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President: Mr. PÉREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 2

General discussion of international economic and social policy (E/4454, E/4467/Rev.1, E/4486/Add.1, E/4488 and Add.1-5, E/4496, E/4511 (Summary), E/4515, E/4525, E/4551; E/CN.5/417 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1 and Add.2 and Summary; E/CN.11/825; E/CN.12/806, E/CN.12/808 and Add.1; E/CN.14/409; E/ECE/703) (*continued*)

1. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) said that the Council's agenda included a number of highly important issues, such as the economic and social consequences of disarmament, the United Nations Development Decade and population and its relation to economic and social development. It was the Council's task to make recommendations to the General Assembly, the Members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and to co-ordinate the activities of the bodies in question. Co-ordination had proved vital in the course of the past few years, owing to the complex problems raised by development. His delegation, which was new to the Council, was not yet ready to make recommendations on the role of the Council and its subsidiary organs. However, at the joint meetings of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and the ACC, various criticisms had been voiced of the progress made during the first Development Decade, a decade, as it had been called, "of frustration". The causes of failure were complex; on the one hand, events had raised doubts as to how far the targets fixed were realistic, and on the other there was the fact that the economies of certain Western countries were flagging and suffering palpable recessions. Those were precisely the countries which were expected to contribute most to the Decade, and the developing countries rightfully

expected them to be the main customers for their products. Although some experts claimed to detect an economic boom, similar to that which had occurred during the Korean war, but due now to the Viet-Nameese war, the industrial output of the United States was slackening, and a considerable decline in investment was discernible. The stimulating effect which the Viet-Nameese war, if the *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1967* (E/CN.11/825) was to be believed, had had on the economies of various Asian countries had apparently not extended to the country responsible for the aggression, namely the United States. There was no doubt that responsibility for the aggression lay with the United States, and not, as was frequently claimed, with its victims. Economic slackening was likewise perceptible in other countries, which were thereby prevented from responding to the export needs of the developing countries.

2. It would be useful to analyse the reasons for the disappointing outcome of the first Development Decade in order to launch its successor along more favourable lines. The economic situation of the developing world was continuing to deteriorate. Financial resources were drained by the repatriation of capital, the transfer of profits and the service of debts. All those factors, accompanied by the declining outflow of exports from the developing countries, helped to nullify the net influx of capital.

3. The population explosion was often invoked to explain the low relative rate of growth of the developing countries' economies. It was argued that if the problem was not solved with the utmost speed, all development efforts would be in vain. Artificial measures to limit family size were therefore vociferously advocated by various organizations and groups. WHO itself did not seem so convinced that the methods proposed were harmless and advised that they should be handled with caution. Furthermore, as the Secretary-General had pointed out, it had formerly been normal for the birth rate to start to fall off in a particular country as soon as it reached a suitable level of development, education and urbanization. Why should that no longer be the case?

4. It should also be borne in mind that the human factor was one of the most important aspects of development. It was true that a certain type of investment was necessary for economic development, but the chief requirement was a skilled labour force at all levels. Moreover, as the Iranian representative had pointed out, the contributions intended for preliminary investment, even if they totalled as much as \$1,000 million, would fall short of present requirements. Since the material contributions for the next Development Decade were bound to be limited, it would perhaps be useful already at the present stage to focus the effort on the human sector. Instead of spending their meagre funds on building up an infrastructure which would merely make it easier for foreign monopolies to exploit their natural resources, the developing countries

might devote them to education and the training of the skilled manpower essential to the development of their national economies. Action along such lines would put at their disposal vast technical know-how which until now had merely enriched the monopolies of certain countries. The second Development Decade should therefore be devoted to a greater extent, or even exclusively, to the development of the human factor and the dissemination of knowledge and techniques which certain individuals now monopolized for their own benefit. That would also make it possible to halt the "brain drain" once and for all by creating in the developing countries a climate suitable for the improvement of skills.

