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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, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Greece, Hungary, Indonesia, Israel, Mexico, Pakistan, Portugal, United Arab Republic.

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, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Monetary Fund, World Health Organization.

The representative of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

AGENDA ITEM 4

**Economic development of under-developed countries (E/3387 and Add.1; E/L.878) (resumed from the 1121st meeting)**

1. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to resume its consideration of item 4 of the agenda and drew attention to the draft resolution on opportunities for international co-operation on behalf of newly independent countries submitted jointly by Denmark, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sudan, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (E/L.878).

2. Events of the past few days plainly demonstrated the importance and urgency of the matter under consideration. He hoped that the Council would be able to display the same speed and firmness in its action thereon as had the Secretary-General in connexion with the events in the Republic of the Congo.

3. Mr. de SEYNES, Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, said that since the time when the Secretary-General, on his return from Africa, had formulated his

proposals<sup>1</sup> for approval in principle by the Economic and Social Council at its twenty-ninth session the situation had developed rapidly in a way that could only strengthen the convictions then expressed regarding the part currently to be played by the United Nations. Indeed, in the light of the most recent events, the programme initially proposed appeared far too modest in scope. There was, of course, no question at the moment of specifying the ways in which the assistance sought by the Government of the Congo might be financed; but it could be presumed that action taken by the United Nations in especially difficult circumstances could not fail to change the general picture and be reflected in the attitude the Organization would thenceforward take to the problems created by the acquisition of independence.

4. The Secretary-General had accordingly instructed him to inform the Council that when he (Mr. Hammarskjöld) submitted specific proposals to the budgetary organs of the General Assembly, the objectives stated earlier would have to be adapted to the new circumstances. In particular, the immediate need for room in which to manoeuvre in getting to grips with the most urgent requirements would doubtless entail combining the appropriations the Secretary-General had intended to spread over two financial years. Moreover, it was already certain that the programme for the provision of operational, executive and administrative personnel (OPEX) would have to be considerably expanded. Naturally, the necessary studies and research would be continued and more accurate appraisals would be provided at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. But any uncertainty that might remain regarding the quantitative limits of the action to be taken should not stop the Council from emphasizing, as forcefully as necessary, the need for prompt and effective action. In that connexion, the Secretary-General had stated in the Security Council on 20 July 1960, with reference to the civil and military assistance required, that "there should not be any hesitation, because we are at a turn of the road where our attitude will be of decisive significance, I believe, not only for the future of this organization, but also for the future of Africa. And Africa may well in present circumstances mean the world. I know these are very strong words, but I hope that this Council and the Members of this Organization know that I do not use strong words unless they are supported by strong convictions."

5. Mr. ORTIZ-MARTÍN (Costa Rica) said that the most outstanding event of the previous century had been the emergence of new States in Latin America. But the circumstances that had attended their birth had been

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-ninth session, Annexes*, agenda item 10, document E/3338.

very different from those obtaining at that time, when there was an international organization ready to give generous assistance. The Latin American countries had striven for a hundred years amid general indifference to assert their liberty, and not until the beginning of the twentieth century had they finally succeeded in laying a sound economic foundation that would safeguard their independence. That explained the very special sympathy and sense of responsibility they felt for the peoples then seeking to achieve independence. His delegation was convinced that it was conveying the sentiments of the other Latin American republics in stressing how necessary it was for the Council to devise practical and constructive ways of helping the new African States to consolidate their independence and to build up their political and economic institutions in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding.

6. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America) recalled that, at its twenty-ninth session, the Council had adopted unanimously resolution 752 (XXIX) — of which his delegation had had the honour of being one of the sponsors — with the object of increasing international assistance to newly independent countries. At that session he had commented on the magnitude of the problem of economic development in Africa — a problem commensurate with the hopes and determination of 200 million human beings linked in a movement of tidal force similar to that which had impelled early American pioneers to move forward into the wilderness to build a better and freer life by stern toil and unshakeable courage. It was therefore understandable that Americans had deep sympathy for the intense desire of Africans to make political, economic and social progress. His country stood ready to help them in their endeavour.

7. The views of the United States Government had been restated at the 1117th meeting by the Under-Secretary of State, and were Mr. Dillon present he would undoubtedly reiterate the hope for peaceful change that would contribute to the more rapid achievement of all the aims of the emerging States. It was clearly the collective responsibility of all, acting in the spirit of Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give constructive support to the African nations that would not accentuate conflict or misunderstanding.

8. At the time when resolution 752 (XXIX) had been adopted, no member of the Council could have foreseen the great challenge that the United Nations was facing in the new Republic of the Congo. All reports from that area indicated that the prompt response of the United Nations was proving effective in restoring peace and stability; indeed, the United Nations action might well be described as magnificent. It was to be hoped that its action in meeting the new challenges in the economic and social fields would prove equally effective.

