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President : Mr. A. MATSUI (Japan)

Present :

Representatives of the following States, members of the Council: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Gabon, Iraq, Japan, Luxembourg, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Representatives of the following States, additional members of the sessional committees: Cameroon, Denmark, Ghana, India, Iran, Madagascar, Mexico, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania.

Observers for the following Member States: Australia, Bulgaria, Central African Republic, China, Greece, Italy, Malawi, Philippines, Sweden, Tunisia, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Observers for the following non-member States: Federal Republic of Germany, Holy See, Switzerland.

Representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Civil Aviation Organization, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Monetary Fund, World Health Organization, Universal Postal Union, International Telecommunication Union, World Meteorological Organization, Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization.

The representative of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

AGENDA ITEMS 2, 3, 4, 5 AND 35

United Nations Development Decade
(E/4033, E/4068, E/4071 and Corr.1)

World economic trends (E/4046 and Corr.1 and Add. 1 and 2, Add.3 and Corr.1, Add.4-6, E/4047 and Add. 1-3, E/4059; E/ECE.572; E/L.1076, E/L.1079/Rev.1)

General review of the development, co-ordination and concentration of the economic, social and human rights programmes and activities of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency as a whole (E/3991, E/4022, E/4027, E/4029, E/4030, E/4034, E/4035, E/4036 and Corr.1, E/4037 and Add. 1, E/4039, E/4041 and Add. 1, E/4044 and Add. 1 and 2, E/4050, E/4062 and Corr. 1 and Add. 1, E/4076)

Review and reappraisal of the Council's role and functions (E/4040, E/4052 and Add.1-3)

Work programme of the United Nations in the economic, social and human rights fields (E/4070)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT observed that agenda items 4 and 35 were closely connected with items 2, 3 and 5, and that the five items should therefore be considered together. He invited the Secretary-General to introduce items 4 and 35.

2. The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that 1965, which had been designated as International Co-operation Year and marked the mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade, was a time for stocktaking. So far as the greater part of the world was concerned, the goals of the Decade were still in the realm of aspiration rather than achievement. He had indicated in his statement at the 1369th meeting some of the priority areas in which the United Nations could be helpful and in which special efforts would be justified, and would deal with some practical aspects of the same broad issue in connexion with items 4 and 35.

3. In terms of institutions and programmes, the United Nations system had been greatly strengthened in the past few years. Some examples where the United Nations itself was concerned were the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which had added a whole new dimension to the Organization's work; the prospective establishment of a United Nations Development Programme, which should strengthen the whole basis of technical co-operation activities; the launching of the United Nations Institute of Training and Research; the re-orientation and expansion of UNICEF; and the consolidation and expansion of the Centre for Industrial Development. The Council also had before it proposals for the continuation and expansion

of the joint United Nations/FAO World Food Programme, whose evolution had been impressive.

4. In addition, arrangements for maximum co-operation and co-ordination had been developed. One of the main themes of the progress report on the Development Decade (E/4033) and of his own appraisal of the Decade at mid-point (E/4071 and Corr.1) was the essential interdependence of the work of the United Nations family. Despite the institutional and physical separation of the members of that family, their reports, although not written with a view to emphasizing inter-organizational co-ordination, provided a telling picture of close co-operation. That side of the picture was set out in greater detail, in respect of the past year, in the thirtieth and thirty-first reports of ACC (E/3991, E/4029).

5. The World Food Programme was a striking example of dynamic co-operation among members of the United Nations family. Its continued success would depend largely on close co-operation not only between its two parent organizations, the United Nations and FAO, but also with other organizations and operational programmes within the United Nations system. All those relationships, and particularly relations with the future United Nations development programme, would need to be developed still further if greater resources became available in the years to come.

6. There had been many other developments of significance for the Development Decade which affected the pattern of inter-agency collaboration. Attention had been given to establishing appropriate working relationships in the field of trade and development, both within the Organization itself and among the members of the United Nations family. The UNESCO world programme against illiteracy would rely heavily on the joint efforts of the United Nations family, as would recent operational agreements between IBRD and FAO and UNESCO and the exchange of information and ideas on industrial development between the Centre for Industrial Development and the United Nations Special Fund, on the one hand, and the IBRD group, on the other. Collaboration between the interested members of the ACC had proceeded apace in such fields as the economic and social consequences of disarmament, education and training, youth programmes and science and technology. As the Decade proceeded and the size and scope of programmes expanded, the need for inter-agency collaboration would become even more significant. Discussions that had been held by the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions with the ACC and with senior finance officers of the specialized agencies had led to the ACC's proposals on the annual preparation of a single document, giving systematic information about the total expenditure for the programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

7. The development of closer relations between the Advisory Committee and the ACC was welcome, and the strengthening of relations between the Council and the ACC was of no less importance for good co-ordination and effective international action for development. The meeting arranged in the summer of 1964 between the ACC and the officers of the Council had been a useful first step

towards closer collaboration, and the recent second meeting had marked a further meeting of minds.

8. At the mid-point of the Development Decade, it was appropriate to take an objective look not only at successes but also at the lack of success. The Council should consider what lessons were to be learned, what conclusions should be drawn, what successes should be followed up and what shortcomings were to be remedied. A major task of the Council and the Secretariat would be to use the instruments at their disposal more fully, and delegations would undoubtedly provide answers to the broad questions involved. He wished to touch on some techniques which should help to increase the productivity of the Council's work.

9. In the first place, if the Council was to fulfil its role as the governing body for the economic, social and human rights programmes of the United Nations itself, it must have full information about work programmes in those spheres as well as an adequate indication of the deployment of the budgetary resources available for carrying out those programmes. Such comprehensive information had not been provided in past years, but a tentative model for an annual presentation of the work programme and budgetary resources was now before the Council in his note on the subject (E/4070). Although that document covered only the work of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs at Headquarters, it would for the first time give the Council a precise idea of what was being done in each major area and how much that was costing. The official findings had already been submitted to the Advisory Committee, whose comments would be available shortly.

