



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 4:

United Nations Development Decade	
General debate (<i>concluded</i>)	77

President : Mr. J. MICHALOWSKI (Poland).

Present :

Representatives of the following States: Australia, Brazil, Colombia, Denmark, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, India, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Poland, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

Observers for the following Member States: Argentina, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Ireland, Mali, Netherlands, Sweden, United Arab Republic.

Observer for the following non-member State: Switzerland.

Representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Civil Aviation Organization, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Health Organization, World Meteorological Organization, Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization.

The representative of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

AGENDA ITEM 4

United Nations Development Decade (E/3613 and Corr.2 and Add.1-3, E/3658, E/3664; E/L.957 and Corr.1, E/L.958 and Add.1, E/L.960)

GENERAL DEBATE (*concluded*)

1. Mr. VALLADÃO (Brazil) said that, although he was going to comment on the Secretary-General's report (E/3613 and Corr.2), he wished it to be clearly understood that, while the views of his delegation might differ from the proposals of the Secretary-General in a few minor respects, there was no disagreement as to essentials.

2. The report, although very detailed as to the goals to be achieved, was rather reticent as to the means by which they were to be attained; in particular, it failed to explain how the proposed work was to be divided among the

different component parts of the Organization. If decentralization was to achieve its object, it was clear that an increasing share of United Nations activities within the Development Decade would have to be entrusted to the regional economic commissions. Yet the role of those commissions was practically ignored in the sections concerning industrialization, natural resources, transport and social development. The Secretary-General might, perhaps, prepare a supplementary report on the tasks of the Decade to be undertaken by Headquarters and the regional economic commissions respectively. The principles of co-ordination and broad policies would clearly have to be laid down at Headquarters. In the case of operational activities, however, the commissions were much better equipped than any central agency; their staffs were more familiar with conditions in the recipient countries; sources of information were within their easy reach; and they had a better knowledge of the needs of governments. Above all, the regional commissions had a much more concrete approach to problems, and were uniquely well-equipped to assume greater responsibilities in the execution of the programme for the Decade. As the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs had rightly said during the discussion on item 10 at the 1213th meeting, the stimulus for international action should come from the periphery rather than from the centre. If it responded adequately, the United Nations would undoubtedly achieve the goals set for the Decade; but it was essential that the regional organizations should have sufficient personnel and financial resources. The delegation of authority called for in General Assembly resolution 1709 (XVI) would make it possible for Headquarters to fulfil better its essential functions of policy guidance and co-ordination of programmes in their entirety. He hoped that the views set forth in his delegation's memorandum (E/3664) would be taken into account by the Secretary-General in his supplementary report on the role of the regional economic commissions in the Development Decade.

3. His next point concerned the problem of the availability of resources to carry out the programme. The Development Decade called for special efforts on the part of Member States of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and also on the part of the United Nations family of organizations as such. In the case of efforts by governments, although the measures required would undoubtedly entail substantial financial sacrifices, there was no need to specify in detail what the necessary expenses would be. In the case of action by the United Nations family of organizations, however, it seemed inevitable that some indication of the estimated expenditure should be given if governments were to have a clear picture of the programme. The resources of the

United Nations would have to be commensurate to the task, which was of gigantic proportions, for otherwise the programme would amount to little more than an enumeration of priorities. Yet the Secretary-General had not referred to the need for additional resources; he had merely said in his address at the 1214th meeting that the United Nations family could mobilize and utilize no more than the human and financial resources put at its disposal by governments. It was hard to see how the most massive international campaign ever waged against under-development could be successful on the basis of good intentions only. It was obviously unrealistic to establish the goal without specifying the means. No doubt the reason for the omission was that quantitative estimates had not yet been made and that consequently detailed financial balance sheets could not be prepared; if that were the case, such quantitative studies should be undertaken urgently, and that was the intention of the draft resolution, and especially of its operative paragraph 2, co-sponsored by Brazil (E/L.957 and Corr.1).

4. One of the difficulties of General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI) was that it referred to many problems without giving a clear indication of priorities. A more selective approach was needed; a few strategic sectors should be singled out which would have a maximum impact on the economic development of the less developed countries. Those sectors were the encouragement of industrial development, the expansion and liberalization of trade, the increased flow of capital aid, and increased technical assistance activities.

5. Although it was universally recognized that faster economic growth could be achieved by appropriate emphasis on industry and that industrialization offered the best protection against the vagaries of international trade, it often happened that industry was not given its due place in international proposals and programmes. In the United Nations itself, the balance was tilted in favour of agriculture; resources allotted to it were about forty times as great as those allotted to industry. One way of correcting the discrepancy would be to establish a specialized agency for industrial development which would be able to perform the same service for industry as FAO and WHO were performing for agriculture and health. Such an agency offered the best possible hope for the promotion of accelerated industrial development in the less developed countries; but no reference was made to it in the report's section on industry, which confined itself to industrial planning, industrial advisory services, the promotion of small-scale industries and industrial training. Little was said in the report about the need to give greater emphasis to industry in the technical assistance and pre-investment programmes of the United Nations, although the Technical Assistance Committee and the Committee for Industrial Development had insistently recommended the need for such emphasis. He did not wish to imply that industrial development should be dissociated from social and agricultural development; but the expression "balanced social and economic development" might in practice mean a one-sided emphasis on social aspects, which might well lead to misuse of desperately scarce resources. For instance, reference was made in the report to an ambitious housing plan drawn up by a group of experts; if implemented,

that plan would consume investment resources equivalent to 10 per cent of the gross national product and in many cases to the entire investment resources available in less developed countries. Such wildly unrealistic targets could severely damage the development efforts of those countries.