9. The reports of the Secretary-General before the Council (E/3387 and Add.1) sounded a call to action. The United States delegation had therefore been a co-sponsor of the seven-power draft resolution (E/L.878), in which the conviction was expressed that special efforts must be

made to provide, within the existing framework of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, prompt and effective assistance to emerging countries. That wording had been carefully weighed; help must be both prompt and effective if needs of such urgency were to be met.

10. That proposition held no implication that the needs of other under-developed countries had become any less urgent; those of developing countries in Asia and the Far East, the Middle East and Latin America had still to be met. The only course therefore lay in substantially increasing the resources available for the work. The draft resolution envisaged two main sources of funds. First, it advocated an appropriate increase in the regular budget of the United Nations, a substantial part of which would, it was hoped, be used to provide more technical assistance in the field of public administration and under the OPEX programme — a form of assistance which the United Nations was especially well-equipped to give and which was urgently needed by emerging countries. Secondly, it was urged that renewed efforts be made to secure increased contributions to the United Nations Special Fund and to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The increases would have to be substantial, such as that announced by the United Kingdom Government at the Pledging Conference in the autumn of 1959, involving an increase in its contributions from \$2 million to \$5 million, which automatically entailed a counterpart increase of \$2 million in the United States contributions.

11. He welcomed the announcement made by the Soviet Union representative at the 1121st meeting that his government intended to increase its contribution to the two programmes. The United States of America sincerely hoped that that action sprang from a new awareness on the part of the Soviet Union of the constructive role those programmes were playing in the under-developed areas of the world. But the extent of the increase was disappointing, particularly when viewed in the light of constant Soviet Union reports of rapidly increasing prosperity in that country and in the light of its professed sympathy for the peoples of the under-developed countries and their problems.

12. He raised the point simply because it illustrated the great disparity between the amounts actually contributed and the economic capacity of the countries concerned to make contributions. But the appeal in the draft resolutions was addressed not to any one country but to all which had a genuine interest in helping the new nations that were emerging. If the objective were to be reached, all countries must make contributions commensurate with their economic capacity. Let the world keep faith with the peoples of the emerging countries by backing its words with action.

13. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand) said that he welcomed the opportunity of reiterating his government's support for the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General in his report. They were sound and worthwhile; they should be approved both by the Council and by the General Assembly at its forthcoming session and be put promptly into effect.

14. The draft resolution provided a solid basis for action. The problems associated with the acquisition of independence were among the most important and urgent that the Council had ever been called upon to discuss. Any doubts that might have been entertained on that score would undoubtedly have been dispelled by the tragic events that had just shaken the heart of the African continent — events which more than vindicated the Secretary-General's initiative and graphically underlined the urgent needs he had described.

15. Less than twelve months previously it would have been difficult to imagine the rapidity of political development that was now the dominant characteristic of Africa. The process was in full severing and had already overtaken the predictions that had lain at the roots of the Secretary-General's original proposals. It was plain that the magnitude of the task facing the United Nations in respect of emerging countries was likely to be more than doubled by January 1961.

16. In most cases, independence was being acquired harmoniously and on a relatively firm basis that augured well for healthy development after the transitional period. The New Zealand delegation wished to take the opportunity of paying a tribute to the metropolitan powers, whose realism and foresight over the years had prepared the new States both economically and politically for independence and which were still making a very substantial contribution to those States in the shape of bilateral assistance. Thanks to those efforts, dependent countries had more often than not been transformed into sovereign States in friendship and without a perceptible break with the past.

17. But whether a country found its independence in such favourable conditions or in circumstances fraught with uncertainty, the problems created by the change of status were very considerable: the acute shortage of trained personnel, the necessity of establishing basic administrative and technical services and of speeding up educational progress and the need for basic economic information and consultative services regarding investment had all to be coped with. As the Secretary-General had rightly pointed out, what was required was the ability to provide assistance not only in the right amounts but also in the right form and at the right time.

18. The situation in the Republic of the Congo dramatically brought out the need for one particular kind of assistance, the provision of operational, executive and administrative personnel. The importance and value of the OPEX programme had been clearly demonstrated and the New Zealand delegation confidently expected that the proposal to expand that programme and place it on a permanent footing would meet with the Council's approval and that governments of Member States would do their utmost to make available staff of the required quality and ability.

19. It was particularly important to ensure that the resources available to the United Nations and the specialized agencies for operations in Africa were put to the most effective use. Aid programmes must take real account of priority needs and of the benefits to be

derived from proper co-ordination of activities. As regional offices of the various agencies were at present scattered widely over the African continent, there was all the more reason for setting up effective working arrangements in what was an entirely new venture. Everything possible must be done to avoid the mistakes that had at times been made in other regions.

20. In common with other speakers, he would stress the important role which the resident representatives of the Technical Assistance Board (TAB) could play in the co-ordination of aid programmes. That was a matter of particular relevance in the case of Africa and had been duly emphasized in the draft resolution. It was important that the great trust which African countries had reposed in United Nations action should be justified and that the United Nations and the specialized agencies should act in the closest co-operation to achieve common aims.