10. Secondly, the Council had in recent years expressed the wish not only to have a clearer picture of the total scope of programmes undertaken in the United Nations system, but also to have an idea of their efficacy. In past years, the operational programmes of the United Nations had benefited from individual criticisms by members of TAC, the Governing Council of the Special Fund and the Council itself, and various partial evaluations had been made from time to time. In response to the Council's request, the Secretariat was now experimenting with a new technique, that of evaluating the over-all impact of technical co-operation programmes of the United Nations family in a few selected countries. It was too early to say how much would be learned from those evaluations, which were being undertaken with the active co-operation of the Governments of Chile and Thailand and United Nations agencies; it was hoped, however, to learn much and to use that experience in organizing evaluation projects in a few additional countries in the coming year. He was sure that governments would be prepared to give greater support to United Nations programmes when they realized that the Organization was engaged in a continual process of appraising its successes and failures. Although the techniques of evaluation were difficult and much experimentation was still required, he believed that evaluation would gradually become an integral part of United Nations operational activities.

11. Thirdly, it was important to ascertain the impact of that part of United Nations research and analytical work which was concerned with the broad field of international economic and social policy. While it would certainly be no easy task to evaluate operational programmes, it was very much more difficult to appraise the impact of research work and to ascertain, for example, what effect it had on the decision-making processes of governments. Of course, United Nations technical assistance was largely based on that research work, and it could be said that much of the material produced by the United Nations and the specialized agencies was being used by governments and experts throughout the world as a basis for planning and implementing economic and social development programmes. It was also true that many now generally accepted ideas about economic and social development had been pioneered in United Nations organizations. Nevertheless, an attempt should perhaps be made to prepare reports in such a way as to facilitate more directly the tasks of governments in deciding on new policies or programmes. For example, in preparing the fourth report on land reform (E/4020 and Add.1 and 2), the Secretariat had not contented itself with a description of existing programmes, but had also tried to analyse their main ingredients and implications. Similarly, in his fifth report on the promotion of the international flow of private capital (E/4038 and Add.1), he had made some tentative suggestions for new approaches to the problem of increasing the flow of technical know-how to the developing countries. The Secretariat also proposed to make greater use of short summaries and conclusions, in the belief that they would be useful to persons responsible for policy decisions who often had not the time to read long documents. It was absolutely essential to maintain the highest possible standards of research and analysis, for only policy recommendations which were based on such firm foundations could be submitted to governments in good conscience.

12. Fourthly, he hoped that a constructive dialogue between the Secretariat and the Council would be developed, both during the Council's sessions and at other times. The late Secretary-General's statement eleven years ago that such a dialogue was vital to the success of the Organization's efforts to help two-thirds of mankind to escape from poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance was certainly no less true today.

13. He drew attention to a passage in the ACC's thirty-first report (E/4029, paras. 3 and 4), to the effect that that body wished to place particular emphasis on the steady progress achieved in the building of peace through co-operative action in the economic, social and cultural fields, and that it was convinced that such co-operation must be further considerably strengthened and intensified so as to respond more adequately to the increasing needs of the developing countries and to the promotion of peace and progress in the world as a whole. It could not be denied that the advantages of multilateral action to promote and accelerate development became more compelling year by year. Where the United Nations itself was concerned, he wished to stress once again a subject which was dealt with in his recent paper on the financial implications of the actions of the Council (E/4082) and

which was implicit in the document on the work programme and budget of the United Nations in the economic, social and human rights fields (E/4070). The method of relating the Organization's financial resources to its needs had not been functioning satisfactorily, and a major discrepancy had developed between the rapidly growing scope and range of its tasks and the means for implementing them. The time had come to examine that machinery, for in a year when so much attention was concentrated on the question of the United Nations financial position, he had been compelled to submit to the General Assembly a request for a sizeable increase in resources. The need for substantial additional funds for the Centre for Industrial Development must be recognized, and in that connexion he had been greatly heartened by the United Kingdom representative's statement at the 1369th meeting. The work of the Conference on Trade and Development also required a major increase in expenditures, and although the increases needed in other sectors, for example in the field of science and technology, were much smaller, they were none the less indispensable. If the necessary additional financial resources were made available and if arrangements could be made to ensure a more systematic correlation between programmes and budgets, he was sure that the Secretariat would be able to maintain and even raise its standards in carrying out the programmes to which the Council and the General Assembly had assigned priority and that the United Nations would in the years ahead be able to make an even more vital contribution to the achievement of the goals of the Development Decade — goals which were inextricably linked with the future prosperity and peace of mankind.

14. The PRESIDENT invited the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania to address the Council.

15. Mr. KAMBONA (United Republic of Tanzania) observed that the statements made by the representatives of France and Ghana (1369th and 1371st meeting respectively) had made his own delegation's intervention in the debate barely necessary. Surprise had been expressed at the fact that although France and Tanzania stood at the opposite extremes of the economic spectrum and proceeded on the bases of widely different assumptions, their conclusions in the over-all analysis of political and economic considerations tended to coincide. He himself did not regard that coincidence as surprising: only a few days ago the President of Tanzania had had a preliminary exchange of views on world political and economic trends in Paris with the President of France, and had left that meeting with the confidence that he had met a leader and a gentleman who really understood the legitimate preoccupations of the Third World. It was therefore understandable that the French delegation to the Council was expressing views so clearly sympathetic to the problems of the less developed countries. With regard to the Ghanaian statement, the Tanzanian delegation shared the views which that sister African State had expressed on the world economic situation, the frustrations of the Development Decade and the role and

functions of the Council. Ghana had in fact spoken for all Africa.