6. With regard to the trade problem, he welcomed the assurance given by the United States representative at the 1214th meeting that that country was seeking a solution to the problem of trade discrimination against less developed countries. His delegation also welcomed the interest shown by the United States delegation in the discussion of compensatory financial arrangements in order to mitigate the effects of price fluctuations on primary commodity exports. It was high time that all trade problems were considered as a whole, and for that reason it was both advisable and timely to convene an international trade conference early in 1963 as proposed in resolution E/L.958. Such a conference would discuss vital matters such as the effects of regional economic groupings on the economic development of less developed countries, the removal of trade barriers, compensatory financing, and state trading practices.

7. Despite the report's statement to the contrary (chap. I, A (vi)), the shortage of capital continued to be the main obstacle to the economic development of the less developed countries. There was no doubt that only the contribution of external capital, matching domestic savings, could generate resources for economic development. If General Assembly resolution 1522 (XV), recommending that 1 per cent of the combined national incomes of developed countries should be devoted to the assistance of the less developed countries, could be effectively applied, the total resources generated would correspond to 10 per cent of the national income of less developed countries and to 100 per cent of their net domestic capital formation. Unfortunately, the target of 1 per cent was not yet in sight, although many individual countries actually exported capital in amounts corresponding to more than 1 per cent of their national income. The international flow of long-term capital to under-developed countries in the period 1951-1959, including aid from the socialist countries, had amounted to some \$35,000 million.¹ That total was equivalent to only 0.6 per cent of the gross national product of the economically advanced countries, to 2.9 per cent of their gross savings and to a per caput figure of as little as \$8.² It was obvious that much more would have to be done during the Development Decade even if only to reach by 1970 the somewhat unambitious goal of a 5 per cent annual rate of growth of aggregate national income referred to in operative paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI). In addition to increasing the volume of development capital, the economically more advanced countries should channel more funds through multilateral arrangements. It was scarcely encouraging to learn³ that 90 per cent of long-term capital in the period 1951-1959 had been

¹ See *The Capital Development Needs of the Less Developed Countries* (A/AC.102/5), United Nations publication, Sales No. 62.II.D.3, chap. II, para. 68.

² *Ibid.*, para. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. III, para. 124.

provided on a bilateral basis and that of the remaining 10 per cent, only 2 per cent had been supplied by the United Nations. Efforts should therefore be undertaken to increase the share of multilateral aid; in particular, the industrialized countries of the East and the West should make a decisive contribution to the Development Decade by supporting the United Nations capital development fund, the establishment of which was more necessary than ever. The IDA did not fill the void left by SUNFED. In the first place, IDA resources were becoming increasingly insufficient. Secondly, the inadequate share of the less developed countries in the decision-making apparatus of IBRD and its affiliates was becoming increasingly difficult to bear; those countries considered that a United Nations lending agency should be established which would be more responsive to the needs and aspirations of borrowing countries.

8. The existing joint target of \$150 million for EPTA and the Special Fund was obviously not related to needs and required to be considerably increased. The Secretary-General considered (E/3613 and Corr.2, chap.VI, A.1) that the resources for the United Nations programmes of technical assistance in pre-investment should grow at a minimum yearly rate of \$25 million from the level of \$150 million for the year 1962 which, incidentally, had not been reached. Thus the minimum sum necessary by the end of the Decade appeared to be \$350 million. It depended on the economically advanced countries whether that target would be achieved. After all, technical co-operation was practically the only weapon in the United Nations arsenal, since a capital development fund was opposed by the industrialized countries. Unless contributions were enlarged, there was little likelihood that the needs of less developed countries for technical assistance and pre-investment would be filled.

9. The Development Decade offered an unparalleled opportunity to mankind. In the twentieth century man had the power to abolish poverty. In order to achieve that goal, much more was needed than physical capital or trade expansion; what was required was a complete change of heart, together with the capacity to revise anachronistic assumptions and attitudes. To the Secretary-General's reference to the need for under-developed countries to change certain traditions (E/3613 and Corr.2, introduction) and to similar comments made by the United States and United Kingdom representatives at the 1214th and 1215th meetings respectively, he would reply that the under-developed countries did not have the monopoly of obsolete traditions and that many industrialized countries had national taboos and mental habits which were no less damaging to the economic development of less developed countries. All countries, whether developed or under-developed, whether in the East or in the West, had to learn to live in a spirit of tolerance and active partnership.