5. To promote the success of the next Decade, steps should also be taken to safeguard the economic interests of the developing countries, institute government control over foreign capital while ensuring the use, in full sovereignty, of the natural resources of the developing countries in their own interests, contribute as much as possible to the preparation and execution of national development plans and, finally, concentrate particularly on the development of the public sector. Such measures presupposed a radical change in the economic and social structures of the developing countries. In that connexion, it was worthwhile noting that in the course of the past twenty-five years, Bulgaria had been transformed from a backward agrarian country into an industrialized country equipped with a modern agriculture. That had been made possible partly by thorough-going changes in the economic and social order and partly through the international socialist division of labour under the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

6. As a country in constant economic expansion, Bulgaria could therefore afford to expand its economic relations and its collaboration with the developing countries. It was at present collaborating with about sixty developing countries, and in 1966 its trade with those countries had been four times greater than in 1960. More than 260 industrial undertakings had been or were being constructed there by Bulgaria. Bulgarian aid to the developing countries had amounted to more than \$100 million over the past few years. To grasp the scale of that assistance effort, the size of the Bulgarian economy had of course to be borne in mind.

7. In connexion with the Council's important role in co-ordination, a burning question, that of action to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was before it under agenda item 25. The Council was called upon, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2311 (XXII), to consider, in consultation with the Special Committee of the General Assembly concerned with the matter, appropriate measures for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies in implementing the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the provisions of which were designed to lead to the decolonization of territories still under colonial domination. He hoped that the Council would at its present session adopt the necessary measures, in consultation with representatives of the Special Committee, to facilitate the co-ordination of the activities of the specialized agencies, for they had accu-

mulated a body of experience in that field which should be made use of.

8. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta) said that the current session of the Council was taking place at a time when the continued existence of situations leading to war, social unrest on a scale and of a duration which were unprecedented, and serious economic crises augured ill for the future. Despite the sustained efforts of United Nations bodies in the field of international co-operation, it must be conceded that the achievements of the Development Decade which was drawing to a close were far from satisfactory; short of a miracle within the next two-and-a-half years, the hopes of the under-privileged and of men of good will would again be disappointed.

9. The Council should therefore face up to its responsibilities and review its achievements, a review which would show, if not its failure, at least its inability to organize development properly on a world-wide basis. It was necessary to consider what the Council's role should be and to see whether the proliferation of agenda items which prevented constructive consideration of the main problems could be avoided. The issue was whether the Council was ready to make an exceptional effort and adopt a new approach in order to cope with the new requirements of development, whether it was willing to prepare a coherent policy commensurate with the vast world needs and to make adequate means available to serve the common good. The Council must try to provide the Secretariat and the specialized agencies with clear and coherent answers, approaches and directives so as to facilitate their respective tasks.

10. Three questions concerned him more particularly. Firstly, there was the Development Decade, which, as it approached an end, was leaving bitter disappointment in its wake, but might even now provide useful lessons. Secondly, there was the growing imbalance of development in Africa; varied and complex solutions had been proposed for that problem, not only by African leaders but also by various experts. Finally, there was international co-operation within the United Nations. The latest view was that aid should be multilateral in origin and regional in allocation. That was why so many looked to the United Nations, which was unable to meet all the requests for lack of sufficient funds. The reverses which had been suffered were not solely due to lack of will, but partly to lack of organization and a proper system. The proposed world development strategy would be successful only if placed in a new framework, and to that end the Council should lend the Secretary-General its full co-operation.

11. His delegation fully agreed with the analysis by the Secretary-General in the first part of his statement (1531st meeting). It also considered that the success of the second Development Decade would depend solely on those concerned. So far all development had been one-sided, the mass of under-privileged people in the world had scarcely been able to alter the balance of forces and had not managed, in the Secretary-General's words, "to induce new policies, against the will of those who are the repositories of economic power". Although the total

production of the developing countries had increased at a rate of 4.6 per cent per annum since 1960, the population growth rate had risen from 2 per cent in 1950 to 2.5 per cent since 1960, so that *per capita* income had increased by more than 2.3 per cent. Those figures illustrated the tragedy of the developing countries. Their foreign debt continued to rise, and such capital as they did manage to obtain at great cost was inadequate; the constant deterioration in their terms of trade helped to make the picture even gloomier.