16. Nevertheless, he wished to take the opportunity of his presence in Geneva to place before the Council some of the considerations which motivated his Government. Although the economic and political aspects of the general world situation could be separated, it must be borne in mind that a single and indivisible issue was involved. That had undoubtedly been in the Secretary-General's mind when he had alluded in his statement at the 1369th meeting to the "light and shade of the same picture". It was the duty of all nations to muster the entire potential of human ingenuity and artistic inventiveness to ensure that light, rather than shade, prevailed in the general picture. The glittering light of peace must penetrate into the shadows cast by the ravages, miseries and perversion of war. The prevention of war was in the interest of every one: all mankind must be concerned with the survival of mankind. The fruit of economic prosperity could not be reaped until conditions for peace had been stabilized.

17. Nevertheless, there were many threats to an abiding peace. The most significant were, first unwarranted interference in the domestic affairs of other States; secondly, the prevalence of colonialism; thirdly, racial and political prejudice and religious intolerance; fourthly, the persistence of unfavourable terms of trade for the developing countries in their trade with the industrialized countries; and finally, attempts to belittle the supreme importance of the United Nations as the most effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

18. A realistic view of current world trends gave no cause for rejoicing. The "light of the picture" was considerably overshadowed by the spectacle of war in South-East Asia. Moreover, the Tanzanian Government was haunted by the fear that that war, monstrous enough in itself, might throw the entire world into an all-consuming conflagration. Tanzania was not greatly concerned with identifying the aggressor or the ideologies which stimulated aggression. It was concerned with peace and with the lives of the Viet-Nameese people. What must be stopped was the wanton loss of life, the loss of the men, women and children who were dying every day in thousands, innocently and without cause. Tanzania did not regard the people of Viet-Nam as East, West, North or South Viet-Nameese, but as the men, women and children of that country, who had a right to settle their own affairs as only brothers could, without external interference. Tanzania was equally concerned about the lives of American soldiers, lost daily in senseless conflict. The Council could help to extend the economic blessings of the Mekong Valley to the hapless Viet-Nameese people if it appealed in the name of humanity alone for the return of South-East Asia to peace, sanity and Oriental tranquillity.

19. He therefore profoundly agreed with the French delegation that the shadows of war must be rolled back before the economic light of peace could be brought to the developing world. Peace had its victories no less renowned than those of war, and it was against that background, too, that his Government evaluated the

economic and social consequences of disarmament. A regime of peace and stability for the peoples of the less developed countries of the world could not be established until the existing crisis of confidence had been removed from the international community.

20. Another matter which taxed the patience of many countries beyond endurance was the persistence of Portuguese colonialism on the African continent and the social and political prejudice and intolerance prevailing in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In its consideration and analysis of the Development Decade and of the deterioration of economic trends in the developing countries, the Council was mainly considering the free and independent underdeveloped countries. But in Mozambique, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and the Union of South Africa human and political slavery, forced labour, degradation of the human personality and various other evils inflicted upon the African peoples still had to be eliminated. Those evils were legitimate sources of conflict and therefore jeopardised international peace and security. The objectives of the Development Decade could not be completely fulfilled while those pockets of oppression continued to exist. The international community must call upon Portugal to abandon its practice of slavery and colonialism in Africa and on South Africa to desist from its policy of apartheid and its suppression of the legitimate aspirations of the African people. South Africa must be called upon to surrender its mandate over South West Africa to the United Nations, and the United Kingdom must be called upon to reaffirm its undertaking to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia only on the basis of majority rule, with guarantees for the rights of the minority. The principle of majority rule had been followed by the United Kingdom Government for centuries in the evolution of its colonies, protectorates and trust territories towards independence, beginning with the thirteen American colonies in the eighteenth century. The United Kingdom Government could not now abandon the principle of majority rule and universal adult franchise as prerequisites of independence, and could not maintain that the interests of 200,000 white Southern Rhodesian immigrants should prevail over those of the four million Africans who were the legitimate inheritors of Zimbabwe, which had existed for thousands of years before Cecil Rhodes had "discovered" that country.

21. If the United Kingdom Government permitted the minority in Southern Rhodesia to seize independence on its own terms with impunity, it would clearly be guilty of racial prejudice. Knowing the present leaders of the United Kingdom as well as he did, however, he refused to believe that a Labour Government would allow itself to be guilty of such prejudice in connexion with Southern Rhodesia. While he had no intention of interfering in any way in the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom, he felt constrained to applaud the Prime Minister for urging his colleagues in the House of Commons to regard a member who had won his seat by an election campaign based on racial prejudice as a "political leper". He was confident that Mr. Wilson would not wish to expose himself to the charge of political leprosy by supporting independence for Southern Rhodesia on any grounds

other than that of majority rule with guarantees of rights for the minority.

22. The fourth source of conflict he had mentioned was the persistence of unfavourable terms of trade between the developed and the developing countries. The economic surveys before the Council showed a bleak picture for the developing countries: whereas the Development Decade had set the goal of a minimum annual rate of growth of their national income of 5 per cent by the end of 1970, their actual growth rate had in fact declined to 4 per cent, so that the gap between the per capita incomes of the developed and the developing countries had widened at the mid-point of the Decade. The \$70,000 million gap used as a yardstick at the Conference on Trade and Development in 1964 had thus increased, and the Secretary-General had told the Council that the rate of growth of aid to the developing countries had slowed down significantly.

23. The developed countries must change their psychological attitude and make a realistic political commitment in their trade and aid relationships with the developing countries, which were almost over-extending themselves in their self-help enterprises, in efforts to raise their agricultural productivity and in their struggle for industrialization. Over-population, urbanization, the struggle to meet heavy debt-servicing obligations and the natural desire to invest largely in their human resources were problems which the developing countries sometimes felt to be insurmountable. But a change of heart in the developed countries could alter the situation: they could take political decisions to open their markets to more primary commodities and manufactures from the developing countries and they could help to guarantee and stabilize primary commodity prices. The French plan for the organization of markets for the goods of the developing countries, with an element of free competition, deserved more serious consideration. The French delegation had also rightly asserted that unless international trade was carefully organized, it could lead to the subjugation of the developing countries. The answer seemed to lie in the paradox that, while there must be a degree of regional protectionism, there must at the same time be a liberalization of trade in the macro-cosmic sense. The developed countries could also increase their aid, and could relax considerably the terms of their investment loans to the developing countries. In addition, they should pursue a much more liberal policy in the inter-governmental financial agencies which they controlled.