21. He would reiterate the importance and the urgency of the question before the Council. The emergence of new States in Africa and elsewhere, which had reached its climax during 1960, was a challenge to the United Nations and all its related agencies — a challenge that must be met if the objectives of those organizations were to be reached.

22. Mr. DUDLEY (United Kingdom) recalled that at the 1106th meeting at the Council's twenty-ninth session he had announced his government's support for the proposals made by the Secretary-General for United Nations action on behalf of newly independent countries. On that occasion, he had set forth in some detail the reasons for that support and had stated the United Kingdom's views about the positive considerations that should be borne in mind in giving such aid, particularly to the new countries of Africa. There was no need for him to go over that ground again, but he warmly supported the points made by the two previous speakers.

23. Since the examination of the needs of the new States had been carried a step further in the Secretary-General's report, the United Kingdom Government was even more certain that the activities recommended by the Secretary-General were essential and its conviction was strengthened by recent events and by the Under-Secretary's statement at that meeting.

24. It was essential to make appropriate financial provision for the proposed action, in part through the regular budget of the United Nations by way of higher appropriations for economic and administrative technical assistance and in part through the Expanded Programme. And current events in the Republic of the Congo would inevitably intensify the need for additional financial provision under those and other heads. At the same time, his government recognized how profoundly right the Secretary-General was in his insistence on the fact that the realities of a rapidly changing situation required a high degree of flexibility in the programmes designed to meet it (E/3387, para. 2). Indeed, that had been one of the points which his delegation had particularly emphasized at the twenty-ninth session.

25. Although he was convinced that the African countries acquiring independence would in their new status need

more aid from United Nations sources and agreed that the special problems of transition also called for assistance of a temporary nature, he was far from certain of the validity of the estimates of requirements made so far. The Secretary-General himself would, he was sure, take the same view, especially in the light of the observation in paragraph 2 of his report and in that of the Under-Secretary's latest statement. It would therefore be best for the Council to commend the Secretary-General's proposals to the General Assembly in the broadest possible way, leaving it to the latter, as the organ responsible for budgetary matters, to decide exactly what additional appropriations should be provided for in the United Nations budget. The General Assembly would be in all the better a position to do so since by the time it came to take action the results of the 1960 Pledging Conference for the Expanded Programme and the Special Fund would be known. He would like to take that opportunity of thanking the United States representative for his reference to the increase in the United Kingdom's contributions for 1960, the total of which was in fact \$8 million, not \$5 million.

26. The decision on how much would be required to finance the OPEX programme in the following two years should also be left to the General Assembly. At the 1123rd meeting, the leader of the United Kingdom delegation had expressed his government's view that that programme should be put on a permanent footing, and in the same connexion had particularly emphasized the importance of education and training, especially in public administration; the United Kingdom delegation therefore welcomed the emphasis in the Secretary-General's report on that aspect of the work in Africa.

27. Paragraph 14 of the report (E/3387) made it plain that the Secretary-General was not proposing a special programme of technical assistance for the new countries or a reduction in the scope of existing programmes. The criteria governing the provision of technical assistance, which had been developed over the years, were not being, and need not be, changed. Action then being taken was part of the continuous development of the United Nations' functions and for the time being there was no need to go further. The United Kingdom had every confidence in the way in which TAB and the Special Fund were being managed and the United Nations Secretariat itself was setting to work enthusiastically. Hence, despite the new responsibilities, there was no room for dissatisfaction with past procedures. What was wanted was for each Member of the United Nations to do its best to ensure that its contributions in human and other resources were commensurate with its own capacity.

28. He hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously. It might, however, be appropriate to refer in the preamble to the statement made at that meeting by the Under-Secretary. He would accordingly propose, if the other sponsors were agreeable, that the following paragraph be inserted between the second and third preambular paragraphs:

*"Taking into account the oral statement made at the Council's 1127th meeting by the representative*

*of the Secretary-General about the new and urgent needs which have arisen in recent weeks."*

29. Mr. ADEEL (Sudan), welcoming the Under-Secretary's statement on United Nations assistance to Africa and expressing appreciation of the valuable information given in the Secretary-General's report, said that the document rightly stressed the urgency of the problems with which Africa was faced. The tempo of progress to independence was quickening and the social and economic problems besetting the new countries were becoming increasingly acute as the peoples of Africa waged their struggle for a better and freer life. The whole world was coming to realize that 1960 was "Africa Year". Hence, in giving first priority to Africa, the United Nations and the specialized agencies were accepting the realities of a rapidly changing situation and responding to the trust placed in them by the peoples of Africa at that crucial moment in their political and economic life. His delegation wished to express to the Secretary-General and, through him, to the United Nations and its agencies and organs, its great appreciation of all they were doing to help the peoples of Africa. The commendable promptness with which the United Nations had reacted to recent events in the heart of that continent proved once more that it was better suited and equipped to deal with the crises of those troubled times than individual governments. Its action would do much to raise its prestige and strengthen its authority.

