



**ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL**

*Twenty-ninth Session*

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President: Mr. C. W. A. SCHURMANN  
(Netherlands).

*Present:*

Representatives of the following States: Afghanistan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Spain, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Observers for the following Member States: Argentina, Australia, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.

The observer for the following non-member State: Federal Republic of Germany.

Representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Health Organization.

The representative of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

AGENDA ITEM 10

*Study of opportunities for international co-operation on behalf of the former Trust Territories which have become independent (E/3327, E/3338, E/L.864 and Add.1) (concluded)*

1. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan) said that Afghanistan had from the beginning favoured a study of opportunities for international co-operation on behalf of the former Trust Territories which had become independent. At the same time, it had pointed out that United Nations resources were limited and that it was desirable that they should be increased, in particular by contributions from the developed countries, as the range of the Organization's activities was expanded. As under-developed Member countries of the United Nations the Trust Territories would be entitled to assistance, but that assistance ought not to be given to them at the expense of other countries which were also in need and whose economic backwardness was, in some cases, only the penalty of an ardent desire for independence.

2. He would vote for the draft resolution (E/L.864 and Add.1) since he agreed with the Secretary-General that it would be possible to provide assistance for the new States within the framework of existing programmes if a number of minor adjustments were made. Nevertheless, he had submitted an amendment (E/L.865) which would change operative paragraph 3 in order to make it quite clear, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1415 (XIV) and earlier Council decisions, that the new assistance would not be at the expense of the other under-developed countries.

3. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) drew attention to the scale of the effort that would be needed to assist the 130 million Africans living south of the Sahara where per caput incomes were low and economic activity was based solely on the export of primary commodities whose prices were subject to wide fluctuations. In those areas, where difficulties of soil, climate and distance had to be overcome, arrangements would have to be made for inter-African economic collaboration and the technical and administrative staff needed by the new nations would have to be trained. A sound economic and social infra-structure was essential if the independence of the new nations was not to be confined to political matters. The international community could not allow a dangerous vacuum to persist and must provide assistance for the new States which, despite their youthful vigour, could not immediately make the rapid progress that was desirable. Even if they were to continue to receive the direct assistance which they had received before attaining independence, international assistance was essential to them. However, the highly developed nations, in giving such generous assistance, should not be impelled by a spirit of narrow paternalism but by sound reasoning and understanding. It was necessary to act in a genuine spirit of mutual collaboration, taking each country's individual circumstances into account.

4. To provide such assistance the United Nations had at its disposal a whole series of technical assistance programmes in the economic and social fields and the field of public administration. Apart from the specialized agencies, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and regional organs such as the Economic Commission for Africa and the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, special agencies such as the Special Fund and the International Finance Corporation had also been established. It might be possible to provide the assistance with the necessary flexibility by expanding the present programmes through voluntary contributions without drawing on the regular budget. While assistance to other countries in an equally unfavourable position should not be reduced, it had to be recognized that the assistance envisaged was a pressing necessity in view of the special difficulties facing newly independent countries during a transitional period.

5. His delegation would therefore vote for the draft resolution since it believed it was advisable to request the Secretary-General to prepare a report on the opportunities for international co-operation on behalf of newly independent countries after consultation with the Governments and international organizations concerned.

6. Mr. CHENG Paonan (China) said that it was gratifying that many Trust Territories would shortly become independent, since it was evidence of the success of the International Trusteeship System which his delegation had supported from the time of the San Francisco Conference in 1945. He congratulated the Secretary-General on his initiative, which would make it possible to provide effective aid to the countries in question within the framework of United Nations programmes. He would vote for the draft resolution.

7. Mr. ORTIZ MARTIN (Costa Rica) pointed out that within the group of under-developed countries to which the newly independent States would belong, there were countries ranging from the poorest to those that were relatively better off. Nevertheless, the needs of all the under-developed countries were urgent. Costa Rica itself had encountered great difficulties after becoming independent in a world in which there had as yet been no international organizations and was ready to vote for the draft resolution, which would perhaps allow the new nations to avoid the hard times which other nations had experienced in the past.

8. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the new States were encountering a multitude of difficulties because of their former great dependence on the countries which had administered them. The task of assisting them was an immense one and the Secretary-General was right in thinking that it would be possible only to make a preliminary examination of the question at the present stage. The Secretary-General had stated that it would not be necessary to give any special priority to those countries, but that the time factor was the essential element; other speakers had suggested that, given flexibility in the allocation of funds, the needs of the new States could be met. In his delegation's view, it was important to be guided by the directives of the General Assembly which had recognized the necessity of paying particular attention to the needs of the new States and especially of the former Trust Territories for which it had special responsibilities. That point was stressed in the draft resolution before the Council.

9. The existing technical assistance programmes and the activities of bodies such as the Special Fund and UNICEF offered the United Nations and the specialized agencies considerable opportunities for furnishing assistance. If administrative costs, which were still very high, were reduced, large sums would be released for more productive purposes. If the programmes were re-examined, it might prove possible to effect some redistribution of resources; some recipients of assistance from the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund might perhaps reconsider their requests since some of the countries concerned, particularly in Europe, were not normally considered under-developed. Finally, as a means of increasing its resources, the United Nations might correct the abnormal situation which had persisted for all too long and accept the funds which

countries such as the German Democratic Republic were ready to contribute. The refusal to accept such contributions was contrary to the interests of the under-developed countries and to the spirit of international co-operation.

10. The Secretary-General would undoubtedly take those possibilities into account in preparing the report for submission to the Council at its thirtieth session. He should not, however, place undue emphasis on the funds available under the regular budget, which were limited. The main work would have to be undertaken within the framework of the Expanded Programme, and of the activities of the Special Fund, UNICEF and the specialized agencies. In this memorandum (E/3338) the Secretary-General did not refer to the possibilities offered by the latter; that was understandable since he wished to consult them first. The USSR delegation hoped that the Secretary-General would do everything possible to secure their co-operation, since all offers of assistance would be welcome in view of the urgency of the needs to be met. His delegation hoped that the Council at its thirtieth session would have before it a recommendation from the Secretary-General that would enable it to take concrete measures for the benefit of newly independent States. Nevertheless, as the United Nations had limited resources, the assistance it furnished would not play a decisive part in the economy of the newly independent countries. The main role would belong to assistance on a bilateral basis. The Soviet Union had long been furnishing such assistance and had already provided considerable aid to young States, in particular Guinea.

11. He reserved his Government's position with regard to any financial obligations which might result from the Secretary-General's future recommendations.

12. Mr. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) congratulated the Secretary-General on his memorandum and thanked him for the further information he had given at the previous meeting. Among the many problems facing new States, the organization of public administration deserved special attention. The recommendations dealing with the programme for the provision of operational, executive and administrative personnel (OPEX) were therefore particularly welcome.

13. The Venezuelan people had a deep sense of solidarity with the newly independent countries. He recalled that his delegation had been one of the sponsors of General Assembly resolution 1414 (XIV). The United Nations had a moral duty towards the territories which it had guided to independence and should be careful not to give them the impression that it was abandoning them to their fate.

14. The draft resolution before the Council took that need fully into account and was, in his delegation's opinion, satisfactory in all respects. His delegation had however submitted an amendment (E/L.867) which would add a new preambular paragraph emphasizing the role which the Economic Commission for Africa desired to play in the provision of aid to countries emerging from trusteeship into independence.

15. Mr. LYCHOWSKI (Poland) stressed the important place occupied by General Assembly resolutions 1414 (XIV) and 1415 (XIV) in the history of international co-operation. It was the first time that the world would be concerning itself with the needs of countries

attaining independence. Most of the countries concerned had a very low per caput income and their national income was unevenly distributed. The countries in question were economically dependent on other countries and had had the greatest difficulty in obtaining their political independence. The resources which could be devoted to them were, of course, limited, but the mere fact that measures to assist them were being worked out was a remarkable advance in the philosophy of technical assistance. His delegation unreservedly supported the Secretary-General's suggestions and hoped that it would be possible to use the available resources to the best advantage. His delegation wished to assure the Governments of the newly independent countries and of the countries on the threshold of independence, and the Secretary-General, of its sympathy with the proposed plans for economic assistance.