24. For example, IBRD should not always be concerned with how much profit it could derive from a particular investment project, and should not allow power politics to dictate its decisions. The representatives of international financial institutions often spoke of the surplus funds available for investment; yet they lightly condemned projects referred to them as economically unsound, and imposed the harshest possible repayment terms. A case in point was that of the project for a railway to link Zambia with the port of Dar es Salaam. The railway was not being planned for reasons of prestige or politics: Zambia was a land-locked State which was currently obliged to rely on the railway and port facilities of two hostile countries, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique, both of

which were constantly threatening to cripple Zambia's economy. The Governments of Zambia and Tanzania had asked the Bank to make a technical survey and to lend them the money to build the railway; the Bank had made the survey and determined that the railway would cost about £60 million, but had then refused to finance the project on the ground that it was economically unfeasible in the foreseeable future, that Zambia and Tanzania wanted the railway for political reasons and that it would be cheaper to provide Zambia with the additional transport it needed for its imports and exports and to improve existing railways and ports. It should be borne in mind, however, that Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal could not be relied upon to preserve Zambia's lifeline. The railway would mean development for Africa, not prestige for the Presidents of the two interested countries, whose main concern was for the welfare of their peoples.

25. With regard to item 5 of the agenda, Tanzania, while not wishing to imply that the Council had no legal competence to review and reappraise its role and functions, considered it best that the collective wisdom of the General Assembly should be drawn upon in locating the real source of the Council's shortcomings. Tanzania attached so much importance to that question that it intended to submit a proposal to the twentieth session of the General Assembly for the inclusion of an agenda item entitled "Review and reappraisal of the role and functions of the Economic and Social Council". He therefore hoped to be able to expound his views on the matter more fully in the Special Political Committee and the plenary Assembly.

26. The Council should be encouraged to intensify the efforts of its Population Commission, for the time had come to be realistic and frankly to recommend direct biological control of population growth. The Council's Committee on Housing, Building and Planning must be encouraged in its efforts to provide more low-cost housing for developing countries, and the principle of a capital development fund must be endorsed and accepted. Pending such a decision, however, his Government was prepared to accept the United Kingdom's suggestion, made at the 1369th meeting, for a voluntary capital investment fund, provided that that fund would engage in immediate and actual capital investment, for enough surveys of resources and pre-investment work had already been done. Regional development banks must be encouraged and strengthened, and the developed countries should follow the example of the United Kingdom and make sizeable contributions to those banks.

27. While it still had a very useful part to play in economic and social matters, the Council needed a new infusion of energetic blood, as did some of the specialized agencies. The United Nations could rely on the support of the Government and delegation of Tanzania to assist it in the tasks before it.

28. Mr. MORSE (Director-General, International Labour Organisation) said that there were several reasons why the Council's present debate on the co-ordination of the activities of the United Nations family struck a more vital and urgent note than in previous years. In the first place,

the half-way point had been reached in the Development Decade, and the time had therefore come to assess the extent to which success had been achieved in harmonizing efforts under the Decade so that future efforts towards the full attainment of its objectives could be increasingly effective. Secondly, a position had to be taken on certain issues of co-ordination, which might have far-reaching effects on the work of the United Nations family as a whole. Finally, as all were aware, the year of the Organization's twentieth anniversary was a year of political difficulties for the United Nations. Those difficulties, engendered by the tensions in the world, had had repercussions on the body politic of the United Nations itself and had affected the work of all the specialized agencies in one way or another. In that situation, the future of the United Nations family would depend on the ability of all the specialized agencies to support the United Nations with the institutional stability which was their particular strength. For that, it was essential that all the organizations should endeavour to eliminate all possible causes of friction within their ranks, and should strive towards complete harmony of purpose and action; in other words, should achieve closer and more effective co-ordination. Thus, co-ordination at present far transcended the purely administrative context and assumed a political significance, which it would be well to bear in mind.

29. The fact that the United Nations family had tended to grow together rather than to move apart under the pressure of current events in the United Nations was, in part, evidence of the effectiveness of the existing framework of co-ordination within the United Nations family. Ten years previously co-ordination had been considered in terms of effort; today it was accepted as a habit. That was a tribute to the effectiveness of the machinery created by the Council and the executive organs of the specialized agencies. The serious rivalries in matters of competence and duplication of programmes which had so frequently dominated debate on the items under consideration in former years had now been substantially resolved or dissipated. For example, the particular problems of competence and collaboration in the field of occupational safety and health which had formerly existed between the ILO, WHO and IAEA had been resolved, and the results of joint efforts in that field had been and continued to be impressive. It was probably safe to say that there was no longer any practical problem in that connexion. He also believed that his colleagues from FAO and UNESCO would agree that considerable progress had been made and that relations between those organizations had been greatly strengthened.