30. The report before the Council was a clear record of progress. It was gratifying to note the intensification of the specialized agencies' activities in Africa. The latest trend in their programmes was a healthy one. But the United Nations had started its work there much later than elsewhere and it was therefore only right that Africa's share should be increased in order to remedy the existing lack of balance and to help the African peoples to achieve a standard of living more in keeping with the age in which they lived.

31. African governments were anxious to have United Nations assistance in framing their future policies. The United Nations and specialized agencies were fully aware of the need for programmes of concerted action forming integral parts of the individual countries' plans for economic and social development. The recent discussion in the Council at ministerial level had revealed worldwide recognition of the need for concentrating international assistance on the rapid development and effective maintenance of national services and institutions, on fact-finding studies and the determination of needs and on training.

32. Yet for all that accent on assistance, current activities were still not adequate to cope with the vast and complex problems involved. All delegations, he was sure, wished to see a steady increase in the funds allocated to technical assistance for the African countries, for that was the only way in which the great challenge could be taken up. As the Secretary-General stated in his report (E/3387, para. 5), Africa's share would need to be more than doubled, perhaps trebled, if it was to be brought even approximately into line with that of other Members of



the United Nations at a comparable stage of development. Moreover, in addition to the long-term needs there were the urgent problems of the transition to independence to be faced. It was the responsibility of the United Nations to do its share in meeting those temporary needs as well.

33. Recent events in the Republic of the Congo demonstrated beyond all doubt the urgent need for assistance in training public administrative staff and a variety of experts in the financial, technical, executive and operational branches. Arrangements should be made for informing the new countries of the procedure for requesting assistance from the specialized agencies and the Special Fund so that they could make the best use of the available opportunities, preferably by personal contacts between United Nations staff and national officials. Until national personnel could be trained for the work, more help would continue to be required from the specialized agencies and the United Nations in drawing up national development plans. The OPEX programme ought accordingly to be placed on a permanent basis and given more funds.

34. The Sudanese delegation fully supported the Secretary-General's recommendations for action. Help to Africa was of crucial importance for the peace and prosperity of the entire world. The United Nations could promote that cause by living up to its responsibilities and by extending a helping hand to the new countries of Africa.

35. As one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, he appealed to the Council to respond to the spirit that illuminated it by adopting it unanimously.

36. Mr. KAKITSUBO (Japan) said that, as a member of the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations, the Japanese delegation welcomed the emergence into statehood of the former Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories that would be acquiring independence in 1960. The initial stages of political independence created extremely difficult problems for the new governments, since a natural demand for better living conditions was coupled with a reduction in the administrative staff and financial resources previously provided by the metropolitan power. The difficulties were serious enough when the transfer took place amicably; if the atmosphere was unfriendly, the difficulties were aggravated, especially by the sudden withdrawal of administrative and financial facilities. The common feature of the new countries was paucity of administrative and technical staff, and in remedying that defect they naturally preferred multilateral assistance, especially through the United Nations, to bilateral assistance. In his report the Secretary-General made suggestions for long-term assistance and temporary emergency assistance within the framework of existing United Nations organs, intimating that the former, which would also have to be continued to be provided for countries which had been receiving such assistance for some time, might have to be doubled or even trebled. The Japanese delegation supported that view, although it did not believe that assistance need necessarily be strictly proportionate to the population

involved. If technical assistance were to be maintained, the resources available for it would have to be increased, as proposed in Council resolution 752 (XXIX), a point that was taken up again in operative paragraph (6) of the draft resolution, operative paragraph (4) of which dealt similarly with the allocation of additional resources under the regular programmes and the OPEX programme.

37. The Japanese delegation was also in favour of increasing the contingency authority of the Executive Chairman of TAB under the Working Capital and Reserve Fund from 5 to 7½ per cent for 1960. The additional funds made available should be devoted to urgent temporary needs in Africa, but should not be continued indefinitely. His delegation supported the New Zealand delegation in hoping that adequate co-ordination for concerted action in Africa would be achieved between the specialized agencies and the United Nations.

38. Mr. MEIJER (Netherlands) remarked that when the Council had adopted resolution 752 (XXIX), it could hardly have foreseen that its relevance would so soon be dramatized by the situation in the Republic of the Congo. The Under-Secretary's statement made it clear that the economic activities of the United Nations family would have to be steered in an entirely new direction. From the legislative point of view, speed was essential and in the executive sphere the transition to operational activities would also have to be accelerated. The Council, assembling as it was between crucial meetings of the Security Council, should ponder the timely action taken by the Secretary-General. His delegation on the whole concurred in the proposals made in the latter's report. The OPEX programme would have to be expanded and every opportunity exploited of combining multilateral and bilateral resources for specific projects in the new States. The additional preambular paragraph to the draft resolution proposed orally by the United Kingdom representative appropriately expressed the general reaction to the Under-Secretary's statement, and was acceptable to the Netherlands delegation as a co-sponsor of the proposal.

