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Chairman: Mr. Karel KURKA (Czecho-Slovakia).

**Election of the Rapporteur**

1. The CHAIRMAN called for nominations for a new Rapporteur to replace Mr. Herrarte (Guatemala), who was not attending the resumed fifteenth session.

2. Mr. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) nominated Mr. Santiso Gálvez, Vice-Chairman of the Guatemalan delegation.

3. U THANT (Burma) seconded the nomination.

4. Mr. SANTISO GALVEZ (Guatemala), Rapporteur, thanked the Committee for having elected him.

**AGENDA ITEM 88**


**General debate (continued)**

5. Mr. QUASON-SACKLEY (Ghana) recalled that during the first part of the fifteenth session, sixteen newly independent African States had been admitted to the United Nations. At the same time the General Assembly had adopted, on the initiative of the USSR, a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)). Now the Committee was considering the item “Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development”, originally proposed by the United States. That was a happy coincidence of events which raised great hopes.

6. It was vital that the United Nations should have a programme for the orderly achievement of independence by the peoples still under colonial domination; as he had stated in the General Assembly (927th plenary meeting), the world would only know peace and stability when all peoples were free and equal. Recent events in the Congo, Angola, Northern Rhodesia and other parts of Africa had shown what happened when the international community failed to respond to the problems facing peoples in the process of transition from dependence to nationhood. It was the responsibility of the United Nations, as the guardian of international peace and security, to ensure that that transition was made under propitious conditions. Pious hopes were not enough: the Organization must see to it that target dates were fixed for the independence of each colonial territory and that programmes were undertaken to prepare the people concerned for their new responsibilities.

7. Whatever happened, all African colonies must eventually be free. Independence was one of the sacred rights of man, and if the countries of Africa were to be truly independent, their Governments must reflect the fact that the majority of the population were Africans. The African peoples were not concerned with matters of ideology, nor were they guilty of racialism in reverse. They simply believed that majority rule was a fundamental right.

8. It was true that racial or religious minorities often found it difficult to integrate themselves into the community, and therefore feared majority rule. Their fears could be met by the provision of constitutional safeguards, and in any case, if such groups behaved as true citizens, without claiming any right to lord it over indigenous peoples, there would be no problem. Another difficulty was that in certain areas the European minority had a near monopoly of education, skill and resources, and to a great extent sustained the economic life of the community. For those reasons his country had pressed at the various African conferences for a phased transfer of power, proposing that definite dates should be fixed for independence and that the Administering Powers should expand their programmes of education and technical training, provide new opportunities for Africans in agriculture and industry and extend African participation in politics. Such steps were essential if confidence in the idea of partnership was to be restored in multiracial societies.

9. Partnership between Africans and European settlers presupposed equal facilities in education and other fields. As the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had pointed out in its report, progress in education was achieved much more quickly where the indigenous inhabitants shared in the political decisions in that field. But in practice, the multiracial societies of Africa had had separate systems of education, and the inferior quality of the facilities provided for Africans made them suspect any talk of partnership. That situation was unacceptable. The metropolitan Powers must prove that they intended to promote progress not only in education, but also in the economic, social and political spheres. To achieve those ends, co-operation with the indigenous populations was essential. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had done valuable work...

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*Resumed from the 1140th meeting.**
in promoting such co-operation, and his delegation therefore proposed that it should be directed to draw up, in the light of the information it had received over the preceding ten years, a programme for the independence of Non-Self-Governing Territories in Africa. Such a programme should enable the countries concerned to become fully independent within three years.

10. Another problem facing Africa was neo-colonialism. Traditional colonialism, being determined to retain its economic interests and privileges, sought to maintain control of nominally independent countries in non-political ways. The African States must join together to resist such manoeuvres and avoid being drawn into the cold war.

11. The African peoples could be strong and independent only if their resources were effectively mobilized to raise the standard of living of their peoples; independence must be followed by economic development. Africans knew that their efforts would be hindered by a complex of economic and social factors resulting from colonial rule, including colonial administrative structures, inadequate power, transport and communication systems, a shortage of capital and skilled workers, low levels of health, productivity and income, a high percentage of illiteracy and a short expectation of life. But they were determined to develop, and to develop reasonably fast. They could scarcely do so unaided, and the future of Africa would be largely determined by the amount of aid they received and the channels through which it came. The present flow of aid must be increased, and as much of it as possible should come through the United Nations, although the African States would accept bilateral aid from any source.