Mr. Patiño (Colombia), First Vice-President, took the Chair.

10. Mr. PASTORI (Uruguay) said that General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI) marked a decisive stage in the history of the United Nations, for it recognized the need to end the division of mankind into those whose prosperity

was constantly growing and those who were increasingly suffering from poverty and hunger. To realize the objectives of the resolution, the industrialized and the under-developed countries would have to work together as partners.

11. From the Secretary-General's objective report and his opening statement to the Council at the 1214th meeting it seemed that the United Nations Development Decade would be a turning point for the world economy. And the resolution itself, in operative paragraphs 6, 7 and 8, outlined an ambitious programme of action for the Council.

12. Two questions deserved top priority: that of international commodity trade, and the question of the way in which the targets of the Decade could be reached effectively and promptly. The other problems of development should not, of course, be ignored. On the contrary, in its own development schemes the Uruguayan Government paid attention to education and public health which, together, absorbed 50 per cent of the state budget, to improved agricultural production and a better utilization of natural resources, to housing, transport and communications. But the long-term development plan, in which foreign investment, international co-operation and technical assistance played a great part, could not be carried out until the problems of international commodity trade had been solved.

13. Like many other developing countries, Uruguay depended heavily on export earnings. Not unnaturally, therefore, its terms of trade had worsened in the past ten years in consequence of the customs barriers, quota restrictions and high tariffs imposed by countries which bought Uruguay's products. The declaration of the contracting parties to GATT approved in November 1961 and the efforts of the countries belonging to the Latin American Free Trade Association to intensify and integrate intraregional trade should go some way towards relieving the situation. Yet, whereas the developing countries would tend to buy more and more capital goods, their relative share in international trade had actually diminished since 1950. Their total exports had increased by only 40 per cent, whereas the total volume of world trade had increased by 50 per cent. Moreover, whereas the share of the developing countries in world exports had risen, in terms of value, from 44 per cent in 1953 to 52 per cent in 1960, the prices of primary products had not increased to the same extent as the prices of goods bought from the industrial countries. It followed that not only should the obstacles to the trade in primary products be removed, but also that primary commodity prices should be stabilized. Both the obstacles to trade and the price fluctuations penalized the non-industrialized countries and jeopardized their development plans. With the advent of the Development Decade, the time had come for the Council and the General Assembly to decide to establish compensatory financing machinery. Had such machinery existed, Uruguay would have benefited to the extent of about \$100 million in the period 1953-1960.

14. As to the methods for achieving the objects of the Development Decade, the General Assembly had laid down a guiding policy; and it was for the Council to take specific action. The United Nations could give its

specialized agencies special powers or delegate technical tasks to a new *ad hoc* body. The solutions should be practical and effective, and that implied a spirit of co-operation among the nations.

15. The United Nations Coffee Conference, currently meeting in New York, represented an important precedent, and he hoped that other meetings of that kind would be organized to consider problems relating to other commodities. By encouraging the more extensive use of that method during the Development Decade, the United Nations would be discharging its great mission and would have the satisfaction of giving the great majority of mankind something more than an illusion or a hope.

16. Dr. CANDAU (Director-General, World Health Organization) said that the spirit in which the General Assembly had initiated the United Nations Development Decade had led the World Health Assembly to adopt its resolution WHA.15.57 (E/3611/Add.1).

17. The Development Decade gave WHO an opportunity and a responsibility to expand health programmes and to review their focus as part of the common effort to speed the pace of development during those ten years. In such an effort, health was important not merely for its own sake, but as a prerequisite for economic development. Moreover, the absence of health was one of the most important contributing factors to the instability of the individual, the family and the entire community. For the newly independent countries, independence might mean a breakdown of the barest minimum of health services, and their health problems had to be faced.

18. The Acting Secretary-General in his statement at the 1214th meeting had emphasized the overriding importance of the human factor in the entire development process. It had to be borne in mind that economic and social development was required for man, that human beings were the means of achieving that development and that it was they who would benefit from it. Health meant more than individual care for the sick, more than nationwide or international attacks on the causes of disease; it meant the heightening of the vitality of the people, so that their work would become more productive and they would have the energy to learn new skills and to adjust themselves to the new patterns of living which constituted economic and social progress. Thus, improvement in health contributed to progress in practically every sector of the development programme and made people more receptive to training and more able to work for their own betterment.

19. When the Fifteenth World Health Assembly had considered the General Assembly's resolution, one of its main conclusions had been that, in developing countries, the creation of a network of minimum basic health services was an essential pre-investment operation without which agricultural and industrial development would be hazardous, slow and uneconomic. It was obvious that the infrastructure of a country, if it was to be complete, should provide the minimum health services for the country.