30. Much, of course, remained to be done to streamline the work of the specialized agencies so that they would have an optimum impact; but it was true to say that where competitiveness and overlapping persisted, differences were essentially peripheral. Indeed, the continued existence of a small amount of friction on the circumference of each agency's field of competence demonstrated that the machinery of co-ordination was functioning, that duplication of effort was being brought out into the open and that each member of the United Nations family was maintaining a positive and dynamic concept of its international responsibilities. Perhaps the most significant

stimulus towards better co-ordination had resulted from joint participation in EPTA and from the execution of Special Fund projects. The implementation of those programmes had required a very high degree of co-ordination at the technical level and in the field, and those standards of collaboration had gradually become accepted in other areas of activity. The proposed merger of EPTA with the Special Fund would further increase the efficiency and productivity of the United Nations family's entire technical assistance effort. He felt that the present system of co-ordination had on the whole yielded the results expected of it. Where problems remained, the existing machinery at least provided the specialized agencies with the opportunity of bringing them to light and considering them. In addition, the flexibility of the present framework was one of its most important assets, since it enabled the scope of co-ordination to be extended to deal with new issues as they arose. For the future, therefore, he considered that it was essential to recognize the value of the existing machinery and to ensure that any new developments within the institutional framework of the United Nations family were thoroughly examined by the appropriate bodies so that their implementation, if decided upon, would not jeopardise existing practices and habits of co-ordination. That should be borne in mind particularly with regard to the possible establishment of new specialized agencies. For the health and efficiency of the United Nations family as a whole, it was essential that any future developments of that nature did not re-open the fruitless and wasteful internecine disputes concerning areas of competence, which all had known and regretted in the past.

31. The ILO, being the only organization in the United Nations family with tripartite representation of governments and employers' and workers' organizations in its councils, had always adopted a clear stand in matters concerning its field of competence. Any ambiguity that might have existed in the past concerning the precise limits had been dispelled by the discussion on the programme and structure of the ILO which had been taking place during the last three sessions of the International Labour Conference. Three major programme areas, which had been clearly endorsed by its constituent parts and upon which the ILO would concentrate its resources, had been formulated: the development and full utilization of human resources; the development of institutions through which all sections of the working population could fully participate in and benefit from the economic growth of their countries; and the improvement of the working and living conditions of all workers. Efforts would be concentrated on the attainment of the ILO objectives in those fields. It was fully realized that only if that were done could other organizations be expected to respect and recognize the primary responsibility of ILO in those fields. It had also been recognized and accepted that the clarification of its objectives and areas of competence placed on the ILO the responsibility of ensuring that it did not stray beyond the limits which it had itself set. Like everyone else, the ILO must become more conscious of its role and its place in the United Nations system.

32. The ILO had a responsibility, as a member of the United Nations family, to co-operate with other organi-

zations in certain projects and programmes where it had an interest and a contribution to make, but where the primary responsibility lay with other organizations.

33. For example, there was the question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament, which so obviously required the co-operation of all the international organizations. The concern of ILO with that issue was confirmed by the resolutions adopted by the International Labour Conference, particularly the resolution unanimously adopted a few days previously at its forty-ninth session. The ILO had taken an active part in the work of the ACC and of the Committee which it had set up to deal with the question. It considered that if studies of the economic and social consequences of disarmament were to make any progress, governments must be better equipped and better informed than they were at the present time. The questionnaire drawn up by the ACC was therefore designed to stimulate governments not only to give serious thought to the problem but perhaps also to establish such institutions as would enable them at the national level to take the measures required by disarmament as soon as action would be effectively possible.

34. The second question in which the ILO had an interest was trade and development. Although international trade was not its direct responsibility, the ILO had much to say and many questions to ask in the specialized bodies which were dealing with questions of international trade. One of its major tasks was to assist the developing countries in the creation and maintenance of high levels of employment. Its efforts in that direction, however, would inevitably be nullified unless there were outlets for the products of developing countries on the world market. At the same time, increased exports of manufactures from those countries should not impose hardships on workers in the industrialized countries. Those difficulties, which could already be anticipated, should be met not by protective measures but by appropriate adjustments so that individual workers and their families would find security rather than insecurity in the changes which would come about in their occupational life. That was an area in which the Industrial Committees of ILO could play a useful role, since employers and workers, as well as governments, were represented in them and the Committees could therefore speak with authority on behalf of those who would be most directly concerned with making the adjustments required by the necessary expansion of world trade.

35. The third matter, industrialization, was one for which the ILO had a direct, although not an exclusive, responsibility. More than half of the technical activities of the ILO were devoted to human resources development, and particularly to the training of the labour forces required to make industrial undertakings work. The International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training established by the ILO at Turin would begin operations in the current year. It would complement the network of basic training centres which had been established at the national level and would make a very substantial contribution to the promotion of industrialization in the developing countries. It was significant that the United Nations Commissioner for Industrial Development

would represent the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the Board of the Turin Centre. The concern of ILO with industrialization likewise extended to the improvement of the management of undertakings and the raising of productivity through advanced management training, and further embraced conditions of life and work in industrial undertakings and industrial relations. He therefore welcomed the opportunity, referred to by the Managing Director of the Special Fund in his statement at the 1370th meeting, of participating with the other organizations concerned in the basic industrial surveys necessary to identify the precise needs of the developing countries in the industrial field.

36. Although the range of its interest and activities in that field was considerable, the ILO was not satisfied; it considered that the needs of the developing countries in that area were so vast and urgent that everything possible should be done to develop its existing programmes in depth, and to try, above all, to increase their impact in terms of practical results. Only a few days ago, the International Labour Conference had adopted a resolution requesting the Governing Body and the International Labour Office to devote particular attention to the practical measures which would lead to the strengthening of ILO activities in the industrial field. It was for that reason that he would take as the theme of his report to the International Labour Conference in 1966 the question of industrial development. That would give governments, employers and workers the opportunity to express their detailed views on the role of the ILO in the process of industrialization. The work of ILO in that area would be significantly strengthened, and would thus contribute to the efforts at present being made by the various international organizations concerned to assist in the establishment of industry. The ILO would follow with the greatest interest the decisions which the United Nations, and, in particular, the General Assembly, would be called upon to take in that field.