12. His delegation welcomed the United States proposal for a programme of development for Africa. It was not enough, however, for such a programme to be a mere extension of technical assistance; it must provide funds for capital development, as envisaged in General Assembly resolution 1521 (XV). The African countries might be lacking in capital, but they were not poor in resources. At present the way in which their resources were exploited was conditioned by the needs of the industrial Powers, and their economic structures would therefore have to be drastically changed. Firstly, all African States must undertake a development plan designed to provide them with a basic economic infrastructure and, secondly, they must diversify their economies so that they would no longer be dependent on a single export crop. Such programmes could not be undertaken without capital.

13. At the second Conference of Independent African States held in Addis Ababa in June 1960, a resolution recommending the establishment of an African development bank had been unanimously adopted. His delegation proposed that the Economic and Social Council should consider establishing such a bank under the auspices of the United Nations. It should also set up an economic planning board, which would co-ordinate all development plans submitted to it by African States. The board would be under the Economic Commission for Africa, and would correlate the needs of the African States with the resources made available to the development bank by the industrial countries. More highly qualified staff should be appointed to the Economic Commission for Africa, which could then prepare from the available information an integrated plan for both infra-structural and productive investment. In addition, all possible measures should be taken to facilitate the expansion of African trade with the rest of the world, since any development programme would be useless unless there was a market for the increased production which it would promote.

14. The United Nations must make a reality of Africa's political independence and satisfy its aspirations for economic development and social progress. But that would be impossible unless there was peace, and his delegation was therefore proposing that Africa should be declared a nuclear-free zone. A draft resolution on the subject would be submitted in the near future.²

15. Mr. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) said that a United Nations programme designed to consolidate the independence and promote the development of the new States—indeed, of all States in need of international assistance—was fully consonant with the basic purposes of the Organization as set forth in Article 1 of its Charter. Uruguay was, of course, a recipient rather than a donor country, but, like Greece, it was ready to furnish technical assistance, and intended to offer scholarships and other facilities to young students from the new African States who wished to study Uruguay's achievements in the social, institutional and administrative spheres. It might well be that those States would find among the smaller countries experiences of more direct application to the problems of their own countries. The specific programme under discussion was welcomed by his delegation, which regarded it as a decisive step in directing technical and economic assistance towards the under-developed countries through the multilateral channel—by far the most preferable, since it obviated any suspicion of economic or political interest. Private investment was, of course, of great value to the needy countries in their development but it was clear that such investment must always be subject to suspicion, since its motives were not always fully consistent with the public interests of the countries concerned. In the present international situation, bilateral assistance tended to fall under the same suspicion. That was not to say that there were not bilateral assistance agreements entirely free from political conditions or objectives, and such agreements had been instrumental in helping many countries. But even so, some doubt remained as to the motives of the countries rendering bilateral assistance—some suspicion that despite all the precautions taken, what they sought was control over the wills of the people they assisted. Multilateral assistance was above all such suspicion; the contributing States were depersonalized, and it was the United Nations as a whole which earned the gratitude of the countries helped. The more, then, that technical and economic assistance to the needy countries was channelled through the United Nations, the better.

16. The representative of Pakistan had been perfectly justified, of course, in his references to the success of the Colombo Plan (1137th meeting). He could not, however, accept the implication of that representative's remark that in bilateral schemes both donor and beneficiary countries were determined to achieve success. The United Nations was certainly as much concerned as any individual country for the success of its economic assistance programmes. Its work in that sphere was real and effective, and it was increasingly influencing national economies. If it was to be more effective, however, it was essential that Member States should contribute more generously to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. If

²Subsequently circulated as document A/C.1/1/271.
through inadequate financial support those programmes had to be reduced, and applications for assistance rejected, then the facts themselves would have made it clear that Member States preferred bilateral to multilateral methods of assistance. As shown by the third preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 1527 (XV) on assistance to newly independent States, adopted on the recommendations of the Second Committee, the resources available for assistance plans were far below requirements, especially when it was considered that the United Nations must in no way reduce its assistance to one part of the world in order to increase its assistance to another part. However, it was difficult to agree with the eighth preambular paragraph of that resolution, and his delegation could only regard the paragraph as an act of courtesy towards Member States; for the fact of the matter was that funds were insufficient, and that there were Member States whose economic situations would permit them to contribute eveh more in a larger measure than at present. The total of some $40 million promised for 1961 was a far cry from the $100 million set as the objective of the Special Fund in General Assembly resolution 1240 (XIII). It must be said in justice that some countries, in particular the United States, which was contributing 40 per cent of the total amount, and the Soviet Union, which had promised $1 million, were playing their full part. But while others with equal economic capacities contributed so meagrely there could be no hope that the resulting programmes would have any effect on the world situation.