39. Mr. TARRE MURZI (Venezuela) emphasized the peculiar importance at that moment, when the world was witnessing the disintegration of the colonial system, of the question of the economic development of underdeveloped countries and especially that of the opportunities of international co-operation on behalf of the newly independent countries. Venezuela, which had always viewed with much sympathy the efforts put forth by the African communities in their struggle for emancipation, was naturally ready to contribute as much as it possibly could to the emergency programme to be carried out on the international plane to help the new republics to solve the many serious economic and social problems with which they were faced. It was certain that the attainment of independence by the former colonial territories in Africa would hasten their development in those fields. Invested with the attributes of power, the new governments would enjoy the necessary authority and prestige to bring the indigenous peoples to take a greater part in carrying out development programmes. In that respect,

it was sufficient to recall the testimony of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, which had stated in 1957 that nationalism alone could give the necessary impetus to the action required. An indigenous government, springing from its people, would be able to impose stricter discipline on the workers and to heighten the sense of responsibility of public servants. An atmosphere of freedom and independence was a powerful instrument of economic betterment for all peoples who had known foreign domination.

40. The needs of the new States of Africa were many and urgent. It emerged from official United Nations statistics and from the documents submitted to the Council by the specialized agencies that the lack of balance between population and production was rapidly becoming acute in that part of the world, that the average annual income per head of population was lowest of all in Africa, that malnutrition was chronic and many diseases endemic there and that illiteracy was more prevalent in that continent than anywhere else in the world. The picture painted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) was a truly tragic one.

41. At the same time, the reports submitted by those organizations were sociological documents of incomparable value for an understanding of the causes of the existing tension in various parts of Africa. It must, unfortunately, be admitted that the recent outbreaks of violence were to be attributed to the undecided attitude of the colonial powers, since it was plain that no country which acquired its freedom overnight would be able to solve its economic and social problems unless the metropolitan country had been concerned, during the long years of its administration of the territory, to train the necessary political, administrative and technical personnel in order to ensure a smooth transition from the colonial régime to independence.

42. It was therefore the imperative duty of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to lend the new African States all the assistance of which they stood in need. It would be better, and certainly less expensive, for the United Nations to send experts rather than soldiers to that part of the world. There was a danger that Africa might become a permanent hotbed of political agitation. The United Nations could not stand aloof from the social drama being played out by the young countries of the African continent. The problem was grave, and should be seen in its proper perspective. Despite their new political independence, those countries had an extremely precarious economy based in each case on the production of a single raw material which put them at the mercy of business groups in the metropolitan country or of large international combines. That economic vulnerability explained the quasi-feudal nature of their society, which threatened their political stability and was generally a constant source of international tension.

43. Faithful to its anti-colonialist tradition, Venezuela was ready to support any co-operative effort to help those countries. Their needs had been described very

fully by the Secretary-General in his report, and the various studies and surveys prepared by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), FAO, UNESCO and WHO and by the missions sent out by the International Atomic Energy Agency and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development testified to the United Nations interest in their problems. His country hoped, however, that all the specialized agencies would redouble their efforts to go to the assistance of the forgotten peoples of the African continent. The countries of Latin America had had to face similar problems and had themselves been obliged to seek technical assistance from the United Nations. But that did not stop them from joining sincerely in the appeal on behalf of countries which had recently attained independence in Africa, who aspired as they did to economic independence, political stability and social justice. His delegation would accordingly vote for the draft resolution.

44. Mr. DJOKOTO (Observer for the Government of Ghana), speaking at the invitation of the PRESIDENT, expressed his government's gratitude for the assistance rendered by the United Nations and specialized agencies to the countries of Africa which had recently gained their independence and to the Non-Self-Governing Territories which were in the process of gaining it. It was unfortunate that lack of funds rendered such assistance inadequate. The more highly developed countries were morally bound to make more generous contributions; and the Council had often emphasized the fact that they could not sustain their economies in isolation. Many colonial countries had taken great profits out of Africa and there was no reason why they should not now help the emerging countries of that continent. The Ghanaian Government, like the other new governments of Africa, hoped for great things from the proposed capital development fund, which would allay the fears aroused by proposals for bilateral assistance with strings attached. The situation in the Republic of the Congo was an example of what the United Nations family could do to ensure stability. Ghana had sent troops and technicians to save the young republic from what could be described as a new brand of imperialism. He would not enlarge upon that issue, since the matter was still *sub judice* in the United Nations. The Secretary-General's report made the excellent point that there were ample opportunities of providing technical assistance for Africa. Ghana was represented on the governing bodies of several specialized agencies and would do its utmost to see that such technical assistance was forthcoming.