37. Turning then to the question of human rights, which did not raise questions of co-ordination within the narrow meaning of the term, but which was of concern to the United Nations and several of its specialized agencies, he said that the ILO was committed in its Constitution to the safeguarding of human rights, a subject which had been dealt with in a large number of international labour conventions. The Conventions relating to forced labour, freedom of association and freedom from discrimination were of outstanding importance. Significant progress had been made in all those fields. At its forty-ninth session, the International Labour Conference had reaffirmed its previous condemnation of forced labour and practices involving the use of forced labour and had urged that action should be taken to put an end to those practices. The Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association, which the ILO had established twelve years previously in agreement with the Council, was just completing examination of the first case referred to it with the agreement of the country concerned, namely Japan. In that connexion, he wished to pay tribute to the co-operation which had been received from the Japanese Government in making effective a great experiment in the protection of human rights which was

essentially the outcome of co-operation and agreement between ILO and the Council. Within a few days, the Commission would commence examination of its second case, which related to Greece.

38. As was well known, the ILO had a special constitutional responsibility with regard to the question of discrimination, and more than any other organization was aware of the deeply rooted and intensely powerful emotional forces which lay behind that problem. But in spite of the practical effect of the ILO Convention concerning discrimination in employment and occupation, everyone knew that the elimination of discriminatory legal procedures could only be the first step in any policy directed at the elimination of discrimination. A far more difficult and more fundamental task was to eliminate ingrained prejudices and habits of thought and to establish real equality of opportunity and treatment through positive measures aimed at nullifying the disadvantages suffered by particular population groups as a result of past discrimination and inequality. The ILO was seeking to complement the impact of its international standards in that field through a promotional programme designed to stimulate and assist positive action for effective equality, including research, the provision of a clearing-house for information relating to discrimination in employment and occupation, informal meetings, seminars and the consultation of experts. Finally, he drew the Council's attention to the special report on apartheid which had been submitted to the International Labour Conference in pursuance of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid adopted by it in 1964 and of the ILO programme on the elimination of apartheid which had been approved at the same time.

39. In conclusion, he wished to stress again the political significance of co-ordination at the present time. It was important to have a clear understanding of the mutual supporting role which the United Nations and the specialized agencies were called upon to perform. The United Nations must provide the political leadership which was indispensable if the specialized agencies were to be able to carry out the essential technical tasks entrusted to them, without having to suffer the disruption of their work by the introduction of political problems properly belonging to the political organs of the United Nations. The specialized agencies, in turn, had a duty to facilitate in every way possible the political role of the United Nations in that respect by putting the whole weight of their institutional stability behind the United Nations, by providing an image of international co-operation and by sound and efficient work at the technical level. The United Nations and the specialized agencies would be judged by the extent to which they translated promises into performance, and by the practical contribution they made to the total effort to relieve human suffering wherever it existed. Only in that way would they help to maintain confidence in international order and in themselves.

40. Mr. TABOR (Denmark) said that at a time when the United Nations was facing a crisis over its peace-keeping activities, he believed it worth while to stress that nothing was more conducive to the establishment of peace and

stability than improved living conditions and social and economic advancement for the under-privileged peoples of the world.

41. In studying the excellent documentation prepared by the Secretariat, his delegation had been particularly struck by the Secretary-General's comment that the misery of much of the developing world was a progressive misery that threatened to grow worse in the second half of the Development Decade. Moreover, the Secretary-General, in his introductory statement (1369th meeting), had reminded the Council of the fact that the per capita income gap between rich and poor nations continued to widen. It seemed that under such conditions the Council's main purpose should be to use the ingenuity of its members to assist in organizing a world society in which not only the fruits of progress but also the burden of responsibility would be more equally shared. That policy had been followed in Denmark, with support from government, employers and workers alike. It was, of course, infinitely more difficult to organize resources on a global basis to remedy strains and imbalances throughout the world than it was to carry out a policy at the national level. If the will to succeed was there, however, it should be possible for the United Nations and the specialized agencies, with the guidance of member governments, to make progress towards the goals established by the General Assembly for the United Nations Development Decade.

42. With regard to economic planning, he wished to stress the importance of a global approach in planning for the accelerated industrialization of the developing countries; that was a subject which had not perhaps yet received the attention it deserved. His delegation felt that such planning was as important as the development of international trade, of agriculture, or of education and health services, all of which were essential and interdependent activities; and agreed that, to further economic growth throughout the world, it was essential to remedy existing imbalances by further development of the industrial sector. Only if seen in global perspective could economic gains be more evenly distributed as the developing countries gradually acquired the strength to shoulder the burden of responsibility inherent in the building of a modern industrialized structure.

43. Full documentation was available concerning the proposal to establish a specialized agency for industrialization, but none had as yet been prepared in connexion with draft resolution VI, approved by the Committee for Industrial Development at its fifth session (E/4065, chap. VII), which requested the Secretary-General to make arrangements, pending the establishment of an agency for industrialization, which would give the United Nations industrial machinery the autonomy and flexibility needed to increase its operational activities. He hoped that adequate documentation would soon be forthcoming and that the Secretary General would give his advice on the matter before a decision was taken in the General Assembly. Only when such documentation was available would it be possible to decide on the form of machinery most likely to further the goals of the Development Decade in that important sector.

44. His delegation had been very interested in the United Kingdom proposal for a voluntary fund, which it would like to consider further together with the comments of the Secretary-General.

45. Without doubt, the extraordinary advances made in technology were the most important phenomenon of the second half of the twentieth century. It was a collective task, and therefore within the orbit of the Council, to ensure that those advances were so used that the international organization of industry developed rationally and that the existing sense of inequality was lessened.

46. Although States probably had an essential part to play in the formulation of a policy aiming at some internationalization of industry, special attention should be given to the organizational system of international companies. The operations of companies of the kind, having spread to such a large number of countries, offered small countries a chance to participate in the most modern technological advances. The co-operative arrangements used by those companies might be carefully studied, since efforts to approach industry from a global point of view would inevitably be faced with the same or similar problems. Even although the procedures and methods employed by the large international concerns did not always meet with universal approval, it might be possible to learn from their experience, from their failures as well as their successes, thereby perhaps facilitating the international organization of a modern industry on a more rational and conscious basis. The advantages to be derived from planning could be fully achieved only if specific production units were placed in countries whose resources and manpower constituted the best guarantee for achieving satisfactory production results. Such joint ventures had a chance of establishing a certain degree of equilibrium between the various national interests involved, thus benefiting developed and developing countries alike.