20. The World Health Assembly had made specific recommendations to governments in connexion with the

Development Decade. The establishment of a national health plan for each country, co-ordinated with its plans in other sectors, was of fundamental importance. A realistic health plan would take epidemiological and other technical data into consideration and would relate them directly to economic facts, such as resources and costs, and also to the degree of benefit that could be expected. Plans for minimum health services to the people should make provision for education and training, so that countries could staff their health services with their own professional and auxiliary workers and build up, as early as possible, their own training institutions for health staff. The magnitude of the problem was illustrated by what were considered to be the minimum requirements for basic health services: one physician per 10,000 inhabitants, one nurse per 5,000 inhabitants, one sanitarian per 15,000 inhabitants and one sanitary engineer per 250,000 inhabitants. The difficulty of achieving such a goal in the developing countries would vary, for example, according to the proportion of physicians graduating in different areas of the world. According to estimates based on 1955/56 figures, an average of six or seven physicians per 100,000 population graduated every year in Europe. In the Americas and Oceania the figure varied between 3.5 and 5 per 100,000 population, whereas in Asia and Africa the figures were 0.8 and 0.5 respectively. A physician required, after full secondary education, six or seven years of training; in some countries which had few or no doctors of their own, two-thirds of the decade would be over before even a small part of the basic national staff could graduate from medical school. That indicated how urgent it was to provide every possible assistance to the developing countries, not only in training individuals but in the early establishment of training institutions.

21. The World Health Assembly had also recommended that governments should establish certain indices of their current health situation to enable them to gauge progress towards their own targets for the Decade, which would be defined in the national health plans. In many of the under-developed countries a high prevalence of communicable diseases represented a hazard which kept down the standard of living. The experience of WHO had demonstrated that the circle of disease, low productivity and poverty could be broken by a concentrated attack on its biological components through sustained mass campaigns against the most prevalent communicable diseases. Accordingly, the World Health Assembly had proposed a concentrated attack during the Decade on some of the prevalent communicable diseases with a view to their eradication or at least to reduction to a point where they would cease to endanger public health or the economy. Efforts to prevent premature death should be made, and the infant mortality rate should also be lowered during the Decade. Malnutrition, too, presented an immediate challenge; in co-operation with FAO, WHO would intensify the programme on the health aspects of malnutrition. Finally, a direct attack on the environment, beginning with an intensified community water supply programme, would be undertaken.

22. The World Health Assembly had further recommended that countries should devote increased resources to the control of disease and the improvement of health. The Acting Secretary-General had said that in the less

developed areas, expenditure for public health services should be doubled during the Decade; it was the hope of WHO that that modest goal would be achieved.

23. The many new nations sought the technical independence which would enable them to work effectively for their liberation from ill health, poverty and ignorance. The Development Decade could make a decisive contribution to that end.

24. The World Health Assembly had agreed upon a programme of action, and WHO possessed the structure, the machinery, the techniques and experience. What WHO needed were the additional resources, human as well as financial, that would enable it to make its contribution to the achievement of the objectives of the Decade.

25. Mr. ERCHOV (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said that the contribution his organization was to make to the United Nations Development Decade was summarized in the first addendum to the Secretary-General's report (E/3613/Add. 1); the report itself (chap. III) emphasized the importance of the human factor in development and the part played by education and science in improving the productivity of the labour force.

26. The UNESCO was already engaged in long-term action in the fields within its competence; since 1959 it had organized several conferences at which the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America had specified the aims they intended to achieve in the development of their educational systems; it had established priorities such as teacher training, and had estimated the cost of the programmes to be undertaken and the amount of the external aid that should be provided. The governments of the African countries had decided to raise their expenditure on education to 4 per cent of their gross national product by 1965, to 5 per cent by 1970 and to 6 per cent by 1980; those of the Latin American countries aimed at achieving a target of 4 per cent by 1965; the target for the Asian countries was to be between 4 and 5 per cent in 1980 (E/3613/Add.1, UNESCO summary, A, para. 6).

27. In addition, a long-term planning programme had been undertaken for the development of information media, and his organization had prepared, in the field of the exact and natural sciences, a plan for the co-ordination of scientific research at the national and international levels, for the exploration of the planet Earth, for related scientific research and for the application of science and technology to the industrialization of the developing countries. Accordingly, by the time the General Assembly had adopted its resolution 1710 (XVI), UNESCO had already developed specific plans and objectives in several fields within its competence.

28. One of the most urgent and most important of the tasks of UNESCO concerned the training of experts in the planning of education. For that purpose, it was proposed to establish in Paris, in co-operation with IBRD and in consultation with the United Nations and the agencies concerned, an international institute for education planning. The experts trained at the institute would either be in charge of planning the educational services in their home countries, or teach the subject of education planning in the regional planning and devel-

opment institutes, or else participate in UNESCO expert advisory missions to governments in that field.

29. Another major contribution of his organization to the Decade was the illiteracy eradication and adult education programme, for which it had prepared an ambitious ten-year plan; the plan would be placed before the General Conference in 1963. It would be the responsibility of the international community to decide whether it could release the necessary resources for the eradication of illiteracy. At all events, with the extra-budgetary resources from EPTA and the Special Fund, which for the financial year 1963-1964 would amount to more than the organization's ordinary budget, more funds could be devoted to the priority activities which were precisely those appropriate to the Decade.

