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President : Mr. T. BOUATTOURA (Algeria)

Present :

Representatives of the following States: Algeria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, France, Gabon, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Luxembourg, Morocco, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Venezuela.

Observers for the following Member States: Australia, Bulgaria, Italy, Japan, Norway, Tunisia.

Observers for the following non-member States: Federal Republic of Germany, Holy See, 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 Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Monetary Fund, World Health Organization, Universal Postal Union, International Telecommunication Union, World Meteorological Organization, Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization.

The representative of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

AGENDA ITEMS 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10 and 17

World economic trends (E/4053 and addenda, E/4152 and Corr.1, E/4187 and addenda, E/4221, E/4224 and Add. 1; E/ECE/613; E/CN.12/752 and Add. 1 and 2, E/CN.12/754; E/CN.14/345)

General review of the development, co-ordination and concentration of the economic, social and human rights programmes and activities of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency as a whole (E/4182 and Add.1, E/4183, E/4185/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, E/4188 and Add.1, E/4190, E/4191 and Corr.1 and 2, E/4193, E/4195 and Add.1,

E/4197 and Add.1 and 2, E/4198 and Add.1, E/4199 and Add.1, E/4202, E/4205, E/4209, E/4215 and Corr.1)

Review and reappraisal of the Council's role and functions (E/4216)

United Nations Development Decade (E/4196 and Add.3)

Economic planning and projections (E/4046/Rev.1, E/4207 and Add.1; E/ECE/493/Add.1)

Financing of economic development

(a) International flow of capital and assistance (E/4170, E/4171 and Corr.1)

(b) Promotion of the international flow of private capital (E/4189 and Corr.1 and 2)

Industrial development activities (E/4192 and Add. 1, E/4203, E/4229 and Add. 1, E/4230)

Social development

(a) Report of the Social Commission (E/4206 and Add.1; E/CN.5/401)

(b) Report on the World Social Situation (E/CN.5/402 and Add.1 and 2; E/L.1125)

(c) Report on a programme of research and training in connexion with regional development projects (E/4228; E/CN.5/403)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. EKLUND (Director-General, International Atomic Energy Agency), introducing the report of IAEA (F/4183), said that modern science and techniques were enabling the developing countries to attain rapidly stages of development which it had taken the older nations centuries to reach. If the developing countries were to be aided, it was first and foremost necessary to train a nucleus of technicians and scientists, but they must be given in their respective countries the material and financial means of fulfilling their task and, as everybody knew, the field of science was all too frequently allocated only a meagre share of the funds available.

2. Without dwelling on the spectacular development in the use of atomic energy for electric power production in the last few years, he would like in particular to show how atomic science could help to solve in the long term what was possibly the most serious problem today, namely the production of sufficient food to feed the world's steadily increasing population. Nuclear techniques could help farmers to make more effective use of fertilizers, and over the last few years IAEA and FAO had

jointly undertaken a series of experiments in South-East Asia and Latin America to determine by means of radio-isotopes the best way of using fertilizers for rice and maize growing, and the most opportune time at which to do so.

3. As everybody knew, a large part of the world's food production was destroyed or damaged by insects and bacteria. Under a scheme carried out in Turkey under the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), IAEA had built—in a developing country—the first pilot plant for the disinfestation of grain by radiation. A scheme was also under way in six Central American countries to eradicate the Mediterranean fruit fly. Work on the radiation of foodstuffs, which had proved the only really effective method of food preservation, was also of interest to the developing countries since it would help to open new markets to perishable tropical foodstuffs.

4. The application of nuclear methods to the exploitation of underground water was also of great importance to many developing countries. IAEA had applied such techniques in Jordan, Greece, Kenya and Jamaica with a view to detecting underground water and measuring its turnover rate.

5. A matter of basic concern to the Council, namely co-ordination, was of particular importance to IAEA, since most of the problems it had to deal with called for the concerted action of several organizations. An excellent example of co-operation was provided by the joint FAO-IAEA Division of Atomic Energy in Agriculture which had now completed its two-year trial period. The experiment had proved so successful that it was planned to give the joint Division a permanent status.

6. In conclusion, he said that the agencies attached to the United Nations together offered a considerable pool of technical skills and experience, although the complexity of the system of which each organization was a cog was often discouraging. He therefore joined in the request for measures to simplify the present procedures and machinery so as to ensure the most complete and efficient use of the available resources.

7. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom), stressing the importance of the Council's role in the face of the danger threatening all nations, said that the survival of the world depended not only on maintaining the balance of terror but increasingly on international understanding and co-operation. In spite of the setbacks to the efforts to make such action more effective, it had to be recognized that over the past twenty years the United Nations had succeeded in stopping or in limiting conflict. That had happened, for instance, in the Congo, in Kashmir and in Cyprus. Too many constitutional, financial and political barriers were, however, still hampering progress in international action, although the Council should be able to overcome them more readily. The old divisions and new disputes impeding peace-keeping efforts should not hamper social and economic progress. The possibilities open to the Council were unlimited since the obstacles were neither ideological nor racial, nor political.

8. The Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Development Decade at Mid-Point,¹ submitted to the Council at its thirty-ninth session, had revealed the extent of the problems and difficulties facing the Council. There had been some slight improvement over the past eighteen months. Aid to the developing countries had exceeded \$6,000 million a year. Investment in those countries had increased, as had their reserves. The situation was still extremely serious, however, and unless it improved during the second half of the Development Decade the average income per head in the developing countries might increase by no more than one-fifth as against one-third in the developed countries. Consequently, although the gap between rich and poor was narrowing within countries themselves—or so it was hoped—the gap between countries was widening. The burden of debt in the developing countries was increasing, and the President of the World Bank had recalled that the international debt of low-income countries had risen in under a decade from \$10,000 million to \$33,000 million. The rate of population increase was outpacing every effort to narrow the gap between rich and poor. No-one disputed those facts, but to judge by the inadequate practical progress made in bilateral and multilateral action when compared with the extent and urgency of the needs, there was barely any evidence of alarm. As Mr. Myrdal had pointed out at the FAO Conference in November 1965, all the funds so far spent on the development of developing countries had made no more than a dent in world poverty and a world calamity was foreseeable not in the distant future but in the present decade and the next. People who contributed to the undercurrent of growing popular apathy were fooling themselves and everyone else. The Council should think in terms of a world-wide campaign against apathy and consider all its decisions and recommendations from the standpoint of their practical application in the near future. The Council and its organs could prove useful only if they prepared practical programmes and helped instead of hindering the action of those responsible for their implementation. He knew from experience just how discouraging it was for executing agencies to be faced with complication, confusion and even competition among superior authorities, or to find that the meagre funds available were dissipated by theoretical debate.

9. It had to be remembered that the whole concept of international development aid was new. The United Nations Charter had been drawn up only twenty-one years ago and it was no good expecting too much of it too soon. The acceptance of government responsibility in regard to the development of poorer peoples was comparatively new. The United Kingdom had been a pioneer in that field when it passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act forty years ago. Since then the United Kingdom had provided almost \$3,000 million for the territories for which it was responsible. International effort, however, had come into being only twenty years ago with the creation of IBRD at Bretton Woods. The second enterprise had been the creation of UNDP. He

¹ *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth session, Annexes, agenda item 2, document E/4071.*

paid a tribute to the international action undertaken by IBRD and its subsidiaries and by the specialized agencies. Bank loans amounted to over \$8,000 million and IDA now had at its disposal \$250 million a year, which would be replenished at that level for three years beginning in November 1965. The Bank and its subsidiaries had earned the respect and confidence of the developing countries not only by their wise allocation of the funds they controlled but also by the advice and assistance they provided. Their efforts would be supplemented by those of the regional banks, including the Asian Development Bank, which already had pledges to over \$1,000 million.

10. The effective experiment of EPTA and the Special Fund had led to the recent creation of UNDP. The aid granted by EPTA over the first five years of the Development Decade had amounted to almost \$200 million as against only \$126 million during the preceding five years. The number of United Nations experts appointed under the Programme had risen from roughly 2,000 in 1960 to 5,600 by 1965, while the number of training fellowships had risen from 2,000 to almost 2,500. The United Kingdom had played a leading part in that field, for almost 18,000 British experts and volunteers were serving overseas by the end of 1965, 730 of them under technical assistance schemes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The results of the action taken by the Special Fund had also been spectacular. Expenditure had risen from about \$10 million in 1961 to over \$70 million in 1965, and present contributions to UNDP had reached more than \$150 million a year. Expenditure of \$30 million by the Special Fund on pre-investment projects had led to investments of over \$1,000 million.