47. Another aspect of planning which might be given greater attention was the approach of the capital exporting countries to development financing. In approaching the problem of development financing on a national front, the Danish Government had consistently taken the view that what mattered was real resources as represented by raw materials, land, available technology, ingenuity and skilled labour. Experience had shown that if available resources — in particular resources of skilled manpower — were placed where they gave the highest return the necessary development capital was forthcoming from national or international sources. The Danish delegation firmly believed that, given a reasonably stable world economy and a forward-looking approach to development problems, based on sound projects drawn up in co-operation with trade, industry and agricultural organizations, the problem of ensuring that the necessary development capital was made available would be a technical rather than a substantial matter. In that connexion, he wished to stress the Secretary-General's statement concerning the great advance made in the present system of international monetary relations, and his frank admission that the monetary orthodoxy of tomorrow might not be that of today. Under those circumstances, it seemed natural to ask why it should not

be possible to establish a forward-looking system of growing development aid beneficial to donors and recipients alike, with a gradual assumption of increased responsibility by the latter.

48. The Danish delegation agreed with previous speakers that the Council had a very important constitutional role, not only as governing body for the United Nations research and operational programmes but also as co-ordinator of all activities being undertaken in the economic and social fields by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The Council could only fulfil that important co-ordinating role by maintaining close consultation with the agencies in the United Nations family and by making constructive recommendations, based on such consultation, to the General Assembly. Any advice it gave must, however, be based on a global approach, as envisaged in the concept underlying the Development Decade.

49. The Council, as a focal point for all United Nations activities, was in the unique position of being able to establish the over-all policy for the world economy needed to advance the goals set for the Development Decade. Individual technical measures, only if appraised in relation to one another and in relation to the final over-all goal, could be given the priority they deserved. The Council could suggest necessary changes in priorities, objectives and targets in the light of the over-all economic situation and, by repeatedly evaluating the actual performance on which real progress depended, it could assist in translating the broad objectives of the Development Decade into specific targets for individual sectors and for global growth.

50. If it was to be able to carry out its task, the Council must obviously be supplied with adequate documentation. In that connexion, he suggested that the economic policy board should meet more frequently. That important Secretariat body, comprising the heads of all United Nations operational and research programmes in the economic and social fields and the Secretary-General's senior political advisers, could supply the Council with valuable information on progress achieved, as well as on difficulties encountered in the form of strains and imbalances in the over-all programme.

51. If the Council succeeded in laying down guidelines for the formulation of a global economic policy, the representatives of Member States, speaking for their Governments not only in the Council and its subsidiary organs but also in the General Assembly and the governing bodies of the specialized agencies, would be able to take that over-all view into consideration when making decisions in the various technical fields.

52. His delegation had been greatly encouraged by the stress laid by the Secretary-General, in the statement he had just made, on the interdependence of the work of the United Nations family of organizations. It was looking forward to the regular annual preparation of a single, more comprehensive, document giving systematic information about the total expenditure by the United Nations and the specialized agencies on programmes in the economic and social fields. Only through such a document could members of the Council be made aware

of the plans, achievements and difficulties of the different United Nations agencies.

53. The Secretary-General's assurance that his constant aim was to keep the United Nations budget as modest as possible was appreciated. In the light of that assurance, his delegation believed that the Governments of Member States owed it to the Secretary-General to take a constructive view of his request for increased allocations to finance United Nations activities in the economic and social field.

54. Mr. ABOU-GABAL (United Arab Republic) said that, when the General Assembly in resolution 1710 (XVI) had set as the goal of the Development Decade the attainment by the developing countries of a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5 per cent at the end of the Decade, it had been felt that the goal was a modest one and that success would be within reach if all efforts were mobilized to attain it.

55. The appraisal by the Secretary-General and the progress report made it clear that progress had as yet been inadequate. Indeed, the progress report noted that the progress thus far achieved towards the objectives of the Decade was less impressive than the fact that those objectives, although not very ambitious, remained quite distant.

56. As the Secretary-General had stated, in international society no one was ultimately responsible for success, and no one should under-estimate the difficulty of the task. A great effort had been made by the United Nations and the international organizations during the first half of the Decade. The United Nations had taken positive steps such as the convening of very important conferences and had succeeded in providing an institutional framework for development. An outstanding example was the Conference on Trade and Development and its establishment as a permanent organ of the General Assembly. The Secretary-General had stated that the Conference was in itself the most important event as yet in the Development Decade. Other examples were the new programme of co-operation for the application of science and technology to development and the efforts of EPTA, which had contributed almost as much in the first half of the Decade as it had done during the whole of the ten previous years of its existence.

57. His delegation was impressed with the magnitude of what had been done and with the many results the international organizations had achieved; but it wished not merely to commend those efforts but also to face the disappointments suffered with objectivity and realism. To cite one example of these disappointments, the progress report stated that an examination of the world health situation showed that there had been a lack of understanding of the grave deterrents to progress that widespread illhealth created, and also, in many instances, a failure to invest adequately in disease control and health promotion. The rate of progress achieved in the 1950's had not been maintained owing to the relative lack of international financial support for health action.

58. It was distressing that the developing countries had not even been able to maintain the conditions which had

prevailed in the 1950's — conditions which had aroused the concern of the General Assembly and which had made inevitable the adoption of the resolution on the Development Decade. The annual rate of growth in the developing countries over the first four years of the Decade amounted only to 4 per cent, which meant that per capita output in recent years had been increasing annually by only 1.5 per cent, allowing for the annual rate of increase in population. The two-thirds of the world's population living in the less developed regions still received less than one-sixth of the world's income. On the other hand, the per capita income of the population of the economically advanced countries of western Europe was eight to ten times higher than that of the population of the developing countries, and in North America it was some twenty times higher.