12. The second session of UNCTAD had undoubtedly marked the culmination of disappointment and had increased the anxiety of the developing countries. Uncertainty about markets for the developing countries' exports and their ability to attract foreign capital further complicated the situation. Despite that background, the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General of UNCTAD had met with stiff opposition. However, one should not look merely at the negative aspect of the situation; at the second session some urgent problems had been successfully raised and to some extent solved—for instance, the setting up of a system of preferences for exports from developing countries, the principle of an increase in financial aid from wealthy nations, trade with socialist countries, maritime transport and the status of land-locked countries.

13. The current Development Decade had at least made it possible to make concerted efforts and to co-ordinate studies so as to identify priorities. Furthermore, the United Nations had been recognized as the most suitable framework for international co-operation, and it had been possible to state clearly the problem of defining regional long-term priorities with more active participation by the main beneficiaries, especially through national and regional development plans. The Decade had also shown the need to introduce modern techniques in the development process, which required a preliminary reshaping of the structures; it had also shown that development could no longer be regarded merely as the most efficient possible utilization of natural resources, but should at the same time ensure that human resources were fully employed and better used. Those major considerations should guide the Council in its work, and since the course to be followed in the next Decade was under consideration, it would have been helpful for the Secretary-General to explain briefly to the Council the results of the joint meetings of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and the ACC, held at Bucharest in July 1968, indicating the method advocated, the global targets which it had been possible to set and the parameters selected at the present stage, on the basis of economic projections for the growth of industrialized countries, the over-all volume of aid expected and the analytical and sectoral approaches suggested. His delegation wished to impress upon the Council now that changes which would undoubtedly take place in the developing countries were likely to make the targets unrealistic and to complicate the preparation of economic projections valid for the duration of the next Decade.

14. One sometimes got the impression that in the struggle against poverty Africa was the least favoured continent.

From a quick consideration of the situation in that continent three major points emerged. Firstly, it was in Africa that human rights had been and were still most frequently infringed. The curse of racial domination still weighed heavily on the continent's development, and wars which were sometimes forgotten continued to cause unnecessary bloodshed.

15. Secondly, in no continent had the struggle for development so far been carried on in a more unco-ordinated manner, owing to the part played by the interests—in some cases squalid—of foreign Powers. However, the many attempts at organization which had been made at the inter-African meetings at Algiers, Lusaka, Dakar and Addis Ababa were encouraging.

16. Lastly, some progress was discernible and was enough to outweigh the negative aspects. Africa had managed to acquire a realistic conception of political unity, not as a spurious overnight change, but as the culmination of long effort. Moreover, Africa had abandoned the myth of unintegrated development. Obviously the difficulties caused by the fact that the African States belonged to different well-organized currency areas would have to be overcome, and it would not always be easy to organize their economies for the purpose of aid multilateral in origin and regional in allocation. Africa refused to be reduced to economic tutelage; it had grasped the fact that the best technical assistance was assistance which became superfluous as quickly as possible. To an increasing extent Africa was abandoning expediency and short-sighted national opportunism and was showing its desire for regional co-operation in the preparation of national development plans.

17. With the exception of the colonial enclaves, the entire continent understood those requirements; the desire for joint action was manifest in bodies such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the African Development Bank, the Common Organization of African and Malagasy States, Air Afrique, the organizations of riparian States, and other groupings of States such as the one bringing together English- and French-speaking countries of West Africa; mention might also be made of the efforts made to unite the Maghreb and to build a bridge between North Africa and Black Africa and the success of the original formula embodied in the "Conseil de l'Entente". Machinery for intra-African co-operation already existed. It remained for the wealthy countries to increase their efforts and to undertake concerted action over and above their bilateral commitments.

18. In general terms, he defined economic integration in Africa as a constant and persistent search for efficiency and rationality within coherent and viable regional areas, i.e. areas capable of absorbing from the outset the entire production of basic industries. Integration of that kind was now taking place as a result of new experience in fusing national markets, redistributing the major centres of production and migratory flows of manpower, capital and goods and also through arrangements between States designed to attract private investment. In their national plans, the African countries had done their utmost to implement the recommendations of public and private financial bodies; the wealthy countries must

now provide capital in a sufficient volume to meet priority needs and must refrain from forcing upon African countries the instability in commodity prices and the deterioration in the terms of trade which would condemn them to permanent under-development.