30. His organization considered that it should make a positive contribution to the success of the joint venture and that it was already in a position to do so in the spheres that were its rightful concern. It was convinced that the only method by which effective progress could be achieved was for each organization to carry out a programme within its own particular sphere of competence, the existing machinery of co-ordination being used to avoid wastage of effort and resources.

Mr. Michalowski (Poland) resumed the Chair.

31. Mr. DAVIES (Secretary-General, World Meteorological Organization) said that it was clear that the aims of General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI) could only be attained if the related national projects were conceived and implemented on a well-balanced and co-ordinated basis.

32. General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI) had been discussed by the Executive Committee of WMO at its annual session in June 1962 and a corresponding resolution had been adopted relating to the role of WMO in the programme. The resolution warmly supported the General Assembly's initiative and noted with appreciation the stress laid upon the exploitation of scientific and technological potentialities for the purpose of accelerating development.

33. His organization's interest in the Development Decade programme stemmed from the fundamental fact that a knowledge of the weather and climate in a country and the application of meteorological and hydrological skills and techniques were essential in many ways to that country's full economic development. For instance, the development of water resources including the effective utilization of available water for hydroelectric plants, irrigation schemes, and for water supplies for human and industrial use, all depended upon many meteorological and hydrological factors. The importance of those vital factors had on occasion been overlooked in the past, with the result that costly projects had failed. In that connexion, he would mention that the ninth annual interagency meeting on water resources had just taken place at the WMO secretariat, at which the United Nations and all the specialized agencies concerned had discussed concerted action in that sphere, including co-ordinated plans for a hydrological decade.

34. Similarly, the agriculture of any country was very largely bound up with the climate; the choice of crops

was dependent upon it; the spread of many diseases among plants was known to be related to meteorological factors. Meteorology also played an important part in aviation, shipping and industry; not only did industry need water, but the weather affected the control of pollution from industrial effluents, including radioactive effluents from atomic reactor plants. There were also promising developments in the utilization of wind energy and solar energy as new sources of power.

35. In connexion with the Development Decade programme, WMO would urge all governments to give attention to meteorological and hydrological factors in the preparation of national plans for economic development. All governments should be fully aware of the practical applications of meteorology in economic affairs, and national meteorological and hydrological services should be sufficiently developed to play their full part in the implementation of national plans. The question of training was closely linked with the role of national meteorological and hydrological services; the WMO had conducted studies into the general question of meteorological training, particularly in the newly independent States, and was contemplating greater efforts during the coming decade in order to overcome the world-wide shortage of meteorologists.

36. The WMO would ensure that as far as possible the new and important scientific and technological developments that had recently taken place were passed on for the benefit of all countries. One of those important advances was the use of meteorological satellites: WMO had prepared a comprehensive report (E/3662) on the uses of meteorological satellites; it proposed a system to be known as the World Weather Watch, whereby data covering the whole world received from meteorological satellites, launched in accordance with an internationally agreed plan, would be made available promptly to all countries. The report also outlined a programme for the next ten years, the progressive implementation of which would have an important bearing on the Development Decade. While its benefits would be felt by all countries, those in regions — particularly tropical and sub-tropical regions — where the provision of a meteorological service was especially difficult at the current time, would be helped very considerably. It was interesting to note that, in the preparation of that report, WMO had had the assistance of scientists from the United States and the Soviet Union — an encouraging gesture of co-operation by the two leading countries in the field.

37. Mr. MARLIN (International Civil Aviation Organization) said that a key factor in stimulating thought about the economic development of the less developed countries had been the growth of air transport which had made accessible even remote places to those responsible for important policy decisions.

38. The ICAO had contributed towards the growth of the network of airlines since the war and had assisted developing countries to construct airports, install communications and navigation aids, organize air traffic control and provide essential aeronautical services. From the start, emphasis had been on the training of personnel, and almost 5,000 technicians had graduated from ICAO schools and courses conducted under EPTA. A new

impetus had been given by the creation of the Special Fund, but much remained to be done. Speed, efficiency and regularity of flights were the goals. As part of economic development plans, domestic air routes should be built up and speed regulations, licensing, airworthiness and maintenance systems improved. No compromise should be allowed on safety standards anywhere, and technical requirements should be fulfilled whatever the level of economic development: in that respect ICAO had a special duty to assist the less developed countries.

39. Another important task to be undertaken in collaboration with regional economic commissions was the survey of air transport requirements and the co-ordination of air transport with other forms of transport on a regional basis.

40. Air transport had greatly contributed to economic development in a short space of time by providing a form of transport that could be put into operation with a minimum of capital investment in countries handicapped by lack of communications and in places where there were physical obstacles to other forms of transport. The ICAO expected to play its part in the Development Decade, the objectives of which it warmly supported.