16. With regard to the draft resolution, his delegation supported the Venezuelan amendment.

17. Mr. SCHWEITZER (Chile) said that he had read the documents before the Council (E/3337, E/3338) and listened to the Secretary-General's statement (1106th meeting) with the greatest interest. The United Nations was under a moral obligation to continue to concern itself with the countries which had been placed under its trusteeship. It was his delegation's sincere hope that all those countries would attain the highest level of development and for that reason it approved the draft resolution before the Council. At the same time, it was important that the aid provided for the former Trust Territories should not be furnished at the expense of countries which had won their independence under less favourable conditions. It would be useful, while the Council was limiting itself to a general examination of the question, to ensure that there was no danger of the appearance of discrimination which nobody desired. From that point of view, the wording of operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution was not wholly satisfactory, if the word "substantial" was considered in relation to the phrase beginning "while fully maintaining ...". His misgivings concerning the paragraph had been increased since the submission of the Afghan amendment. The difficulty could, he believed, be removed by the deletion of the word "substantial".

18. Mr. AKRAWI (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said that at its tenth session the General Conference of UNESCO had authorized the Director-General, by its resolution 1.42, to assist member States in the extension and improvement of education at all levels, including the initiation of a regional programme for tropical Africa. The Director-General had therefore undertaken a study of the needs of twenty-two countries and territories in the region. The results of that study had been published in a report submitted to the Meeting of Ministers and Directors of Education of Tropical African Countries, held at Addis Ababa from 16 to 20 February 1960. The meeting had recommended a long-term and a short-term programme of educational development. It had called upon the Governments of countries in tropical Africa to make an urgent effort to improve education, particularly at the primary stage but without neglecting general, technical or vocational secondary schools. It had also called for more educational planning in connexion with economic and social development plans. Furthermore, the meeting had

requested UNESCO to assist the Governments of tropical Africa to establish and operate regional institutions for the training of teachers and to assist in the preparation, production and distribution of cheap school textbooks and teaching materials. It had also asked that encouragement should be given to the study of the problems presented by the adaptation of curricula to local conditions, had requested UNESCO to undertake further surveys in order to facilitate sound educational planning and had recommended that the national, bilateral, regional and international agencies concerned should co-ordinate their efforts at the national level.

19. Those recommendations on assistance to tropical Africa had served as the basis for supplementary proposals by the Director-General which would be examined by the General Conference at its eleventh session. The proposals envisaged assistance in the development of sound educational planning, in the adaptation of secondary school curricula to the needs of the countries concerned, in the development of teacher-training, more particularly by the establishment of two regional centres, and in the improvement of general secondary education which was so necessary for the development of leadership in Africa, for the preparation of students for higher education and for the training of teachers. UNESCO hoped to secure the assistance of the Expanded Programme, the Special Fund and other programmes, bilateral and other, in some of those projects.

20. In addition, UNESCO was studying the social phenomena which accompanied economic development—urbanization and the social consequences of industrialization and technological progress. It was engaged in a bibliographical study of research into the natural resources of Africa. Its project on the arid zones was well known. UNESCO was following the efforts of the Secretary-General with great interest and would co-operate fully with him and with the other organizations in providing appropriate assistance to the newly independent States.

21. Mr. REYMOND (International Labour Organisation) said that the ILO was already working along the lines laid down in General Assembly resolutions 1414 (XIV) and 1415 (XIV). At its last session the ILO Governing Body had decided to invite eight territories (the Belgian Congo, the Federation of Nigeria, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, the State of Singapore, the Federation of the West Indies, the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration) to send tripartite delegations of observers to attend the forty-fourth International Labour Conference. If they so wished, the States of the French Community would also be invited.

22. In addition, the first African regional conference of the ILO would meet at the end of the year; all the countries of the continent would participate. The conference would study vocational and technical training and the relations between employers and workers, particularly problems connected with the freedom to form trade unions, joint consultations and collective bargaining. It would also examine the Director-General's report dealing with economic and social development in Africa and workers' education. The preparations for the regional conference had been made by an African consultative commission set up according to ILO's tripartite formula and consisting

of representatives of twenty countries. Considerable attention would be given to the countries which had just become or were about to become independent.

