to the improvement of their standards of living.

30. At this juncture the Sudan delegation wishes to render its sincere thanks and congratulations to the six co-sponsors of this draft resolution, especially the United States which, during the Committee's heated discussion of this subject, adopted a healthy attitude which enabled us to arrive at a unanimously agreed draft resolution.

31. The Sudan delegation has already mentioned in the debate on this draft resolution in the Second Committee [647th meeting] that the draft resolution embodied important principles which we wish to see extended to include other agricultural commodities, especially cotton. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to say a word about this problem.

32. The Sudan depends for its foreign earnings on the sale of cotton on the world markets. In his statement to the General Assembly during this session at the 887th meeting, His Excellency the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ahmed Kheir, emphasized that the Sudan is a great believer in free trade, so that the disposal of cotton surpluses without prior effective consultation constitutes for us an interference in the normal course of international trade. It is our policy that these surpluses must not be allowed to damage the course of normal trade interests, and the progress of agricultural development in the under-developed countries.

33. The Sudan delegation is convinced that the cotton surpluses, accumulated in enormous quantities mostly in the United States, are not the result of normal commercial stocks produced under normal competitive conditions of supply and demand, but may be the direct result, if I may say so, of agricultural protectionism and artificial incentives. We ask the producers of cotton surpluses, especially the United States, to consider the possible effects on countries like my own when disposing of those surpluses. Any disposal must be compatible with desirable agricultural development in the under-developed countries, and in conformity with FAO's principles against dumping. Our experience is that cotton disposal, which can hardly be argued as distributed for humanitarian purposes, has adversely affected the commercial sale of our cotton, and has interfered with the normal pattern of world cotton markets. So we would welcome all steps that the producers of cotton surpluses may take, and any precautions that may be taken, to avoid harmful effects to third parties when disposing of cotton surpluses. We welcome effective consultations, conducted well in advance, which must be designed to avoid disturbances to the normal flow of trade.

34. In conclusion, we are grateful to the representatives who co-sponsored this draft resolution, and especially to the United States for taking the initiative in presenting us with this positive and constructive proposal. We hope that its principles and guiding lines

will be extended to other agricultural commodities, especially cotton.

35. Mr. CHERNYSHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation considers that the United States, in taking its precipitate initiative for the disposal of agricultural surpluses through the United Nations system, was moved mainly by domestic political and economic considerations, as the Soviet delegation previously stated during the debate in the Second Committee [647th meeting].

36. It is quite clear that the solution of the vital problem of hunger and food shortages in the under-developed countries requires a different approach, more constructive than that suggested by the United States delegation: what has to be done is to create conditions for increased agricultural production in the under-developed countries themselves, so as to free them from economic dependence on foreign countries and on the so-called "surpluses".

37. Steps which could, we think, be taken are land reform, the supply to the under-developed countries of agricultural machinery and seeds, the dispatch of specialists to give them technical assistance, and similar other important measures.

38. In addition, the United Nations should take appropriate action to improve the terms of trade between the highly developed and the under-developed countries, so as to put an end to the unbalanced trade which causes serious material harm to the under-developed countries.

39. Other steps under the auspices of the United Nations must also be taken.

40. At the same time I should like to state that, because the original United States draft resolution [A/C.2/L.459] was suitably amended in the interests of the under-developed countries and now contains important provisions for safeguards and measures in accordance with FAO principles against the dumping of agricultural surpluses on the international market, the Soviet delegation was able to vote in favour of the draft resolution in its final form.

41. Mr. AYARI (Tunisia) (translated from French): If full effect is given to our decision to make agricultural surpluses available to food-deficient peoples, I believe that our action will be regarded as one of the major achievements of the international community. However my delegation believes that the decision will only be implemented if the undernourished peoples are regularly provided—and I would stress the word "regularly"—with healthful food in ample quantities, bearing in mind the capacity to pay of the countries concerned.

42. It is for that reason that my delegation supported the request for clarification of the word "conditions" in the original text of the draft resolution.

43. I do not propose to comment further on the highly humanitarian purposes of the draft resolution—which have been emphasized by every speaker—other than to say that it is in view of those purposes that my delegation has voted in favour of the draft. I should, however, like to draw attention to two points. The first is the presumed link between the acceleration of economic development and the distribution of agricultural surpluses to food-deficient countries. The

representative of Guinea referred to this point [at the 657th meeting of the Second Committee] and the representative of Indonesia referred to it just a few moments ago. The fact cannot, I think, be over-emphasized that all the elements needed to promote growth—for example capital—must be made available to the under-developed countries, and not food surpluses alone.

