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Chairman: Mr. Carlet R. AUGUSTE (Haiti).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Sanz Briz (Spain) (Rapporteur), took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 77

Appeal for maximum support to efforts of newly emerging States for strengthening their independence (A/4443; A/SPC/49) (continued)

1. Mr. SORHEGUI (Cuba) said that the accession to independence of many countries, both in Asia and in Africa, since the end of the Second World War was a sign of progress. There was reason for gratification at the recognition of the principles of equal rights and of the self-determination of peoples, which were included among the purposes and principles of the United Nations; indeed, the strengthening of the independence of the new States depended to some extent on their application. Every time a dependent colonial territory became a sovereign State the cause of peace gained a point. Whenever a people won its freedom it threw back the forces of colonialism and imperialism. Cuba was the friend of all peoples who liberated themselves, for their enemies were also its own. The right of peoples to be masters of their own fate and to dispose of their natural wealth as they saw fit had now gained sufficient strength in Asia and Africa for the peoples of those continents to unite against foreign domination, both political and economic. Anti-colonialism had made those peoples the champions of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

2. In America, on the other hand, there had been a retreat before the imperialism of the United States. The countries of Latin America, long since freed from Spain, had fallen into the power of the United States. The Monroe Doctrine had been the instrument of the imperialist policy of the United States. Its application in Latin America had varied with time. At first it had been a policy of military defence, then a policy of safeguarding economic interests, the two being sometimes combined, as in Cuba. United States imperialism had subsequently taken the form of ideological penetration and technical assistance under the Point Four Program.

3. He quoted, by way of example, the political instructions given by United States President McKinley to General Arthur A. Miles in March 1898, three months before the intervention of the United States in the Spanish-Cuban War.

4. Passing on to the events of the past fifteen years, he noted that the peoples who had gained their freedom in Africa and in Asia had succeeded, by trading with all countries, in breaking the economic domination imposed upon them by the colonialist metropolitan countries, thus making it more difficult for the monopolistic concerns to pursue their activities. That was why the United States had wanted to make the Latin American countries a reserve where United States monopolies could plunder the natural resources with the help of a grossly underpaid labour force. In 1953, Getulio Vargas, one time President of Brazil, had denounced the scandalous profits of foreign companies which had been as much as 500 per cent, while the import frauds had been estimated at more than \$100 million a year. The heads of the monopolies and the big landowners had combined to paralyse the development of Latin America by means of appropriate legislation. The American military dictatorships had permitted United States imperialism to control their countries' natural resources. Ordóñez in Peru, Rojas Pinilla in Colombia, Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela, Carías in Honduras, Batista in Cuba, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, the Samozas in Nicaragua and Castillo Armas in Guatemala had been the faithful servants of the United States State Department. In 1951 in Guatemala, an agrarian national reform movement had brought Jacobo Arbenz to power, but the United Fruit Company, with the support of Washington, had very soon put an end to his Government. The Latin American peasants and workers had then realized that land reform was the key to the fight against the imperialism of the monopolies. Students, members of the professions and small traders had united with them to overthrow the military dictatorships. The Cuban revolution had succeeded in frustrating the plots hatched by the imperialists and, as Commander Che Guevara had said, the battle of Cuba was the battle of America. Hence the United States campaign against the Cuban revolution, and the economic aggression to which Cuba was being subjected. Land reform was the key to the solution. José Martí had already proclaimed that uncultivated land must be given to those who were ready to work it, for that would help to solve Cuba's social problems and build a Cuban Republic founded on co-operation and labour.

5. Although the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands still had colonies in America, Puerto Rico was a particularly revealing example to the new States of economic domination combined with a new form of colonialism. Puerto Rico's economy had formerly been based, not on sugar-cane but on coffee. In 1897 coffee had constituted two-thirds of the country's exports, and forty one per cent of the cultivated area had been planted with coffee. Ninety-one per cent of the coffee-growing had been in the hands of small farmers.

6. The CHAIRMAN reminded the representative of Cuba that under rule 111 of the rules of procedure his remarks must relate to the subject under discussion.