23. Moreover, for some time now the ILO had been preparing to augment its activities on behalf of newly independent States. A volume entitled African Labour Survey<sup>1/</sup> had been published some two years earlier. A further study, concerning North Africa, which had not been included in the first work, would leave the press in a few months' time. The African regional conference would undoubtedly help to decide the order of priority of the problems to be examined. The technical assistance which the ILO gave the territories in question related to the organization of employment, vocational training, the administration of labour, workers' education, social security and co-operation. The ILO could thus make a positive contribution to the consultations which the Secretary-General had said would take place at the end of the month.

24. Mr. VIAUD (France), referring to the draft resolution, proposed the addition, in operative paragraph 3, after the words "and following years" of the words "in accordance with the wishes expressed by the General Assembly in its resolutions 1382 (XIV) and 1383 (XIV)". The French delegation also proposed the insertion of the words "in particular" between the words "to permit" and the words "a substantial increase" in the same paragraph. Those changes would make it clear that the Council was acting in accordance with the recommendations of the General Assembly, that it wished additional funds to be provided for the two programmes in order to permit an appreciable extension of their activities in Africa and that it hoped that that extension would not be to the detriment of the help given to other regions.

25. The Secretary-General had not made any special reference to advisory social welfare services. However, the General Assembly had greatly increased allocations to the Secretariat for those services. That being so, the French delegation wished to state that it did not consider it necessary to provide for an increase in the sums allocated under the next budget for the purpose of advisory social welfare services.

26. Finally, he had been reassured to hear the representative of the United Kingdom say that, contrary to the information appearing in the Press, he had not changed his position. He wondered whether that incident should not be brought to the attention of the Social Committee which was at present dealing with the subject of freedom of information; for information should mean truth.

27. Mr. THORMANN (International Federation of Christian Trade Unions) said that, through its affiliates in many of the countries and territories about to achieve independence, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions had been in a position to acquire an intimate knowledge of many of the special administrative, economic, social and educational problems confronting them. Since those countries and territories did not at present possess the resources needed to solve their problems themselves, they were clearly in need of outside help. As much as possible of that help should be channelled through the United Nations. The Federation entirely endorsed the views expressed in that connexion by the Secretary-General

in his memorandum (E/3338). Nevertheless, it wished to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the need for associating the non-governmental organizations as closely as possible with the intended programme of international assistance. While it was true that in resolution 1414 (XIV) the General Assembly had recommended that the Council should seek the co-operation of non-governmental organizations, it might be wondered how widely it was recognized that the role of such organizations might well prove to be a crucial one.

28. In all the countries and territories which were about to accede to independence, the Government was called upon to play a most important role in initiating and in carrying out those economic and social development plans which were expected to bring about better standards of living for their populations. Moreover, as the Secretary-General had pointed out in paragraph 3 of his memorandum, the decisions taken during the period following independence were likely to have far-reaching consequences for the development of the newly independent States. Unless certain corrective measures were taken fairly early, the excessive power of the State during that period might have most deleterious effects on the future of the populations concerned. What was needed was to create a power to counterbalance the power of the State. Such a power could best be constituted by the free development of non-governmental organizations and, in the first place, by trade union organizations. Given the rather primitive state of the economic and social development of most of the countries considered, it was the trade unions which could most rapidly acquire influence. Moreover, by their very nature, trade unions were likely to constitute the best counterbalancing power to the inevitable concentration of economic power in the hands of the State, or, less frequently, of private enterprise. The foregoing considerations were unfortunately not motivated by mere academic considerations; they were based on the experience gathered in recent months by some affiliates of the Federation in some of the countries or territories which had acceded to independence or which were about to do so in the near future.

29. He then read a passage from the general resolution adopted by the Pan-African Workers Congress in December 1958, in which that organization, after saluting the struggle of the African peoples for the conquest of their national independence, demanded for the whole of Africa the free exercise of all the rights defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in particular political liberties, freedom of association and the right to strike. At its last congress, in 1958, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions had adopted a resolution in which it had stated that political liberation was a sham if it did not bring with it a sufficient degree of autonomy at the economic level and, further, that political structures must guarantee the fundamental liberties and rights of the citizens.