17. The Uruguayan delegation did not favour the creation of a separate fund for Africa. Such a fund would have the effect of reducing contributions to other technical assistance funds. Moreover, it would create rivalries and destroy the impartiality which was a major advantage of multilateral aid. However, Uruguay’s position on that question should not be interpreted as implying any desire to impede or defer aid to Africa. Such aid was indispensable, but it should be channelled through existing machinery, strengthened by a substantial increase in contributions.

18. It was encouraging to note, in that connexion, that the Managing Director of the Special Fund, while recognizing that the proportion of assistance from that Fund to Africa still left much to be desired, had expressed confidence that the situation would steadily improve. Although only nineteen Special Fund projects out of a total of 115 at present approved were for Africa, it was clearly intended that a fair proportion of the increased resources of both the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance should be allocated to African projects. The relatively small number of the projects approved so far could be explained by the difficulties the new States had in preparing requests of an appropriate nature and in appropriate form, and by the limited funds at the disposal of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme. Measures had already been taken to assist African Governments to prepare suitable requests; but until substantial increases in contributions were forthcoming, little could be done to expand assistance to Africa.

19. It was the hope of his delegation that the resolution which the Committee would ultimately adopt on the item under discussion would express a clear preference for channelling all technical and economic assistance through international organizations, so that the principle of multilateral aid should prevail over that of bilaterality. Member States should be urged to allocate more funds to international assistance in their foreign aid programmes and to increase their contributions to United Nations technical assistance organs.

20. Lastly, he drew attention to Article 102, paragraph 1, of the Charter and urged Member States to comply with its provisions by registering all bilateral economic agreements.

**Organization of the Committee’s work**

21. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the delegation of Ghana had announced its intention of submitting a draft resolution on the item under discussion. As soon as that text had been presented, the Committee would be able to proceed more rapidly. When it had completed its discussion on agenda item 88, the Committee would still have four items on its agenda, which would have to be dealt with in the little time which remained before the close of the fifteenth session.

22. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the situation which had led the Soviet Union to request the General Assembly to place on the agenda at its fifteenth session the item “Complaint of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics about a menace to world peace created by aggressive actions of the United States of America against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” had changed. It would further be recalled that in December 1960 the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, noting that a new President of the United States would shortly assume office, had suggested that the Soviet Union might not insist on consideration of that item, in order that the errors of the past in the relations between the two countries should not interfere with the hopes for a better future. The USSR Government had given due consideration to the fact that one of the first actions of the new President of the United States following his inauguration would be to issue an order prohibiting United States military aircraft from violating the air space of the Soviet Union. In the circumstances, the USSR delegation wished to inform the General Assembly that the Soviet Government no longer pressed for consideration of agenda item 80 or for its retention in the agenda of the First Committee. It wished to emphasize in that connexion that the Soviet Government was making untiring efforts to ease international tension and improve Soviet-American relations, and was trying to create a favourable atmosphere for the deliberations of the General Assembly.

23. However, the Assembly’s agenda still included two items which did not warrant discussion and which were prejudicial to any relaxation of international tension; he referred to the so-called questions of Hungary and Tibet. The USSR delegation hoped that the States which had supported their inclusion would take the necessary steps to have them removed from the agenda; that would help to improve relations between States, to consolidate peace and to create a favourable atmosphere for the Assembly’s work.

24. Mr. YOST (United States of America) said that he welcomed the Soviet representative’s announcement. On the other hand, the United States delegation reserved its position with regard to the appropriateness and necessity of dealing at the current session of the
25. Mr. QUASON-SACKEY (Ghana) suggested that in order to expedite the Committee's work it might be well to begin consideration of another item of its agenda, pending the submission of the draft resolution on the African item.

26. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the agenda for the next few meetings should consist of two items, namely, agenda item 88, relating to Africa, and agenda item 90, concerning the complaint submitted by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12:25 p.m.