44. I believe that the foreign currency savings likely to result from the provision of food in this way—and I am confirmed in this view by my own country's experience—will be very small and insufficient to promote the steady growth of the under-developed economies.

45. The second point to which I wish to refer concerns the amendment which was submitted to the Second Committee at its 658th meeting and, I regret to say, rejected—calling for the replacement of the words "all Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies" by the words "all States" and the replacement of the word "multilateral" by the words "mutually beneficial".

46. In this connexion, I should like again, as I did briefly at the same meeting of the Second Committee in explaining my delegation's vote, to express my regret at the wholly unjustified rejection of the words "all States". All States without exception, whatever the organization to which they belong and whether they are Members of the United Nations or potential members, should co-operate in the humanitarian effort we are about to undertake.

47. I do not see why any State should be barred from contributing to this humanitarian endeavour.

48. I should like also to comment on the proposal to replace the word "multilateral" by the words "mutually beneficial". The view that the replacement of bilateral trade by multilateral trade is sufficient to reduce the disequilibrium in international relations is incorrect because multilateral trade may be as unbalanced as bilateral trade and even if they enter into multilateral arrangements, the poorer countries are certainly not protected from inequalities in their trade relations. For that reason my delegation deeply regrets the decision not to include the words "mutually beneficial" in the text, even though the phrase would in practice have added little, because it is very often difficult to define the benefits accruing in international relations.

49. I believe that nothing would have been lost by including the phrase in the text.

50. My country, like Morocco, is obliged to export its surplus food products to France in order to maintain its trade balance. At the present stage, all I wish to say is that those responsible for the implementation of the draft resolution can be assured of our full co-operation.

51. Mr. GREEN (New Zealand): The New Zealand Government applauds the basic intention of the resolution before us. So long as there are food deficiencies in areas of the world, we desire to signify our assent to measures for the disposal of surplus foods, such as may exist, which might have the greatest possible humanitarian benefits.

52. There is advantage, and the resolution is useful, in that it places this fact in clear relief, in endeavours

to make disposals more effective for the economic development of less developed countries.

53. In particular, we welcome the due emphasis given in the resolution to conformity with FAO's principles and guiding lines for the disposal of surpluses. By long practice these principles have helped to preserve a balance between the interests of countries which benefit from surplus disposals on the one hand, and, on the other, preservation of market stability in the world's food markets. If there is any deficiency in international practice in this respect, it is not a deficiency in the principles themselves, but in the fact that not all members of the United Nations have as yet agreed to abide by these principles.

54. Therefore, the favourable vote of the New Zealand delegation takes account of the importance accorded by the resolution to the needs of food-deficient countries and to the requirement that action taken or contemplated under the resolution should proceed in accordance with these agreed international principles.

55. My delegation further interprets the resolution as encouraging all Members of the United Nations to assure that all surplus disposal transactions, bilateral or otherwise, proceed in accordance with the spirit of these principles, taking into account, as they do, the interacting interests of all parties who may be affected, directly or indirectly, in the disposal of agricultural surpluses.

56. Mr. BERNARDO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): My Government felt that the draft resolution as originally worded was unnecessary because its humanitarian purposes could be achieved through the implementation of the resolutions on the same subject that had been adopted by the Economic and Social Council and by the General Assembly at earlier sessions. We also felt that action in this matter was more properly the responsibility of FAO, whose competence in this field is unquestioned.

57. We did not, however, wish to oppose the countries which wanted to have new studies made and believed that the draft resolution might lead to the establishment of new procedures that would help to eliminate the problem of hunger. In my delegation's view the problem of hunger can only be properly and finally solved through economic development, by an effective increase in the rate of development of the under-developed countries.

58. We also note with satisfaction that the proposal led to a useful discussion in which these long-term objectives were emphasized and in which, thanks to the sponsors' spirit of understanding, a number of new paragraphs to which we attach great importance were included in the draft resolution.

59. My delegation's vote in favour of the draft resolution reflects our support for the humanitarian purposes to which the proposal is directed. At the same time we have reservations regarding the interpretation of operative paragraphs 4 and 5, which should not, in our opinion, be construed as authorizing the establishment of permanent bodies.

60. We also interpret operative paragraph 9, whose inclusion in the draft resolution we welcome, as meaning that foodstuffs received by countries assisted under these arrangements may not be returned to the normal world market.