7. Mr. SORHEGUI (Cuba) said that after the occupation of Puerto Rico by the United States in 1898 the Puerto Rican peso had been devalued by 40 per cent. Furthermore, whereas in 1897 sugar cane had covered an area of only 63,400 acres, by 1933 the area had increased to 314,887 acres. In 1899, after the passing of the Foraker Act, 249 sugar refineries had been merged into forty-one modern concerns belonging to United States nationals. Sugar, tobacco and citrus fruits had transformed an agricultural consumption economy into an export economy. Deprived of customs protection, coffee had today entirely lost its importance. That was how the United States monopolies had transformed the Puerto Rican economy and ruined the island's peasant population. The result had been emigration to New York and other United States cities, whose industries thus had cheap labour at their disposal. Also, in the event of war the Puerto Ricans could serve as cannon-fodder. As a Puerto Rican writer had said, to take away the land from the absent United States owners and the United States Armed Forces would be to deprive the United States Government of sovereignty over the island. Independence alone would give the Puerto Rican people political power and enable them to free themselves from the clutches of the big landowners and to direct the country's economy towards truly Puerto Rican interests.

8. The Cuban delegation believed, in the first place, that without political sovereignty there could be no economic independence because the national oligarchies controlled the apparatus of the State and served imperialist interests at the expense of the welfare of the nation as a whole, preventing any economic reconstruction and depriving the people of the advantages of a fair distribution of wealth. In the second place, the State had the right to nationalize the imperialist monopolies, thus recovering its natural resources and the right to engage freely in trade with all peoples of the world. It was in the exercise of its right of sovereignty that the Cuban people had promulgated the laws on land reform, nationalization, urban reform, the reform of education and the other laws in favour of the people. All the progress that the Revolution had made possible was due to the fact that the Cuban people were masters of their own fate and that State, Revolution, people and Government were one. The Cuban Government would give all the help it could to the new States. He drew their attention to the fact that the colonialists still had sufficient strength to paralyse their will and frustrate their liberation. Neo-colonialism was a reality and the events in the Congo proved that negative forces were endeavouring to obstruct the forces of progress and peace. The solidarity of the oppressed and exploited peoples must show itself most where aggression and exploitation were most intense. The Cuban delegation urged other delegations to support those principles, to reject any proposal not conducive to positive results and to promote the development of the newly independent States. It should not be forgotten that in its struggle against the United States monopolies Cuba had secured the support of its brother peoples in Latin America, of the socialist countries, the peoples of Africa and of Asia and of all those in the world who were champions of peace and justice.

9. Mr. RAHNEMA (Iran) said that the conquest of real independence was a dynamic process which began, developed and reached fruition after a more or less lengthy evolution. The process of liberation was not

complete so long as any shred of dependence, whatever its nature, subsisted. Nominal political independence constituted only one stage, although an important one, in that process. It represented, in Hegelian terms a qualitative change in a permanent process of gradual quantitative changes. Beginning with the moment of enlightenment when a people decided to take its fate into its own hands, those quantitative changes continued, as nations fought to destroy all political, economic and other obstacles in their way. That stage of political independence undoubtedly differed from other stages because, concretely, it was reflected in the creation of a State and of new organisms which allowed the progress towards complete independence to take new and more effective forms. However, that stage could not constitute an end in itself, nor a halting point. A nation which had thus become sovereign must then gradually achieve total freedom of action, without any reservations or conditions. Merely to send a new State a cable of congratulation followed by diplomatic recognition and admission to the United Nations would be tantamount to rejoicing in the birth of a child only to abandon it immediately afterwards.

10. The responsibilities of the international community became heavier and more complex each time a country attained political independence in present-day circumstances. At such a time the community of interests among nations should help the new State to overcome its grave problems and to liquidate the heritage of colonialism.