41. Mr. ABOU GABAL (Observer for the United Arab Republic), speaking at the invitation of the President, said that his government noted with great concern the declining share of the developing countries in the expansion of world trade during the past decade and the generally downward trend of the prices of their primary commodities and the upward trend of prices of manufactured goods. The deterioration in the terms of trade of developing countries would seriously affect their ability to implement economic and social plans. Even if more international financial assistance were provided for the developing countries, their trading position would still remain precarious unless they could earn more from their exports.

42. In addition, trade between developing and industrialized countries was growing more slowly than between industrialized countries themselves. It was a matter of concern also that certain industrial countries had liberalized trade with one another while maintaining restrictions against third countries, and that moves were being made to enlarge such trading areas. Those restrictions were a serious threat to the stability of international trade and hampered its expansion. Recognizing the importance of increasing the export earning of the developing countries, a declaration had been approved in November 1961 by the Ministerial Committee of GATT indicating a series of measures that ought to be taken to remedy the situation. Those principles, if seriously applied, would be of general benefit to both groups of States.

43. His government welcomed the idea, mentioned in General Assembly resolution 1707 (XVI), of holding an international conference on international trade problems, for such a conference would offer an opportunity for the exchange of views and consultations on ways of solving the problems facing certain countries. It would provide an opportunity for reaching agreement on measures designed to achieve balanced trade and more dynamic expansion.

44. In the light of the General Assembly recommendation and the principles embodied in the declaration of GATT, an international conference on the problems of economic development, in which countries from all over the world were participating, was currently being held at Cairo. The participants would be able to discuss thoroughly various problems of development and trade and hoped to make a positive contribution to the proposed United Nations conference. He would be circulating the text of a statement made by the representative of the United Arab Republic at the Cairo conference, giving more detailed information about his government's attitude.

45. Mr. BARTON (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), speaking at the invitation of the President, said that his Confederation supported every initiative to help the under-privileged nations to free themselves from poverty and to embark upon a rapid economic and social development; together with its affiliated organizations, ICFTU played an active part in the efforts made to that end. The Confederation accordingly welcomed the idea of the Development Decade, the more so since, for over three years, it had been advocating what had become a corner-stone of the whole Development Decade — the proposal that every wealthy industrial country should contribute at least 1 per cent of its national income to the aid of developing countries.

46. The wealthy industrial countries were not merely under a moral obligation to change the existing disparity: it was in their interest to do so, since the unity of the world was at stake.

47. The free trade union movement, which had consistently fought exploitation and humiliation, was alert to social and economic injustice. In its fight against injustice, the movement furthered both the interests of labour and of society as a whole.

48. The short-sighted view was still held in some quarters that the interests of the importing industrial countries were served by low and unstable prices for food, raw materials and other commodities produced in under-developed countries. Even from a narrow economic standpoint, that view was obviously wrong; while potentially enormous markets in the developing countries remained untapped, many industrial countries were suffering from surpluses of goods and excess capacity. Moreover, unless effective policies were adopted for rapid economic and social development, many of the poorer countries concerned would be in danger of succumbing to totalitarianism, with disastrous consequences for themselves and for democracy throughout the world. That was another reason why the labour movement was so deeply interested in development projects, since under totalitarianism, workers were deprived of their most elementary rights and of their human dignity.

49. The Secretary-General's report rightly placed as much emphasis on diversification as on quantitative growth. Over-emphasis on industrialization was only a new, inverted form of the old imperialist practice of one-sidedly promoting single economic branches. In some under-developed countries, ultra-modern industrial plants existed which were as dependent on foreign markets as the producers of primary commodities. In many cases, such an industrialization had begun in the days of colonial

rule; automation in the Congo was a striking example. Another possible outcome of over-emphasizing industrialization was the totalitarian pattern where the almost exclusive customer of industry was industry itself.

50. In addition to growth and diversification, a third important target should be the integration of the economy, either nationally or regionally. Some explanation was necessary of what he meant by an integrated economy. *The World Economic Survey, 1961* (E/3624 and Add.1-6) commended some developing countries on having made progress towards self-sufficiency. It would be most unfortunate if self-sufficiency were to be the ultimate object of integration: the self-sufficiency of the Soviet bloc had hampered attempts at co-ordinated assistance to the less developed countries. A truly integrated national or regional economy was not one closed by barriers to the external world but one in which different sectors were closely linked and where external relations were determined by internal needs.

51. The Secretary-General's report rightly stressed the importance of planning and careful preparatory work, but seemed to view planning in a somewhat naive way. In fact, planning had been practised for several decades, sometimes with remarkable results and at other times causing depressions and even disasters such as the famine which had followed the first Soviet five year plan and the collectivization of agriculture. If planning was to be one of the main instruments of the Decade, the planners should learn from past experience so as to avoid the repetition of blunders. Good planning should be flexible and should not seek to force economic processes to conform to any blueprint. It should be a continuous process in which foresight was more important than target-setting and in which target-setting was balanced by target-revision in the light of events. It should not be a prerogative of economists or governments, but a democratic process in which all social groups affected participated.

