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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentina), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEMS 37, 39, 40 AND 41

- Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4360-4368, A/4371) (continued):
- Progress achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories in pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter (A/4105-4109, A/4114, A/4124, A/4128 and Corr.1, A/4129, A/4131, A/4134, A/4136, A/4137, A/4142, A/4144, A/4152, A/4162 and Corr.1, A/4165-4167, A/4175, A/4178, A/4181, A/4192-4195, ST/TRI/SER.A/15/vol.5);
 - Information on economic conditions (A/4131);
 - Information on other conditions (A/4371);
 - General questions relating to the transmission and examination of information;
 - New developments connected with the association of Non-Self-Governing Territories with the European Eco-

conomic Community: report of the Secretary-General (A/4470)

Dissemination of information on the United Nations in Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/4471 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1) (continued)

Participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies: report of the Secretary-General (A/4472) (continued)

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/4473 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. ROHAL-ILKIV (Czechoslovakia) observed that the Fourth Committee bore a large share of the responsibility of the United Nations to liquidate colonialism throughout the world. His delegation welcomed the representatives of the new Member States, which he was convinced would make a valuable contribution to the struggle for the final liberation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories from foreign domination. Members of the Committee should constantly bear in mind that they were witnessing the climax of the national liberation movement in Africa, a movement that was spreading throughout the continent at a speed exceeding the boldest expectations. In June 1960, at the Second Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa, the African peoples had demonstrated their will to put an end to colonialism in their continent in a resolution which should be one of the corner stones of the Fourth Committee's work. The will of the young African States to spare no effort for the liberation of Africa, as manifested in statements by competent African representatives, had convinced the Czechoslovak delegation that the peoples of the African Territories which had not yet been liberated would soon take their destiny into their own hands and show the world that all peoples were capable of managing their own affairs.

2. In view of the mighty upsurge of the national and liberation struggle the proposal of the USSR Government for inclusion on the agenda of an item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" (A/4501 and Corr.1) had been fully justified. He expressed the conviction that discussion in the Fourth Committee should be approached from the point of view of immediate and complete liquidation of all forms of colonial domination, and he lent full support to the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union (A/4502).

3. During fifteen years since the end of the Second World War the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories had shrunk considerably. The colonial system was outmoded and should have been liquidated a long time previously. Because the Charter was being vio-

lated by the administering Powers, Non-Self-Governing Territories still had the character of colonies. The peoples of the Territories not yet liberated could see no prospect of an end to their sufferings because, although the form of colonial domination had changed, its substance remained the same. The liberation of Non-Self-Governing Territories had been achieved only as a result of the endeavours and struggles of the indigenous populations. It was regrettable that the United Nations had played the role of a mere onlooker. The reports, surveys, analyses and so forth published by the Secretariat were based almost entirely on information supplied by the colonialist Powers and frequently concealed rather than revealed the true state of affairs in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

4. Thus, for example, according to paragraph 60 of part one of the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4371), Territories under United Kingdom administration could be divided into three broad groups, one of which consisted of Territories which had poor natural resources or were too small in size. The paragraph went on to say that the development of those Territories would have to face difficulties for many years to come. Thus the administering Power frankly admitted that during the period of its domination it had failed to create favourable conditions in those Territories and, furthermore, that it did not intend to take any steps to do so.

5. The United Nations had accumulated a great deal of evidence which showed that the administering Powers were governing the Territories in their own political and economic interests, thus violating the Charter. The sections of the report of the Committee on Information which related to economic and social development should be carefully studied in that connexion. The contrast between levels of living in the under-developed countries on the one hand and the highly industrialized countries on the other was well known, but what even more disturbing was the fact that the disparity was constantly increasing. He wondered how many centuries would be required to eliminate it. The only solution to the problem would be to grant full independence to all dependent territories.

6. The Administering Members were obliged by the Charter to ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Despite that fact, under Belgian domination the population of the Congo had decreased substantially and the national income of that wealthy country was among the lowest in the world. As far as education was concerned, out of a population of 14 million only sixteen persons had obtained a university education. According to the Charter the Administering Members were bound to develop self-government in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to assist their peoples in the progressive development of their free political institutions. Under the administration of Belgium only twelve Congolese had been given the opportunity to occupy responsible executive posts in the Administration. Moreover, the Charter called on the Administering Members to further international peace and security. The way in which that provision of the Charter had been fulfilled was illustrated by the fact that military bases of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had been established in the Congo and that the Territory's mineral resources were exploited by American monopolies. Belgium, in violation of the Charter, had failed to enable the people to take the management of their affairs into their own hands and to

prepare the country for self-government and independence.

7. It had been argued that it was precisely the premature proclamation of independence that was responsible for the existing situation in the Congo. The reply to that argument was that if, after seventy or eighty years of colonial rule, nothing had been done for the people of the Congo, there was little hope that anything would be done now. The policy followed by the administering Powers in the Non-Self-Governing Territories represented a danger to the peace of the whole world.