61. We shall follow the implementation of the measures recommended in the draft resolution with the greatest interest and we look forward to the reports of the Director of FAO and the Secretary-General, on which we reserve the right to comment in due course.

62. Lastly, as the draft resolution refers to surpluses, we believe that a distinction should be made, as various representatives have indicated, between structural surpluses and exportable balances, or cyclic surpluses and surpluses resulting from unforeseen circumstances.

63. We hope that the present proposal sponsored by the delegations of the United States, Canada and other delegations will be followed by a further proposal directed towards the elimination of structural surpluses and of the uneconomic protectionism by which they are caused.

64. Mr. CAMARA Sikhé (Guinea) (translated from French): I wish first to ask that the French text be corrected to take into account the changes in the title which have been accepted by the sponsors. Paragraph 15 of the report [A/4551] states that on the suggestion of the representative of Ceylon, the sponsors agreed to replace the word "needy" by "food-deficient" in the English title of the draft resolution. I would therefore ask that the same correction be made in the French text and that the words "aux peuples qui en ont besoin" be replaced by the words "aux peuples qui en manquent", which would correspond to the wording of the eighth preambular paragraph. I have already consulted the Committee's Rapporteur, who informs me that it was a mistake on his part and I shall therefore not press the point.

65. The final text should therefore read as follows: "Fourniture, par l'entremise des organismes des Nations Unies, d'excédents de produits alimentaires aux peuples qui en manquent", and not "... qui en ont besoin".

66. My delegation voted in favour of this draft resolution and there is no need for me to explain the reasons for our vote. Those who have the report before them know that Guinea made a number of proposals for the amendment of various paragraphs of the preamble and the operative part. The amendments we proposed were accepted by the sponsors. We also voted in favour of the proposal because we believe that the draft resolution we have just adopted will not bring about any great change in the economic situation; because the words which we thought might be regarded as a slur on the dignity and honour of the peoples of the under-developed countries have been eliminated; and because we believe that, in considering the economic problems of the under-developed countries, attention should be concentrated, not so much on gifts of surpluses by the richer countries to the food-deficient countries, as on the fact that the economic problem, the problem of under-development, can, as my delegation pointed out in the Second Committee, only be solved by the peoples directly concerned.

67. My delegation represents an under-developed country and, as you know, my country's political situation determines our course of action and, consequently, the economic reforms which are alone capable of solving the economic problems we face. We believe that it must be left to the peoples concerned—that is, the peoples of the under-developed countries—to solve their problems, because under-development has two

causes. One is historical. Under-development results from colonialism and imperialism, which are the same thing. You know that the peoples of the so-called under-developed countries were kept under the domination of colonialism, for almost a century in the case of my country, and for two or three centuries in the case of others. Colonial domination created material conditions which not only prevented the peoples from working but also enabled the countries which were temporarily able to keep them under their control to create an economic system under which the country's entire economy—the means of production, trading arrangements and marketing of products—belonged to them.

68. The most important thing, therefore, is to ensure that the structure of this outmoded system does not persist. The countries which have won independence must be helped to find markets for their products. The peoples who now have a much clearer understanding both of their needs and their responsibilities must realize that it is not sufficient to wait for the shipment of surpluses from the rich countries. They must realize that, having broken up the economic structures which existed under the former régime, they must work to create new structures which will enable them, and them alone, to own the means of production and to produce, primarily in order to satisfy their economic needs, so that they can control both their domestic and their foreign trade. The peoples of the countries concerned must be able to set the prices

of the goods they produce, choose their own markets, and trade with all countries.

69. The disposal of surpluses, regardless of the region to which the countries providing the surpluses belong, will not solve the economic problem of the under-developed countries. My delegation voted in favour of this draft resolution in the belief that the sponsors, like those who voted in favour of the draft resolution, believed, whatever their political position, that the economically under-developed countries must be given the opportunity to affirm their personalities and to "localize" the means of production, so that markets will no longer be controlled from Amsterdam, London, New York or Paris, but by the countries concerned. The peoples must realize their needs and their responsibilities and must succeed in solving their own problems; they must be assisted in finding markets and setting prices; they must be aided by a fund, which might be set up by the United Nations; they must be provided with capital assistance, for the problem can be solved only by giving the peoples the tools and creating a situation in which they can see what their needs and their duties are.

70. The PRESIDENT: We have taken note of the change in the French text as requested by the representative of Guinea. The request will be taken care of by the Secretariat.

*The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.*