52. In one respect the Secretary-General's report was a step backwards from the report of the Committee for Industrial Development (E/3600 and Corr.1), which stated that trade unions should be brought into the planning for industrial development at the earliest stage. Although that principle had been accepted, the Secretariat had ignored it. That was the more surprising since the Secretary-General's report stated that the success of the Decade depended, in the first place, on the skill of workers at different levels of economic activity and also on their support. The term "human resources" (E/3613 and Corr. 2, chap. III) was offensive, for it suggested that workers could be dealt with like money resources, capital equipment or raw materials and allocated by planners to the most effective use. There were two sides in industry, and in a modern democratic society they should be able to meet at the bargaining table. He hoped the Secretariat would re-examine and correct its views in that important matter. Notwithstanding, ICFTU with its 56 million members in 97 countries would play the part assigned to it by them in the development of under-privileged countries.

53. The functions of trade unions in the developing countries were vast, much greater than in the industrial

countries. Labour standards were often appalling in the developing countries, but that was not the most difficult problem. Accelerated industrialization created huge masses of uprooted city-dwellers both attracted by the steady earnings in industry and fearful of the unfamiliar environment. The trade unions had an important part to play in reducing the excessive numbers of small tradesmen and craftsmen resulting from that situation and in fostering suitable training programmes. They also had to encourage people from the countryside to take up work on building sites before seeking factory work.

54. Local trade unions, democratically run by the members, could help uprooted workers to establish new relationships in a new social setting. All those functions presupposed trade union participation in the planning of small and large plants, in the operation of labour exchanges and in vocational training schemes.

55. The attitude of the United Nations Secretariat to trade unions was not unimportant. A constructive approach on its part would help to convince the governments of some developing countries that they were doing harm to their own countries by hampering, whether by repressive measures or by paternalist practices, the rise of independent trade unions. Unless the situation changed in the countries in question, the free trade union movement would have to resume the battle for recognition fought earlier in the industrial countries. The genuine concern of the unions for rapid economic growth could not allow them to overlook the social implications of industrialization.

56. Mr. PELT (World Federation of United Nations Associations), speaking at the invitation of the President, said that the problems posed by General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI) had been discussed at the seventeenth Plenary Assembly of the Federation, and emphasis had been placed upon the need for orderly and balanced economic development coupled with social development. He was glad that their interrelation had been recognized in the Secretary-General's report.

57. The Federation's Assembly, which had been attended by members from both developed and developing countries, had sought to frame practical suggestions for the Decade. One had been that all countries should immediately make proportionate increases in their contributions to EPTA and the Special Fund so as to achieve a combined target of \$150 million in 1962, as urged by resolution 1529 (XV) of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It had also been strongly felt that the diversion of armament expenditure to peaceful purposes would considerably improve world economic and social conditions. Suggestions had been made for promoting the expansion of industry and trade, with stress on the role to be played by regional economic commissions. Great importance had been attached to expanding training facilities and to increasing the number of experts through bilateral and multilateral programmes; and it had been stressed that the programme for the Development Decade should be drawn up in close co-operation with the specialized agencies.

58. Though the resolutions of the Federation's Assembly contained no detailed technical suggestions, it had been aware of such problems as land reform and methods of

industrialization, on which developing countries were in need of reliable and disinterested expert advice. Those countries, while realizing that they had to attract foreign capital, also wished to be protected against an undue outflow of national income. As a counterpart, of course, they would have to be prepared to give proper protection to foreign capital. Because of the great interest in nutrition problems, the Federation's Assembly had discussed at length the FAO Freedom from Hunger Campaign.

59. Inasmuch as the success or failure of the Decade could depend on the mobilization of the support of the entire population, the Federation's Assembly had agreed that it was essential to raise the status of women and improve their education and training in many developing countries so that they could contribute to the economic and social progress of their country. The part to be played by youth had also been discussed and he would reiterate his suggestion that the Technical Assistance Board should study the scheme for using young people in national and international development projects on a voluntary or semi-voluntary basis. Information and education were among the main objects of the Federation and they would both play a large part in the Decade. He pledged the Federation's co-operation in support of the programme for the Decade.

60. Mr. KLUTZNICK (United States of America), referring to earlier debate, said that the Soviet Union representative, supported by the Polish representative, had, in their statements at the 1216th and 1217th meetings respectively, misinterpreted Mr. Stevenson's words at the 1214th meeting, as implying that the Development Decade was being used to strengthen the Atlantic Community. In order to dissipate that misunderstanding he would quote a passage from Mr. Stevenson's statement: "We are determined that the Atlantic Community, far from being opposed to the general interest, shall move in directions that will serve and invigorate the economic and political freedom of the whole world and especially the interest of the developing nations. International trade today has hanging over it the vast question mark of Britain's entry into the Common Market. Whatever the outcome of negotiations it is clear that a new economic giant exists in western Europe. It is essential that this giant shall be a liberal, low-tariff, co-operative giant ready to engage in joint policies to end the imbalance in world trade and to see to it that positive policies are adopted to give the developing world fuller advantages and wider access to Europe's fabulous demand. We shall seek, in season and out, to demonstrate that the fortunate and advanced of the world are forming an association not to withdraw from our common human responsibilities but to explore them more effectively, not to look inward on our own affluence but outward to our common tasks. That is our pledge for the United Nations Development Decade."