45. Exception might well be taken to the use of the phrase "under-developed countries", which, in several contexts, was hardly consistent with the dynamic spirit of the countries concerned. It would be more accurate and simpler to use the phrase "developing countries", a change which such institutions as the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were already contemplating. The use of such a term would reflect the positive assistance that certain "under-developed" countries were giving to other countries in a similar position.

46. The Secretariat had an unfortunate tendency to refer to what it called Africa south of the Sahara. Such a

balkanization of the continent was unacceptable: Africa must be regarded as a whole.

47. Mr. CHEN (China) agreed that the special needs of the emerging countries of Africa should receive special attention from the United Nations. He would therefore support the draft resolution, which, he hoped, would make it possible to provide assistance, albeit on a modest scale, to those countries in the initial stages of their independence.

48. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland) said that recent events had justified the Secretary-General's concern expressed in his report about the urgent need for assistance to the new States, especially where the transition to independence had not been adequately prepared by the metropolitan power. The Council should carefully examine the needs and the machinery for meeting them and should encourage any initiative that would broaden the scope of assistance. It was important that the countries concerned should determine their own needs and priorities and select for themselves the experts they required. Poland was ready to send experts. The Secretary-General's report showed the difficulties of assessing needs, especially as they varied greatly according to whether a given country was receiving bilateral or multilateral assistance from sources other than the United Nations. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) should therefore be asked to undertake, in co-operation with the governments concerned, a detailed study, in order to assemble the information referred to in paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Secretary-General's report (E/3387). Each country should be dealt with separately, and the study should cover both existing fields of assistance and the fields where no international body was as yet competent to provide it, such as the development of natural resources. Such a study would enable the countries concerned to formulate more effectively their requests for bilateral or multilateral assistance.

49. Paragraph 9 of the Secretary-General's report related to a financial question that the Polish delegation had raised at the twenty-ninth session. But the lack of precise data should not be allowed to hold up the provision of immediate assistance. The Polish delegation had therefore voted in the Technical Assistance Committee (214th meeting) for an increase in the contingency authority of the Executive Chairman of TAB from 5 to 7½ per cent for 1960.

50. Possibilities of increasing contributions to the Expanded Programme should be explored and every effort made to make effective use of the voluntary contributions for technical assistance purposes.

51. His delegation agreed generally with the substance of the draft resolution, despite some minor defects. It could not, however, vote for operative paragraph (5), since that was a matter for the General Assembly, and requested that a separate vote be taken on that paragraph.

52. Mr. VIAUD (France) said that the French delegation had noted with interest the Secretary-General's proposals regarding the opportunities of international co-operation

on behalf of newly independent countries. It had listened attentively to the statement made by the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs modifying the original proposals to take into account the situation in certain parts of Africa. His delegation could not remain deaf to the Secretary-General's appeal and would support the draft resolution, which supplemented Council resolution 752 (XXIX) and prepared the way for the discussions which would soon be taking place in the General Assembly regarding the practical implementation of the measures envisaged by the Secretary-General. France's special responsibilities in Africa obliged his delegation to make a constructive contribution to the present debate and it did so in full agreement with the ten states of the Community, of which some had already attained independence and others would be doing so in the near future.

53. The Under-Secretary's statement had brought out two aspects of the interesting problem of newly independent countries: the emergency aspect, which was particularly acute in the Republic of the Congo and which required immediate action, above all to restore stability and provide a body of qualified personnel, and the long-term aspect, which called for measures extending over a longer period in most branches of the economy. The problem did not arise in its dual aspect in all parts of Africa, and United Nations programmes would be more effective if they reflected that distinction.

54. Apart from its support for the draft resolution, his delegation could state that the French Government would do everything in its power to give the United Nations all the technical and administrative help that the Organization might request. It hoped, in particular, that the Secretary-General, whose initiative was highly welcome, would preserve the possibility of carrying out genuinely multilateral action in the newly independent countries, and more particularly in the Congo, taking into account the material needs and cultural aspirations of the countries to be assisted.

55. While it was difficult to take a stand there and then on the scope of the assistance contemplated and the ways in which it should be made available, or to estimate the cost of implementation — the General Assembly being the proper body to take decisions on that matter — his delegation would nevertheless take part in the forthcoming discussions in a spirit of co-operation. With regard to the OPEX programme, however, it could say at once that it regarded the dispatch of qualified administrative, executive and operational personnel to newly independent countries as a valuable means of action open to the United Nations and that France would participate at the proper time in working out a permanent assistance programme in that sphere.

56. The complexity of the task facing the Council called for lucidity and breadth of vision. To be fully effective, its action must relate at once both to the immediate and to the more distant future, must be vigorous yet present, and lastly, must reflect unanimity in the Organization.

57. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan) said that it was not the first time that countries in Asia and Africa which had been victims of the colonial system had been told that



they had received assistance. That particular occasion was especially significant because, after so many years, it had at last become quite clear what the real meaning of colonialism was and what were the responsibilities of the United Nations. The United Nations was visibly replacing powers which had in no way assisted mankind. Not all countries and peoples were, however, yet independent. If the United Nations took care not to forget its responsibilities to those countries, a recurrence of the current tragic situation might be avoided. Afghanistan was the only country in Asia which had stood up to colonialism at the cost of remaining far more under-developed than many other countries which had succumbed to that system. The struggles and plight of such countries as his own should not be overlooked at a time of strong emotion in favour of the countries that were now emerging from colonialism. Failure to point that out would be an injustice to the peoples who were still dependent. The Afghan delegation had always supported the political struggle for independence of the peoples of Africa and their endeavours to make social and economic progress. Another reason for its support was the firm solidarity of the Asian and African countries. It was gratifying to see that the opportunities for international co-operation mentioned in the Secretary-General's report (E/3387 and Add.1) on behalf of newly independent countries had been strengthened by the establishment of ECA and that further measures were being considered. Afghanistan had consistently supported such measures. Although the needs of the new African countries were self-evident, it was always necessary to stress the great responsibility of the United Nations in that sphere. As his delegation had repeatedly emphasized in the General Assembly, the policy by which the more highly developed countries assisted the under-developed countries should be vigorously pursued, but any provision for assistance to Africa should ensure that the burden did not fall on other countries that were just as under-developed as the African countries. Such assistance should certainly be prompt and urgent, for if it were delayed unduly it would be too late, but assistance to new under-developed areas should not be allowed to prejudice assistance to other equally needy areas. The recent increases in the Expanded Programme allocations to Africa had already led to a reduction in allocations to other areas. That was naturally discouraging to under-developed countries which did not happen either to be in Africa or to have achieved their independence recently.

58. It had been a source of gratification to his delegation that an Afghan amendment (E/L.865) had been incorporated in the joint draft resolution which had subsequently become Council resolution 752 (XXIX), an amendment which ensured that the provision of funds for the emerging countries in Africa would not prejudice assistance to other countries; and he welcomed a similar provision at the end of operative paragraph (4) of the seven-power draft resolution. The statement by the United States representative, a co-sponsor of that draft resolution, showed that it had been clearly understood that assistance to other under-developed countries must not be affected by the increased allocation to African countries, who, he was sure, would never wish to receive assistance

at the expense of other nations whose plight was equally serious. He would vote for the draft resolution as a whole, although the Polish representative's comment on operative paragraph (5) was pertinent. The entire proposal should be interpreted in such a way as to ensure that the burden did not fall on other under-developed countries. The United Kingdom amendment was acceptable, although it might have been better not to refer to special cases in a resolution of general scope.

59. Mr. CHERNYSHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the Soviet Union delegation had already expressed its views on the Secretary-General's proposals (E/3387 and Add.1) at the 1117th meeting during the general debate. It would welcome any efforts to assist the under-developed countries, especially the emergent countries of Africa. The main problem was to find the most effective means of financing the programme envisaged. An increase in the United Nations budget would not be the right method, because such funds were limited and were mainly intended for the execution of the work assigned to the Secretariat by the United Nations, especially by the Council, and any sums that could be spared from the regular budget would hardly suffice to meet the needs of the new countries.

60. The additional source of funds should therefore be sought elsewhere, through the technical assistance programmes based on voluntary contributions in national currencies, and especially from the Special Fund. Other funds might be derived from a more rational distribution of the existing allocations, perhaps by reducing the high administrative expenditure, which had risen from year to year and had amounted to more than 19 per cent of all programme expenditure in 1959. A further source could be provided by a more rational balance between the three main heads of expenditure — experts, missions of technicians, and equipment and materials. All untapped resources should be exploited to the full.

61. The Soviet Union had expressed its willingness to make available to the new African countries through the United Nations an additional 2.5 million roubles as a voluntary contribution. That would make it possible to provide essential industrial and other equipment, to send out experts and to invite students to the USSR.

62. With regard to the comment made by the United States representative, the Soviet Union was giving aid on a large scale to African governments on a bilateral basis, in addition to the assistance it gave through the United Nations. The Soviet Union took no profits out of those countries through private investment, whereas United States companies earned net profits of \$3,000 million on their foreign investments, half of which was repatriated. The colonial powers should substantially increase their aid to the African States and funds should be accepted without discrimination from all countries, including the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union delegation would vote for the draft resolution as a whole, but would abstain from voting on operative paragraph (5), as its substance fell within the exclusive competence of the General Assembly.