11. The contribution of the World Bank group and of UNDP could not, however, be measured in figures, since both initiatives had mobilized experience and expert knowledge on a world scale. An international service of administrators and experts had been set up and was co-operating closely with the specialized agencies. The General Assembly and the FAO General Conference had extended the World Food Programme to which the United Kingdom Government had pledged a contribution of \$6.2 million. The establishment of UNCTAD was to be welcomed, for a plan for supplementary financial measures based on recommendation A.IV.18 of the Final Act of the first Conference² would play a vital part in protecting the developing countries against fluctuations in their export earnings. He regretted that no agreement had been reached during the negotiations on cocoa over the past few weeks, but he hoped that one would eventually be concluded. He also welcomed the creation of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development. The United Kingdom had contributed much to its establishment in the confidence that it would play a most useful part in financing special industrial services in close co-operation with all those concerned, particularly UNDP.

12. The Council should always try to ensure efficient co-ordination between the various bodies and organizations. The ACC and the Special Committee on Co-ordination

were giving invaluable assistance in that field, as was the *Ad Hoc* Committee of experts set up to examine the finances of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The resources available were obviously inadequate to meet all demands for world development, so that all countries, donors or beneficiaries, should be made to realize that the most efficient use was being made of those funds to achieve practical results. The resources being used for international co-operation would shortly amount to \$7,000 million a year—a by no means negligible sum. Disbursement by multilateral organizations to developing countries had risen from \$400 million in 1959 to over \$1,000 million in 1965. Consequently, although there was no room for complacency, it might rightly be claimed that a start in international development had now been made. The experience of the past two decades had pointed the way, and it remained to be seen whether progress could continue with sufficient energy and urgency.

13. The question of population was important and dominated all other considerations. It was a field in which the United Nations should play a leading part before it was too late. So far, its action had been altogether inadequate, as the Secretary-General had recognized. Between 1960 and 1970 the world's population would increase by 600 million people, 85 per cent of the growth being in the developing countries, and the urban population in those countries was increasing at twice or three times their national growth rates. Encouragement might, however, be drawn from Council resolution 1084 (XXXIX) and from the results of the second World Population Conference, held at Belgrade in 1965, not to mention the United Nations Advisory Mission on Family Planning to India, an example of the kind of practical assistance which the United Nations and through it, the developed countries, could give to the developing countries. It was solely by the combined efforts of private, national and international organizations that problems of such magnitude could be solved, and international action should in future precede rather than follow the efforts of private and national organizations.

14. It was regrettable that in the field of human rights and social development progress in giving effect to declarations of principle was sadly lacking. He therefore hoped that 1968, the International Year for Human Rights, would provide an opportunity for devising new ideas and new measures. He confirmed the invitation to hold a seminar on freedom of association in the United Kingdom in 1968. He endorsed the proposal of the Social Commission to concentrate on the problems of social development, and he welcomed the study to be carried out by the Commission on Human Rights on the proposal to appoint a United Nations high commissioner for human rights. He condemned apartheid and any attempt at permanent domination of one country or one race or one party over another. All forms of discrimination and oppression were detestable and were weeds that could grow in any soil. Human rights were interdependent and should all be protected. All the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights should be respected, and the United Kingdom supported all practical proposals to give them effect.

² United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11.

15. As he had stated at the thirty-ninth session (1369th meeting), support for the United Nations was the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the United Kingdom, which was therefore doing its utmost in that direction; it had always paid its contributions promptly and had either paid or pledged over \$12 million to the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Cyprus. It had also made a voluntary and unconditional contribution of \$10 million to help the United Nations overcome its financial difficulties, while United Kingdom contributions to the various multilateral organizations had risen by over \$10 million since 1963-64. The United Kingdom had considerably increased its contribution to the Special Fund, to EPTA, to UNICEF and to the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. Despite the United Kingdom's own financial and economic difficulties, its aid programme was growing and would amount to £225 million in 1966-67. The creation in 1964 of the Ministry of Overseas Development showed the high priority which the British Government attached to the development of overseas countries. He hoped that IDA would extend its activities. Together with the Swedish Government, the British Government had taken the initiative of proposing supplementary financial measures and had introduced interest-free loans in order to help to meet the problem of debt. It had decided to maintain its aid to the Governments of Tanzania and Ghana after they had broken off diplomatic relations with Britain, since it believed that development aid should not be a political lever or a political prize. The United Kingdom pledged itself to continue its support for United Nations enterprises in economic and social progress, and to increase its support to the greatest possible extent; for like the Secretary-General, it believed that any division of the world into older affluent nations and poor new nations would be far more dangerous and explosive than the former religious and ideological differences. He hoped that the Council would do all it could to bridge the gulf between those countries so that international co-operation and action might become a reality.

16. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America) said it had long been his deep conviction that a nation's stability and strength were founded upon its economic and social development which, internationally, was the only foundation for a lasting and meaningful peace.