30. Consequently, the Federation requested the Council to give every possible encouragement to the activities of non-governmental organizations within the over-all framework of international co-operation on behalf of the newly independent States. In order to do so, the Council might include in its resolution a reference to the desirability of having non-governmental organizations participate actively in the pro-

<sup>1/</sup> International Labour Office, African Labour Survey, Studies and Reports, New Series, No. 48 (Geneva, 1958).

grammes of assistance to those countries, and address an appeal to all those countries not to obstruct in any way the activities of the non-governmental organizations; it might also consider the possibility of enabling some of the non-governmental organizations to participate in certain aspects of the United Nations assistance programmes designed to promote the economic and social development of the countries in question.

31. In conclusion he expressed the hope that the suggestions he had made would commend themselves to the attention of those who would have the responsibility for preparing the report referred to in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, as well as that of all the members of the Council.

32. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) asked whether it was intended, in view of sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) of operative paragraph 4, that the Secretary-General should submit in his report proposals concerning not only the opportunities offered under the regular budget of the United Nations, but also all the other opportunities offered by the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the Special Fund, the specialized agencies etc.

33. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America) replied in the affirmative.

34. The PRESIDENT proposed a brief adjournment of the meeting in order to enable the sponsors of the draft resolution and the sponsors of the various amendments to agree on a single text satisfactory to all.

*The meeting was suspended at 5.15 p.m. and resumed at 5.50 p.m.*

35. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America) announced that the consultations which had just been held had been successful. The sponsors of the draft resolution had agreed to add after the second paragraph of the preamble the new paragraph proposed by Venezuela (E/L.867) with the following changes: the deletion of the words "with appreciation", and the insertion of the words "in view of its terms of reference and" after the words "in this matter".

36. With regard to operative paragraph 3, the sponsors of the draft resolution and the Afghan and French representatives had agreed on the following amendments: the addition of the words "in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1382 (XIV), paragraph 5, and 1383 (XIV), paragraph 5 (b), that" after the words "Expresses the hope", and the deletion of the words "as appropriate" after the words "fully maintaining, or".

37. The French representative had agreed that there was no need to delete sub-paragraph (b) of operative paragraph 4, since no increase in credits was in fact contemplated for the programmes mentioned in that sub-paragraph.

38. Mr. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) said that his

delegation wished to add its name to the list of sponsors of the amended draft resolution.<sup>2/</sup>

39. Mr. VIAUD (France) thanked the sponsors of the draft resolution for having taken his amendments into account. He assumed that the words "international assistance" in the second paragraph of the preamble implied bilateral as well as multilateral assistance; that would be in keeping with the reference to bilateral and multilateral aid programmes in operative paragraph 4.

40. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America) said that the French representative's assumption was correct.

41. Mr. DUDLEY (United Kingdom) thought that the text which the Afghan delegation had proposed for operative paragraph 3 (E/L.865) was somewhat clearer than the present text. In particular the Afghan amendment contained the words "in Africa and elsewhere". He assumed, however, that the words "and elsewhere" were implicit in the present text, since certain new territories which were not located in Africa, such as the Federation of the West Indies, would become independent in the near future.

42. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand) endorsed the United Kingdom representative's observations with regard to the accession to independence of territories not located in Africa. He thought that the draft resolution should not be interpreted in a restrictive manner, a belief which was borne out by the use of the word "permit" in operative paragraph 3.

43. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan) recalled that his amendment had been intended, first, to prevent any discrimination between African territories and territories situated outside Africa, and secondly, to guarantee that the assistance granted to newly independent States should not jeopardize the assistance received by other States. The present text was altogether satisfactory on those two points.

44. Mr. SCHWEITZER (Chile) said that the consultations between the sponsors of the amendments and the sponsors of the draft resolution had clearly revealed that the sponsors of the draft resolution wanted the assistance granted to other countries to be maintained and possibly increased. That was why Chile had not pressed its amendment.

45. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the draft resolution (E/L.864 and Add.1), as amended.

*The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted unanimously.*

46. Mr. VIAUD (France) said that, while his delegation had voted in favour of the draft resolution, it naturally wished to make the customary reservations with regard to approval by the French Ministry of Finance and by the Parliament of the financial and other implications of the draft.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

<sup>2/</sup> The addition of Venezuela to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution was indicated in document E/L.864/Add.2.