19. The Secretary-General deserved thanks for pointing out reforms which would render United Nations action more effective. The work of functional bodies engaged on development problems within the United Nations and the specialized agencies must be thought out afresh; in particular consideration might be given to providing the Secretariat, and especially the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, with a decision-making body. It was also important to check the proliferation of United Nations bodies and to strengthen the organic links existing between the Secretariat and bodies such as OAU, so that the developing countries might be better informed. Lastly, the work of the Council would be much simpler if the number of agenda items were limited; an overloaded agenda meant that problems could be dealt with only in a superficial manner, and it was difficult to take full advantage of the useful but excessive amount of documentation produced by the Secretariat.

20. Mr. KENNAN (Ireland) said that despite the disappointments of the first Development Decade, it had had at least one positive result: it had established the concept of the international community's collective responsibility for the economic development of the whole world. That concept would no doubt influence Governments in the formulation of their economic policies for the future. Donor and recipient countries had learnt to know each other better, and now in the preparation of the global development strategy for the 1970s, they should be aware of their solidarity.

21. However, the fact remained that during the second Development Decade available resources would remain limited and the establishment of realistic targets and priorities would be vital. Not the least important were those priorities connected with population and manpower questions. In dealing with the problems in that field, their complex nature would have to be accepted so that economic considerations did not over-ride ethical principles.

22. Being a member of the Inter-governmental Committee of the World Food Programme, Ireland was also particularly interested in the field of agriculture. The progress made in agriculture had made the Malthusian dilemma recede, and he hoped that a rational policy of agricultural development in the 1970s could be worked out on the basis of FAO's Indicative World Plan. The pledge of \$450,000 by his country to WFP for the period 1966-1968 had been increased by one-third in 1967, and a new pledge of \$400,000 had been approved for the two-year period 1969-1970. There had always been a large outflow of aid from the non-governmental sector of the Irish economy to the developing areas of the world particularly, in the supply of technical personnel qualified in the fields of medicine and education.

23. Mr. KAUFMANN (Observer for the Netherlands), speaking in accordance with the provisions of rule 75

of the rules of procedure, said he would draw special attention to the need for a substantial flow of international capital, public as well as private, to developing countries. Important recommendations on ways of stimulating that flow had been formulated at the second session of UNCTAD, and at its sixth session held at Vienna in June 1968, the Governing Council of UNDP had given thorough attention to the matter in relation to the follow-up investment attracted by pre-investment projects (see E/4545, paras. 197-223). The external financing of the economic development of developing countries would also be discussed by the Council at the present session, under agenda item 7.

24. Against that background, and in response to the suggestion made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 246 of his report on foreign investment in developing countries (E/4446 and Corr.1), the Netherlands Government announced its willingness to act as host country to the first meeting of an investment panel in accordance with the conditions specified by the Secretary-General; it would bear the costs of the meeting and would put all the necessary facilities at the disposal of the panel.

25. Mr. CLAMOUNGOU (Chad) expressed his pleasure at the fact that by constantly expanding and co-ordinating their development activities the United Nations organs had already achieved encouraging results. The executive heads of FAO and UNESCO, in particular, had presented a favourable picture of what had already been achieved in the fields of food and education (1532nd, 1534th meetings).

26. Nevertheless, the fact remained that international co-operation in the economic field left much to be desired in many ways. One had to admit that over the past twenty years, development aid had not brought about improvements in economic structures and living conditions comparable to the effects of the Marshall Plan on a disorganized Western Europe after the Second World War. Of course, the situation was perhaps not quite the same, but it did seem that in general the success of a development strategy based on external aid depended on specific factors: the amount of aid, the continuity of its flow, and the way in which it was managed by the recipient country. The difficulties which had made the first Development Decade the "decade of frustration", in the words of the Secretary-General, could largely be explained by failures in all those respects.

27. In the first place, it was now recognized that for several years development aid had been decreasing in an alarming way, after the substantial increase registered between 1955 and 1960.