59. The existence of growing economic disparities between the different nations not only endangered the objectives of the Development Decade but made the world situation more explosive and more dangerous.

60. Apart from the rapid population growth in many developing countries, scarcity of export earnings was a major factor in hindering their efforts to achieve satisfactory social and economic progress and in impeding their capacity to import the capital equipment and materials necessary for their development plans. The rate of growth of the exports of the developing countries to markets in the developed countries, by value, had declined from 10 per cent in 1963 to 8 per cent in 1964, whereas the rate for exports from the developed countries to markets in the developing countries had risen from 5 per cent to 10 per cent during the same period. The figures for the first quarter of 1965 compared with the corresponding period in 1964 showed that the situation had become worse. If the developing countries were to achieve a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5 per cent, their imports would have to increase at a higher rate, say 6 per cent, owing to their need to import capital equipment required for additional investment. Their exports would have to rise at least at the same rate in order to keep their balance of payments in equilibrium.

61. In its resolution 1711 (XVI) the General Assembly had expressed the hope that the annual flow of international assistance and capital would be increased substantially so that it might reach as soon as possible approximately 1 per cent of the combined national incomes of the economically advanced countries. That recommendation showed that the concept of shared resources was beginning to enter the philosophy of States in relation not only to their own citizens but to other States as well. It constituted a modest test of the readiness of the developed countries to help the developing countries. Unfortunately, as the Secretary-General had stated in his appraisal, more recently the net flow of international assistance and capital to developing countries had virtually ceased to increase and, given the substantial growth in the national incomes of developed countries, progress towards the 1 per cent goal for resource transfer to developing countries had been halted. The concept of shared resources as between States represented a moral obligation of the developed countries towards the

developing countries. If it were put into effect, it would do much to assist the Development Decade towards success.

62. The difficulty of selling some of their raw materials and their more diversified and processed exports in the markets of the developed countries, the instability of export incomes and the structural bias of the whole market towards the interest of the rich were a source of dissatisfaction to the developing countries. If they took steps to remedy that state of affairs, the developed countries would be making a significant contribution to the success of the Development Decade and would be implementing General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI), in which Member States were called upon to pursue policies designed to enable the less developed countries to sell more of their products at stable and remunerative prices. The Conference on Trade and Development had recognized the principle that the achievement of adequate growth targets by the developing countries was indissolubly linked to the achievement of corresponding trade and aid targets.

63. As a developing country, the United Arab Republic was aware that measures were also required on the part of developing countries to achieve the necessary acceleration of economic growth. His country was most interested in benefiting from the experience of the developed countries, and had tried to take advantage of the information available in every field connected with development to guide it in fulfilling its share of responsibility for the success of the Development Decade. At the same time, his country did not hesitate to render help and advice to other developing countries, in a spirit of co-operation.

64. In 1960/61, in an effort to ensure a steady rise in the standard of living of the population, which had increased by 2.5 per cent annually, the United Arab Republic had embarked on a development plan aimed at doubling the national income in ten years. The first five-year plan had come to a successful conclusion in 1964/65, and the second plan had just begun. The plan aimed at the development of every sector, including industry, agriculture, power, transport, social welfare, education and public health services. Since the revolution of 1952, the economic and social policies of his country had been aimed at the attainment of a sound democratic system, the ending of monopoly and of the domination of capital over government, the eradication of feudalism and the establishment of social justice.

65. The aims of the first five-year plan had been to increase production from £E 2,548 million in 1959/60 to £E 3,601 million in 1964/65, a growth of approximately 43 per cent; to increase the national income from £E 1,285 million in 1959/60 to £E 1,795 million by the end of the plan; to increase employment from about six million workers in 1959/60 to seven million in 1964/65; and to

increase wages from some £E 549.5 million in 1959/60 to £E 725 million in 1964/65. The first stage of the Aswan High Dam had been successfully completed in May 1964, and his country was devoting its utmost efforts and resources to completing the second and last stage on time. That project was regarded as the corner-stone of the economic plans of the United Arab Republic. In the industrial sector, total output had increased by more than 200 per cent between 1952 and 1963.

66. Even if all the efforts of the United Nations family and of the developed and developing countries were crowned with success, the problem created by the expansion of population might still threaten the whole idea of the Development Decade. Accordingly, his delegation greatly hoped that the World Population Conference to be held in Belgrade in 1965 would be successful.

67. As a contribution to the search for solutions which would permit a more optimistic view to be taken of the success of the Development Decade, his delegation considered it appropriate to make certain suggestions. It was in the first place absolutely essential that there should be a greater measure of co-ordination in carrying out the different responsibilities associated with the fulfilment of the objectives of the Development Decade. The United Nations and its agencies could help that process by assisting governments to co-ordinate their own activities and decisions. Secondly, there should be widespread and rapid application of science and technology to development; the secrets of science should no longer be a monopoly of the few. Thirdly, loan facilities, whether granted by multilateral lending agencies or directly by governments, should be on more favourable terms; the indebtedness of the developing countries was growing, and by 1963 the servicing of the external debt had absorbed over 13 per cent of their receipts from exports. Fourthly, the international agencies should be given a larger share in the work of development.

68. Lastly, his delegation wished to stress how much the Development Decade would have accomplished if a programme of general and complete disarmament had been in effect; if it had, perhaps the whole idea of the Development Decade would by now have become out of date.

69. In his opening statement at the 1369th meeting, the Secretary-General had put forward a valuable suggestion that a consultative group of experts should be set up in the Secretariat to render service to development planning. Such a group of experts could be of great assistance to the developing countries in formulating or implementing their own development plans.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.