17. As Mr. Adlai Stevenson had stated the previous year (1375th meeting), in the final words of his statement to the Council, which was to be his last public address, "the spaceship that is earth cannot be maintained half fortunate, half miserable, half confident, half despairing, half slave, half free in a liberation of resources undreamt of until this day. No craft, no crew, can travel safely with such vast contradictions. On their resolution depends the survival of us all."

18. The resolution of those contradictions was the task which confronted the Council today. It was precisely in the hope of liberating the earth's resources for all mankind that, in 1961, President Kennedy had proposed to make the 1960's a Development Decade. With that Decade now half over, it must be regretfully noted that the

developing countries were far from having achieved the per capita growth rates established in 1961 by the General Assembly as targets to be reached before the end of the Decade. Too often, the modest growth achieved had been swallowed up by population increase. Worst of all, the rate of increase tended to be slowest in the least developed countries. The per capita income in the less developed countries averaged \$120 a year, and if present efforts were not increased, the per capita income in those countries would attain no more than \$170 by the end of the century. There was no alternative, therefore, but to redouble the present efforts and to show more determination than ever to break the bonds of human misery.

19. While there was no reason for satisfaction with the Development Decade, neither was there any reason to condemn it unjustly or to underestimate the new initiatives taken, both within and outside the United Nations, to bring the Decade's goals nearer, to give new strength to the family of nations and to open up new horizons. Thanks to those initiatives, it had been possible in the first five years of the Decade, to combine the United Nations two major development assistance activities into an enlarged and strengthened development programme, establish UNCTAD, further expand the resources of the World Bank and IDA, establish a highly promising World Food Programme, organize the Institute for Training and Research, create an Organization for Industrial Development, launch regional development banks in Africa and Asia, enter upon the Alliance for Progress in one of the world's main under-developed regions and to form within OECD, the Development Assistance Committee.

20. Nevertheless, despite that progress, the fact must be recognized that many of the goals set seemed just as far off. Perhaps the time had come for each to turn the searchlight of criticism inward and seek, not what some other country should do, but what each one could do in order to achieve better results. For that, both the developed and the less developed countries—and regardless of ideology—should understand each other's problems. For instance, it was understandable that many developing countries should believe that the United States should be doing more than it was. But developing countries should also try to understand the perspective in which the American people viewed the question of foreign aid.

21. In the past twenty-one years, the United States had expended more than \$50,000 million on its foreign aid programmes, from which some 120 countries had benefited. The Marshall Plan was offered to all, regardless of ideology; that some countries rejected its benefits was not an American decision. The American people were aware of the necessity of helping the developing countries to reach the point of self-sustaining growth as rapidly as possible, not only because of their desire to help their fellow men to overcome poverty, but also because they believed that to be essential for the maintenance of world peace. Since the Second World War, every President of the United States had publicly and repeatedly supported continuing foreign aid. United States public opinion had consistently supported the efforts of the public authori-

ties and private initiative to help other countries to build the foundations of their own prosperity. He was sure that it would continue to do so, even though other obligations, such as the attack on poverty in the United States itself and the requirements of defence, imposed a heavy burden on the country's finances. The United States Government was confident of its ability to meet all legitimate needs, both domestic and international. While there could be no doubt, therefore, of the United States continuing and deep desire to assist the developing countries, it was important to ask whether that could be done by increased financial aid alone and whether the aid furnished was being used as effectively as might be desired. That question was reflected in the close and careful scrutiny to which all proposals for more aid were subjected in Congress. But the best answer could be given by the developing countries themselves, by demonstrating their unqualified commitment to the task in hand and their own determination to take all the measures needed to make outside assistance as effective as possible.

22. Although the people of the United States sometimes felt that the developing countries expected too much of them, he was sure that those countries reacted in like fashion when impatience was expressed at their slow progress. That impatience was shared by the developing countries themselves, for all believed that ultimately self-help was the best help. For those reasons, he believed that a reappraisal of attitudes on both sides at the present session—leading to a better insight into each other's problems and focusing on the interests that unite rather than the differences that divide—would enable the Council to write a new and inspiring chapter for the Development Decade.