63. Sir Herbert BROADLEY (United Nations Children's Fund), giving some additional information not in the



documents before the Council, said that in 1959 UNICEF had allocated \$2.6 million for supplies and equipment for Africa to be provided in co-operation with other agencies. The Executive Board, at its meeting in the spring of 1960, had allocated a further one million dollars and would probably allocate twice that sum at its December meeting. At the spring meeting, special emphasis had been laid on the needs of Africa, especially the newly independent countries of the continent. The Executive Director had visited almost all the countries of Africa, and, as a result, the total assistance provided by UNICEF in 1960 would probably exceed that supplied in 1959. It would, in fact, be limited only by the negotiation of practical projects and the resources available to UNICEF.

64. Mr. SCHWEITZER (Chile) observed that the Council was being called upon to consider opportunities for international co-operation on behalf of newly independent countries at a dramatic moment in history when the need to satisfy the many requirements of the under-developed countries was only too plain. The reports by the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies of which the Council was seized clearly showed the direction which United Nations action — which Chile would certainly support — must take in Africa. The representative of Afghanistan had very properly stressed once more, however, one aspect of the question that must constantly be borne in mind: in recommending the Council to give special attention to the position of the countries which were newly independent or about to become independent, the General Assembly had taken care to state that assistance extended to those countries should in no circumstances be allowed to prejudice the aid which other under-developed countries were entitled to expect from the United Nations. The draft resolution reflected that concern, and Chile would unhesitatingly vote for it. Any possibility of misunderstanding on the point, however, would be removed if operative paragraph (4) were amended to make it clear that such assistance should be not only without prejudice to current assistance given to other countries but also without prejudice to any additional assistance that might be extended to them in future.

65. Mr. GARCÍA de LLERA (Spain) said that the Spanish delegation whole-heartedly supported the draft resolution, as amended orally by the United Kingdom representative. In accordance with its oft-expressed policy, Spain was in favour of giving the maximum possible assistance to the newly independent countries, assistance that was all the more urgent in the light of the recent tragic events in Africa.

66. It was obvious that existing resources available to the Expanded Programme and the Special Fund were inadequate to meet the needs of the new States. No doubt at its forthcoming session the General Assembly would take appropriate steps to ensure effective action to meet both emergency and long-term needs.

67. He interpreted the last phrase in operative paragraph (4) of the draft resolution as meaning: "without prejudice to assistance given or to be given in the future to other countries".

68. Mr. de SOUZA-GOMES (Brazil) said that his country, true to its tradition and history, had always wholeheartedly supported all action taken by the United Nations on behalf of the newly independent African State. Brazil had, for example, contributed both in the Council and in the General Assembly to the establishment of ECA, for it had been convinced that that body would play an increasingly important part in the economic and social development of Africa. Recent events had proved the wisdom of that step.

69. His delegation wished to associate itself with all who had paid a tribute to the speed and efficiency with which the United Nations had reacted to the events now taking place in Africa. That action was in keeping with the noble ideals and lofty aims of the international Organization responsible for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

70. Although his delegation would vote for the draft resolution, it endorsed the remarks of the Afghan and Chilean representatives about the need to avoid prejudice to the assistance being given to other regions. In that connexion, it should be noted that resolution 752 (XXIX) expressed that idea much more clearly than did the seven-power draft resolution, which was in no circumstances to be interpreted as in any way restricting the Council's previous decision.

71. Mr. KAMENOV (Bulgaria) said that the Bulgarian people, who had laboured under a foreign yoke for five hundred years and had gained its independence only at a relatively recent date, had every sympathy with those countries which had just acquired, or were about to acquire, their independence through the collapse of the colonial system; it was convinced that that feeling was shared by all those of the world's peoples that had experienced foreign overlordship.

72. In the face of the magnitude and urgency of the needs of the newly independent countries, especially those in Africa, the problem was how the United Nations could most effectively come to those countries' help. The best method would be to ask Member States to make voluntary contributions. There were serious objections to the proposal that the General Assembly be recommended to make appropriate provision in the budget of the United Nations; not only was it unlikely that the additional resources thus raised would match needs, but in view of the principle of distributing expenditure among all States Members, that method would lay an additional burden on some countries that were themselves under-developed. His delegation therefore felt that it would at that stage be premature to adopt a resolution providing for an increase in the United Nations budget; in any event, the decision lay outside the Council's competence.

73. Subject to that reservation, which related to operative paragraph (4) of the draft resolution, his delegation would associate itself with the appeal to governments made therein to increase their contributions to the Special Fund and to the Expanded Programme.

74. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan) suggested that the point raised by the Chilean representative might be met by deleting the words "the" and "given" from the last subordinate clause of operative paragraph (4).

75. The PRESIDENT noted that the United Kingdom's oral amendment to the preamble and the Afghan oral amendment to operative paragraph (4) of the draft resolution had been accepted by the sponsors. A separate vote on operative paragraph (5) had been requested by the Polish representative.

*Operative paragraph (5) was adopted by 15 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.*

*The joint draft resolution on opportunities for international co-operation on behalf of newly independent countries (E/L.878), as a whole and as amended, was adopted unanimously.*

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.