11. Such States must first of all be left in peace, and their right to complete freedom in determining their status must be respected. Secondly, if they freely expressed a desire to receive assistance, they must be helped, in partnership, to accomplish what they were not able to do alone, and yet courses of action must not be imposed on them from outside in a spirit of paternalism. In short, the problem would be to make temporary provision to make up for the trained officials and the economic and technical training still lacking in such States. The main corollary of the first of the principles mentioned above was the recognition that the popular movement towards total liberation was an unalterable fact; opposition to it was not only bound to fail, it was also an immoral act which infringed the law of nations and concealed a threat to the cause of international peace and co-operation. Recognition must also be given to the right of peoples to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, both economic and human, a right which was enunciated in article 1 of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights.^{1/} During the difficult period of gaining strength, the newly liberated peoples more than ever needed to make use of all their wealth, and their difficulties must not be increased by the imposition of conditions which would hinder their full development. Hence, his delegation objected to unequal and restrictive agreements, economic, political, financial, military or of any other kind signed before the country's attainment of independence and limiting its field of action thereafter. Similarly, during the discussion on colonialism (926th plenary meeting), his delegation had already expressed its hope that Powers, both great and small, would refrain from any action which might lead the newly liberated peoples to allocate to military expenditure funds essential to their national development.

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 28 (part 1) document E/2573, annex I.

12. As for the positive aspects of relations between the new States and the rest of the international community, the main stress should be laid on the close interdependence characteristic of the world today. The freedom of the Ford factory worker depended on that of the fellah in the Nile Valley, the state of the French farmer hinged on that of the Nigerian worker, and even the future of the Wall Street millionaire was not unaffected by the future of the poor Indian or Congolese peasant. Therefore, assistance to the countries which needed and requested it was no longer a matter of charity; it was based simply on practical considerations and good sense. In short, there was a disease to be combated which threatened to become an epidemic if it was not eradicated in time.

13. All the States in the world, and particularly those which had economic and technical resources, should therefore assist the newly independent nations, with no suggestion of domination or penetration, without interfering in their domestic affairs or attempting to undermine whatever economic or social system obtained in the recipient countries. To safeguard the disinterested character of the aid to the new States, it would therefore be highly advisable for such aid to be granted through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The United Nations, in which all the countries of the world, great and small, were on an equal footing, was the ideal centre for planning and co-ordinating that type of aid. In keeping with that approach, his delegation had always enthusiastically supported all United Nations proposals or programmes for establishing or strengthening special bodies designed to provide economic, technical, social or other forms of assistance to the under-developed and the newly independent countries.

14. His delegation was gratified that the Special Political Committee had shown an interest in the appeal for maximum support to efforts of newly emerging States for strengthening their independence. His delegation thanked the Czechoslovak delegation for requesting the inclusion of that item in the agenda, and would be happy to make its modest contribution to any constructive proposal or draft resolution likely to crystallize the principles it had supported.

15. Mr. JUNG (India) said that for several reasons it was difficult for the Committee, at the present time, to engage in a fruitful discussion of the item before it. The question could not be isolated from that of colonialism (agenda item 87), the discussion of which had not yet been completed in plenary, or from the item (agenda item 88) on Africa which the First Committee, for lack of time, had not as yet been able to discuss. In addition, the General Assembly would have to consider in plenary the Second Committee's draft resolution (A/C.2/L.509/Rev.2) which the President of the General Assembly had transmitted to the Special Political Committee (A/SPC/49). Therefore, while it was grateful to the Czechoslovak delegation for requesting the inclusion of that important item in the agenda, his delegation thought it was not very wise to discuss the matter before the outcome of the debates in plenary and in the First Committee was known. In the present circumstances, it would be difficult for the Special Political Committee to produce a draft resolution which took all the aspects of the question into consideration. For those reasons, his delegation thought that the consideration of the item should be postponed until the resumption of the fifteenth session. At that time, dis-

cussions could be held simultaneously in the First Committee and in the Special Political Committee. Although it was not making a formal proposal, his delegation hoped that the Czechoslovak delegation would not object to that procedure.

16. Mr. SUBASINGHE (Ceylon) agreed with the representative of India. In addition to the reasons adduced, it should be noted that, because of the important discussions that had taken place at the same time in plenary and in the First Committee, many delegations which were directly concerned in the matter but had somewhat limited personnel were unable to join in the discussion of the item before the Special Political Committee. Yet, the subject warranted thorough examination by all delegations.

17. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus) and Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) expressed similar views.

18. Mr. TOWNSEND (Peru) said that his delegation felt a sincere and disinterested sympathy with the new countries, whose presence in the United Nations represented an advance towards the effective application of the principle of universality. Not only was the attainment of independence by those countries on the basis of democratic principles and respect for human rights a most encouraging fact, but it was also a historical justification of the principles which had guided the emergence of the countries of America, for the revolution which had taken place among the peoples of Africa and Asia was merely an extension of the earlier struggle which the countries of the American continent had waged for the freedom of the human race.