23. All the members of the Council recognized that the provision of development assistance at adequate levels and on the right terms must continue to be a first order of business for the world community. At the same time, new efforts must be made to expand the markets for the exports of developing countries. The year 1966 was one in which 68 countries members of GATT had an opportunity to reduce the barriers to world trade, in particular barriers to goods which were of particular export interest to the less developed countries. The Kennedy Round should not be regarded as the final goal, but rather as a substantial step towards the achievement of freer trade among nations. Efforts must also be continued to ensure stability in the markets for primary commodities exported by developing countries. Cocoa producing and consuming countries had met recently in New York to try to achieve an agreement which would have contributed considerably to the economic development of the producing countries. Unfortunately, despite hard efforts to that end, the Cocoa Conference had not been able to achieve its goal. The United States nevertheless hoped that, following the further informal consultations in which it was participating, it would be possible to reach an agreement before the end of the year. One essential requirement for the economic development of all countries was the maintenance of the growth and stability of the industrial economies of the world. If those economies were to remain strong, however, attention must be paid to their problems as well as to their achievements, as those

problems were the concern not only of the industrial economies, but of the developing countries also.

24. Describing the economic expansion of the United States, he said that, from 1961 to 1965, the country's real output had increased at an annual rate averaging 4.5 per cent, while the unemployment rate had fallen below 4 per cent of the labour force. The gross national product now stood at \$713,900 million as against \$58,500 million in 1932.

25. The economic growth of the United States had been made possible by a combination of enlightened government policies and forward-looking labour and management. The contributions of the free-enterprise system should not be minimized. In the present-day economic environment, the United States had to face new problems and new opportunities. It knew that in order not to jeopardize gains already made it must work to ensure price stability and full employment, without inflation, in a dynamic society. Its aim over the long run, therefore, was to maintain an annual growth rate of not less than 4 per cent. It would also continue to strive to ensure equilibrium in its balance of payments and seek to improve the international monetary system so that it would facilitate sound and orderly growth of the world economy. The United States realized that its greater economic strength must be used to combat poverty, discrimination against minorities and the many social problems that arose in an expanding economy and in an urbanized society. In the past, it had perhaps not always measured up to its constitutional heritage of equality for all. However, considerable progress had been made in recent years in that respect, and while the country had not been able to cure all its ills, it was progressing in that direction.

26. The first order of business for the world community must be the provision of an adequate amount of development assistance. But ways and means must be sought to meet the needs of the developing countries without straining the monetary system further. Although much of its aid to the developing countries was bilateral, the United States recognized the desirability of providing increased financial assistance to the developing countries, under international agreements, through institutions such as the World Bank, IDA and the regional development banks. It also recognized that in view of the current balance-of-payments problems of the developing countries, there was a need for assistance on easy terms such as was provided by IDA. The United States therefore favoured an increase in the resources of that institution. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of pre-investment projects, it would continue to give its full support to the new United Nations Development Programme on which so many hopes centred.

27. However, economic development for tomorrow had little meaning to those who were starving today. The life-and-death problem of food for the peoples of the world was one of the most urgent on the agenda of mankind. The growth in the world's production of food was being outstripped by the number of mouths to be fed. Undoubtedly many countries would increasingly take measures to slow down population growth through family planning programmes. The United Nations and the

specialized agencies had an important role to play in that respect. Meanwhile, the problem was to provide adequate food for the present population. In 1985, the food deficit would be too large to be met by the food exports of the food-surplus countries and a large percentage of the world's people would face famine unless urgent steps were immediately taken. The United States, which was the world's largest food exporter, had drawn largely on its reserves to meet the needs of the importing countries and, in order to maintain a minimum reserve, it had increased its acreage under wheat. But food aid alone would not suffice to resolve the problem. The only lasting solution would be for the food deficit countries to modernize their agriculture and increase their own food production. For that purpose, the United States was willing to make available to those countries its technical know-how and experience. It was also willing to work with other countries to support programmes of investment in agriculture. Further, it was prepared to join in a new multilateral effort and to that end had invited the Development Assistance Committee of OECD to meet in Washington.

28. However, no amount of economic progress and increased food production were sufficient to ensure a life of dignity for all those who were daily subjected to inequality

and discrimination. So long as those evils persisted, no man could take comfort in the betterment of his own community. His delegation was glad to announce, therefore, that the United States Government would shortly sign the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1965. But the elimination of discrimination—important though it was—was only one aspect of human rights. The United States delegation was gratified to note, therefore, that the Commission on Human Rights had decided to establish a working group to study the proposal of Costa Rica that a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights should be established. It looked forward with great anticipation to the International Conference on Human Rights to be held in 1968 on the initiative of Jamaica.

29. Today, a world of dignity and equal opportunity for all men was years away, but the Council had no time to lose. It must set to work at the present session. In doing so it would contribute to the just and lasting peace that was the world's only hope against the common enemies of mankind.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.