28. Secondly, the aid received by the developing countries had been far more haphazard than the aid given European countries under the Marshall Plan; in establishing priorities foreign interests had been the main consideration, and sometimes the authorities of the recipient countries had not even been consulted.

29. Finally, it was unfortunate that donor countries should in many cases have acquired the habit of coming to the aid only of specific groups of countries without

giving attention to the situation in neighbouring countries. Thus prior to the conclusion of the Yaoundé Convention the English-speaking African countries could receive aid only from the United Kingdom and a few other friendly countries, whereas the French-speaking African countries had had no source of aid except France. Such narrow compartmentalization would have to be abandoned, and the criterion would have to be the harmonious development of given regions.

30. On the question of the development of human resources, he considered that the integration of economic planning with social planning was essential in that field. The aim of development should be to enable men to realize their potential, within the framework of a broad programme of education and training that would influence their character and their environment. That would require a great deal of experience and capital, and the most active participation of United Nations organs. With that in mind, Chad had undertaken a reform of education in accordance with the country's needs, accompanied by an experiment in "ruralizing" education, through combining the vocational, intellectual and civic education for the population within a particular area; the experiment, which had just been started, would gradually be extended to cover the whole country.

31. A particularly worrying aspect of the use of human resources was the "brain drain" from the developing to the developed countries. The brain drain was caused mainly by the wish for better material conditions, the desire to work with better facilities and in more progressive milieu, to make better use of a specialized skill, etc. To that must be added political frustrations and difficulties. It was therefore a complex problem, which had to be tackled with patience; in any case, the developed countries should not use it as an excuse to close their frontiers to emigrants from developing countries.

32. With regard to the second Development Decade, he hoped that the specific features of the various regions would be duly taken into account, as well as the need to accomplish the economic integration of regions possessing complementary resources; in the case of Chad, for example, the aim would be to enable it to compensate for its position as a land-locked country.

33. Finally, he said that to ensure the success of the second Decade, the developed countries would have to go beyond declarations of intention and give effective help to the developing countries combatting poverty.

34. Mr. MODINOS (Observer for the Council of Europe), speaking at the invitation of the President, said that the Council of Europe was strongly desirous of developing the fruitful co-operation which had been established between itself and the United Nations, the specialized agencies and regional bodies.

35. In the modern world, social, economic and political problems were interdependent. Moreover, each problem had many facets, for example the topics discussed at the European Population Conference, held at Strasburg in September 1966, had included: direct causes and consequences of changes in fertility and mortality, migratory

movements, changes in population structure and their consequences, demographic education and research. A second Conference with as extensive and varied a work programme would meet in September 1971. The vast field of population also embraced the question of migrant workers, which in turn raised the questions of accommodation, participation in the life of the enterprise, public and private health, return to country of origin, education of children, labour safety, etc. In order to deal with those problems, the Council of Europe was currently drawing up a European Migrant Worker's Code, which it was hoped would afford adequate protection to the millions of workers leaving their countries in the name of the right to work. The Council of Europe was also actively concerned with the problem of the "brain drain", and with the more general question of aid to developing countries. The fifty-eight conventions so far concluded were for the most part open for accession by non-member States and twenty-five others were in the drafting stage. The European Convention on Human Rights, the European Social Charter, the European Convention on Establishment, the European Convention for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, all bore witness to the positive and concrete work accomplished in human rights and other fields by the Strasburg institutions. The aim of the Council of Europe was to create a stronger bond between its members which would act as a guarantee of peace to all nations. It was willing to contribute to the work of the Economic and Social Council in whatever way the Council wished.

36. Mr. EL-BOURI (Libya) stated that the growing importance which the United Nations attached to the population problem showed its seriousness and the effects it could have on efforts to raise living standards and promote human welfare. However, any measures to limit family size should be taken on a purely voluntary basis, by both individuals and Governments, while at the same time organizational and development activities, which would help to mitigate the problem, should be intensified. In that respect, scientific and technical advances in the food industry and agriculture were encouraging, while hope also lay in the possibility of exploiting the sea's resources.