61. He had been impressed by the remark of the Indian representative at the 1215th meeting that the disparity between the advanced and the developing countries and the economic expansion of the former were not at issue and that greater prosperity anywhere would reinforce the common effort to promote development.

62. In each nation there was some unsatisfied domestic

demand: that was true even of the United States with its high level of prosperity. The task was not to discourage the advanced countries from further progress which would in fact yield additional resources and the expanded markets needed by the developing countries. It was rather to assist the latter to raise their levels of living.

63. He regarded the Common Market in Europe as a benefit: an economically depressed western Europe would be no asset. The problems it posed for the United States and other countries were welcomed as a challenge. Following an important debate in the United States concerning the Common Market, adjustments would be made to that welcome new development. It was easier to deal with problems of prosperity than with those of a depression. No purpose would be served by staying the urge towards progress by the advanced countries; on the contrary such progress could enable them more effectively to help the developing ones to tackle their problems.

64. He agreed with the statement made at the 1218th meeting by the representative of Jordan that the Development Decade should not become an arena for a cold war between different economic and social systems. As Mr. Stevenson had said: "No society, no system, has all the answers, however much it may be tempted to claim that it has. We must all share our experiences and see if we can do better, and where can we do so more constructively than within the framework of the United Nations family to which we have already given our assent and support?"

65. He did not wish to flaunt the success of free enterprise which provided a good life and made possible aid to the less prosperous. He extended the hand of friendship to all who were taking part in the Development Decade so that a determined attack would be made in a co-operative and not competitive spirit on poverty, ignorance and disease.

66. Mr. ARKADEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) agreed that long-term plans for promoting development should not become a cold war battle ground. His government had voted in favour of resolution 1710 (XVI) and would make a practical contribution to the discussion of the measures proposed in the Secretary-General's report so as to serve the purposes of the United Nations and to help the less developed countries to solve problems which they could not tackle unaided. Other delegations might hold views concerning the implementation of the resolution which differed from his own delegation's views. If Mr. Stevenson's statement had been misunderstood the fault lay surely in some measure with the speaker. Further passages in his statement, not quoted by the United States representative at the current meeting, lent themselves to the interpretation that the United Nations and the specialized agencies were being used to reinforce the Atlantic Community. No suggestion had been made that that interpretation had been due to some mistake.

67. The United States representative had reproached the Soviet Union delegation for indulging in propaganda and had implied that it made no constructive contribution to the discussion. He would not have had the temerity to level the same criticism against the United States delegation, despite its recourse to propaganda of the kind conducted in the United States press. Such attacks were

tendentious and lacking in objectivity, as was the assertion that the Soviet Union delegation had withdrawn support for its own amendment to the text which had later become General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI). That amendment had sought to emphasize the need for putting an end to the consequences of colonialism and it had been withdrawn, not because those consequences had ceased, but because the western Powers and the United States understandably disliked such references and would have so arranged the voting that the amendment would have been defeated. He was unable to say why certain States, including Belgium, France, Portugal, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Union of South Africa had not voted for the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)), but was bound to point out that it expressed the will of the people and constituted a solemn undertaking for all Members of the United Nations. The Soviet Union amendment in question had been based on that declaration, which should have provided a guiding line for the preparation of the programmes under the Development Decade, and for the preparation of the Secretary-General's report, instead of which the principles laid down in it had been ignored. The United States representatives were trying to prove the unprovable, but his delegation would continue to insist that those recommendations be taken into account by the Secretary-General and the Council.

68. Mr. KLUTZNICK (United States of America) regretted that the Soviet Union representative had not attended the negotiations that had taken place in the Second Committee at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly and that he had overlooked the fact that reference was made to the declaration in the fifth paragraph of the preamble to resolution 1710 (XVI). He also regretted that the Soviet representative had again misinterpreted Mr. Stevenson's remarks. He would urge him to peruse carefully the statement made by Mr. Stevenson at the 1214th meeting which would surely show that the construction placed on his words had been entirely erroneous.

69. Mr. ARKADEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he would never refuse a hand of friendship sincerely offered but could not concede principles. Truth must prevail and it was useless to deny that the consequences of colonialism still persisted and that certain countries were still struggling to gain their independence.

70. He also wished to take the opportunity of refuting Mr. Stevenson's assertion at the 1216th meeting that the Soviet Union was responsible for the resumption of high-altitude nuclear tests by the United States. In fact, they had formed part of United States strategic plans. It had been the Soviet Union Government which had put forward proposals for disarmament, the discontinuance of nuclear tests and for a complete ban on nuclear weapons.

71. The PRESIDENT declared the general discussion on item 4 closed and proposed that the item, together with the draft resolutions (E/L.957 and Corr.1, E/L.958 and Add.1, E/L.960), be referred to the Economic Committee.

It was so agreed.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.