19. As a result of the similarity in their historical development, the countries of Latin America could, in all humility, offer those new States the fruits of bitter experience. Many pitfalls had awaited the Latin American countries in carrying out the difficult task of strengthening their independence; only their national consciousness and their patriotism had made it possible for them to preserve the freedom acquired at such cost. Undoubtedly the new countries of Asia and Africa would also be able to preserve their victories and to oppose economic and ideological imperialism. Moreover, they had an invaluable asset: their independence was safeguarded at the international level by the very existence of the United Nations, which was upholding the principles of self-determination and the equality of all countries and helping them to solve their economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems through international assistance.

20. His delegation would be pleased if, during the discussion, an appeal was drafted to all Member States to aid the newly emerging States in strengthening their independence. But it felt that the spirit of such an appeal should be in accord with the role of the United Nations, and that it should give primary consideration to the interests of the peoples concerned. It would be criminal to make the new countries a stake in the cold war. Hence, in the discussion of the item, speakers should confine themselves to constructive comments and refrain from using the debate merely to add to the controversy. Countries which, like Peru, had never exercised dominion over others were deeply concerned about the aid to be given to the new countries; they felt that the cause was intrinsically a good one and that it should not be made an aspect of bloc rivalry.

21. His delegation would therefore be gratified if the Committee could draw up a document which had the unanimous or almost unanimous support of its members. It felt that there should be, first, a restatement of the satisfaction felt by Member States at the attainment of independence by the new countries and then a reaffirmation of the special ties between those countries and the United Nations and the duties and responsibilities incumbent on them, in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations. The political independence of the new countries must be strengthened in every way, and the opposition of the United Nations to all intervention must be stressed. The stronger the United Nations, the greater would be the guarantees of the freedom of the new countries.

22. But political independence was not enough, for a country could not be politically independent if it remained in a state of economic dependence. Since economic emancipation called for foreign aid in the form of capital and technical assistance, relations between the newly emerging countries and the countries which could supply them with that financial and technical assistance posed a delicate problem of achieving a constructive balance that would preserve the new countries from succumbing to a new form of dependence. The solution probably lay in various forms of economic integration, common market or general agreement among new countries. In order to arrive at effective solutions, the countries linked by similar problems would have to resort to large-scale co-operation and common action; that was what the countries of Latin America or of other under-developed regions had in common with those newly emerging countries.

23. Furthermore, the United Nations could play a particularly beneficial role in promoting the development of the new countries by supplying technical assistance. The draft resolution which had been adopted by the Second Committee (A/C.2/L.519/Rev.2) and distributed to the Special Political Committee as document A/SPC/49 was an important document in that connexion. The Peruvian delegation fully approved all its provisions and considered that the more developed States could make a considerable contribution through a generous programme of fellowships and scholarships for the training of technicians.

24. In conclusion, it should not be forgotten that all nations needed some conception and ideal, as President Sukarno had said in the General Assembly (880th plenary meeting). Once countries became independent, their culture, which had suffered so much under the colonial régime, could flourish freely. The United Nations should ensure that those various cultures were respected, and no one should object to freedom of cultural and political expression on the part of any nation which respected the universal principles of democracy and justice.

25. The Peruvian delegation hoped that the Committee could draw up a document which, while ignoring the polemics of the cold war, would defend the independence of the new States against any political, economic or ideological imperialism, preserve their right to economic development and independence, and help them to create their own culture.

26. Mr. IMRU (Ethiopia) seconded the Indian representative's suggestion that the debate should be adjourned until the resumption of the fifteenth session.

Many delegations wished to participate actively in the discussion and to submit suggestions. But it was doubtful if the Committee could devote to that question the time required in view of its importance and complexity, and some delegations lacked sufficient staff for their representation at every meeting. In those circumstances it would be better to proceed to another agenda item which would not call for such protracted discussion.

27. Mr. BOHEMAN (Sweden) was convinced that a continuation of the present discussion would not enable the Committee to arrive at a constructive solution. He therefore believed that all members of the Committee—and in particular the Czechoslovak delegation, which had asked for the item to be put on the agenda—would find it advisable to adjourn the debate; and he formally submitted a motion to that effect, under rule 117 of the rules of procedure.

28. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia) said that, although he had not originally intended to speak in the discussion, he felt obliged to do so, in the belief that the members of the Committee who wished to adjourn the debate did not realize the full gravity of the situation. The argument that some delegations were not able to attend every meeting was unconvincing, inasmuch as all members of the Committee had been present during the discussion of the previous items. In point of fact the present question was of great importance for preventing the occurrence in other countries of situations like that in the Congo. There were two aspects to the question: a theoretical aspect, which the Committee should consider without delay, and a practical aspect, which would be taken up at the resumed session and might then call for assistance from experts if it were proposed to devise machinery for the preparation of colonial countries' accession to independence. It was wrong to wait until those countries became independent before worrying about the solution of their problems; the question should be studied immediately.

29. Mr. EKRA (Ivory Coast) said that his country, which had just become independent, was particularly interested in the question under discussion. As the Liberian representative had rightly pointed out, the problem was an urgent one: it was not enough to voice the intention of helping the new countries to strengthen their independence; certain States were in urgent need of support in order to preserve their new-found independence. Owing to the precariousness of their economies, the ex-colonial countries were now turning to the former colonizing Powers, which felt obliged to grant them financial assistance through purely local operations. That assistance, though disinterested, was often interpreted internationally as a political action. The former colonizing Powers should be freed from that obligation, which made demands upon their generosity, and at the same time the newly emergent States should be extricated from a derogatory situation. The intention which had been expressed should therefore be speedily translated into specific measures, and that could not be done under auspices better than those of the United Nations. The necessary constructive steps would, however, have financial implications, on which the United Nations would not be able to decide in time if the discussion of the legal aspects of the matter were put off. Moreover, as the Liberian representative had emphasized, it was wrong to wait for a country to suffer a catastrophe before coming to its aid. Such was not, of course, the intention of Czechoslovakia, which

should be complimented on having asked for the matter to be put on the agenda. It was to be hoped that the will to give active assistance really existed. As the representative of Peru had said, it would be a pity if the debate on so serious a question became an occasion for merely academic discussions, or propaganda. The countries in question would be the first to refuse "assistance" of that sort. The Ivory Coast was all the better able to adopt that attitude because, before becoming independent, it had signed no agreement with the former colonizing Power, to which, however, it remained linked by ties of friendship just as close as those binding the countries that had signed such agreements. The Ivory Coast could therefore not be accused of accepting assistance with strings attached.

30. Without wishing to oppose the motion for adjourning the debate, the delegation of the Ivory Coast felt that it was essential to propose at once, to the executive organs of the United Nations, specific measures which the Committee could study more expeditiously when the session was resumed.

31. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia) thanked all the members of the Committee for their understanding and for the tribute which they had paid to his country. He hoped that, when the session was resumed, it would be possible for the matter to be studied in detail and for the Committee to adopt a resolution which would achieve the purpose that his country had had in mind when asking for the item to be put on the agenda. The Czechoslovak delegation was willing to accept the suggestion made by the Indian representative and formally presented by the Swedish delegation.

32. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) paid a tribute to the Czechoslovak representative for the understanding he

had shown. He himself was in favour of adjourning the debate, as he did not believe that the Committee could deal with such an important matter in so short a time. Moreover, the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and people was currently the subject of a discussion which was sure to prepare the ground and facilitate the examination of the present item. Finally, many delegations found it hard to attend all the various meetings. In those circumstances it would be better to adjourn the debate.

33. The CHAIRMAN asked whether, in the light of the statements just made, the Liberian representative was still opposed to an adjournment of the debate.

34. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia) said he had no desire to oppose the will of the majority. He had merely wished to point out that the United Nations ought to take action, as a matter of the utmost urgency, to help countries before they became independent, in view of its responsibility for the maintenance of world peace.

The Committee decided, without objection raised, to adjourn the debate on the item under discussion until the resumption of the fifteenth session.

35. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that no draft resolution had yet been submitted either on the report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East or on the report of the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, the examination of both of which questions should be completed before the Assembly adjourned. He was therefore unable to announce the date of the next meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.