37. His delegation had noted with satisfaction the efforts made by UNESCO and the ILO in the field of education and vocational training in order to increase individual productivity. Reference should be made in that respect to the World Employment Programme which the ILO intended to launch in 1969 and which would help to raise not only the levels of productive employment but also living standards.

38. If it was recognized that development was an essential tool for the establishment of an international order on which world peace and stability depended and that it was morally impossible to tolerate the poverty of the majority of the peoples of the world, the failure to achieve the goals of the first Development Decade could only be a matter for regret. It was encouraging to find, however, that the developing countries were determined to speed up their progress. In that connexion, attention should

be drawn to the damage caused by Israel aggression to the economy and development of the Arab countries of the Middle East, a sufficiently clear picture of which was conveyed by the summary of studies on selected development problems in various countries in the Middle East (E/4511 (Summary)),

39. The experience acquired during the first Development Decade should make it possible to fix more realistic targets for its successor. The developing countries should make the necessary changes to their economic and social structures and recognize that the success of their development plans was contingent upon the participation of their own people. Otherwise, international technical assistance and co-operation would be ineffective. Reference should be made in that context to the progress achieved in regional co-operation through the initiative of the developing countries. Furthermore, although it was accepted that the developing countries would have to increase their exports, they could not reasonably be expected to do so unless they had free access to the markets of the developed countries. In that respect, it had to be admitted that the outcome of the second session of UNCTAD was disappointing. However, one should not lose sight of its encouraging features; for example, it had provided a clearer idea of the problems of speeding up the development of the developing countries and had brought out the importance of those measures of international policy which were called for to back up the attempts of the developing countries to marshal their resources and use them to good effect.

40. It was to be hoped that it would soon be possible to put into practice the following two principles: (a) that each economically advanced country should undertake to transfer each year to the developing countries a net sum corresponding to at least 1 per cent of its gross national product, expressed in current prices; and (b) that an agreement in principle should be concluded providing for the adoption of non-reciprocal measures in international trade and of a non-discriminatory system of preferences for manufactures and semi-manufactures coming from the developing countries.

41. His delegation hoped that the feeling of collective responsibility which had emerged after the Second World War would finally assert itself and enable the aspirations of all men to be realized through economic and social development.

42. Mr. CONSOLO (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), referring to the statement made at the 1540th meeting by the Tanzanian representative

concerning the financing of industrial development by IFC, stressed that that function was not fulfilled solely by IFC but also by the World Bank and IDA. Under its Articles of Agreement, IFC was authorized to finance operations of private enterprises but not those of public undertakings. The latter could be financed by the World Bank and IDA, which were subject to no such statutory restrictions. In such cases the technical, economic and financial evaluation of the projects was made by IFC. The World Bank had recently considered granting loans to certain Government-owned industries, and would, as soon as it gained sufficient experience in the matter, examine the possibility of making loans to Government-controlled development finance companies. In that respect the Bank made a distinction between ownership and management. The fact that an industry was Government-owned was no longer considered an impediment provided that the Bank and IDA were satisfied as to the quality and independence of the management. For instance, a loan of \$30 million had recently been made for the development of potash resources to a wholly Government-owned concern in Congo (Brazzaville). The granting of loans to Government-owned finance development banks or corporations was at present under consideration.

43. Miss HARELI (Observer for Israel), speaking in accordance with the provisions of rule 75 of the rules of procedure, challenged the allegations of certain delegations who had attempted to launch a political debate on the Middle East situation and to blame Israel for the war of June 1967. It was true that every war led to economic and social dislocation and caused great distress, but the best way of ending such a state of affairs was to seek peace and not, like certain heads of Arab States, to make pious declarations and to proclaim in the same breath that one was not prepared to negotiate or even to recognize the existence of a sovereign State. For its part, Israel was ready to negotiate and to make peace.

44. Mr. EL-BOURI (Libya), exercising his right of reply, stated that he had merely quoted a document before the Council and that it was Israel which had seized the opportunity of starting a political debate. It was undeniable that the war launched by Israel had impaired the economic development of the Arab countries of the Middle East, that the region's economic situation was still complicated by the influx of refugees and that the occupation of part of the territory of the Arab countries by Israel continued to harm those countries.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.