8. His delegation therefore deemed it its duty to urge the United Nations to draw the necessary conclusions. A stand must be made against any machinations designed to maintain colonialism. The Fourth Committee should call for the swift liquidation of the colonial system as a whole, not forgetting the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

9. The United Nations should depart from the role of spectator which it had so far filled during the historic process of the liquidation of colonialism and should act in a manner befitting the importance of that process. Article 73 referred to the Non-Self-Governing Territories as Territories whose peoples "have not yet attained a full measure of self-government", thus showing that the intention of its authors had been that all Territories should achieve self-government in time. The Fourth Committee would not be fulfilling its function if it failed to assist the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to attain independence as rapidly as possible. The Committee should proceed with its work in the light of that purpose, which should also guide the work of the Committee on Information and other United Nations bodies.

10. He would speak on some of the individual items on the agenda at a later stage of the debate.

11. Mr. SOPHIAAN (Indonesia) on behalf of his delegation welcomed the representatives of the new Members of the United Nations, while regretting the absence of one of them, the Congo (capital: Leopoldville).

12. Referring to paragraph 18 of part two of the report of the Committee on Information, he said that the manner in which the Non-Self-Governing Territories had achieved or would achieve independence was different for each Territory. There was, however, one significant indicator as to what should or should not be the policy of the metropolitan Powers, i.e., the presence of a European minority occupying an economic and social position considerably higher than that of the indigenous population. As mentioned in the Committee's report, the legalization by legislative and administrative acts of the rights and privileges of those European minorities gave rise to serious problems of racial discrimination. Racially discriminatory policies had created political disturbances affecting the future organization and forms of State in certain Non-Self-Governing Territories. Conditions had been and were being further worsened by another colonial device; the reports of the specialized agencies showed clearly that certain administering Powers had neglected to embody the indigenous culture and social customs in the political institutions and constitutional organs of the Territories. As a result, many of the peoples concerned had to struggle with political institutions which were alien to them and, when called upon to manage their own affairs, had great difficulty in regaining their own identity and personality. Moreover,

the administering Powers neglected to establish institutions which would introduce the people to the collective political life of the twentieth century. No adequate machinery had been created to facilitate the transition from tribal life to contemporary political and social life and organization. Certain Non-Self-Governing Territories had had to overcome localistic tendencies which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, would ultimately lead to the Balkanization of Africa. It was therefore very important for the administering Powers to establish or, where they existed, to continue comprehensive programmes—particularly economic—which would develop and express the character of the indigenous institutions and peoples and would simultaneously prevent the emergence of dissident and disintegrative movements in the Territories. In that connexion his delegation endorsed the view of the Committee on Information as expressed in paragraph 50 of part two of its report.

13. The heavy dependence of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in every field on the systems prevailing in the metropolitan countries had led to disturbances and to a lack of adequate machinery in the Territories to cope with the most pressing every-day problems of political and economic welfare. That dependence inevitably determined the course of development of the Territories, the control of which unfortunately seemed to be beyond the competence of the United Nations. One reason for that was the practice of making mere summaries of the information provided by the metropolitan Powers. The summaries included no political condition in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and that fact greatly reduced the possibility of making any appraisal of the actual situation in each Territory.

14. Nevertheless, despite the apparent incapacity of the United Nations to control developments in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, recent developments in those Territories clearly revealed the inability of the metropolitan Powers to stem the rising tide of nationalism. In accordance with their obligations under Article 73 of the Charter, the Administering Members should do their utmost to provide outlets for nationalistic aspirations and channel them into institutions suited to the true needs of the peoples concerned. It was regrettable that certain States still clung to obsolete forms of reactionary rule. The nationalistic convulsions in certain parts of the African continent would inevitably extend to the Non-Self-Governing Territories now under Portuguese rule and Portugal would eventually be faced with a "fait accompli" which might be tragic if it failed to comply with the requests made by the United Nations that all Non-Self-Governing Territories should be brought within the purview of the United Nations.

15. The administering Powers should provide for the actual and effective participation of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in political and constitutional organs of their own choosing. Chapter XI of the Charter clearly established the principles of government for all the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The important principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories were paramount required for its fulfilment the capacity of the peoples to use self-government or independence for their own advantage. That in turn required training and experience in the working of institutions of self-government or independence and in the field of administration. In that connexion he drew particular attention to paragraphs 21, 47 and 50 of part two of the Committee's report.

16. His delegation had noted with interest the statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the Committee's 1006th meeting that the basic and essential aims of the economic policy of the United Kingdom Government with regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories was the building up of independent nations, economically strong and politically viable.

17. The parts of the Committee's report to which he had referred appeared to be corroborated by the United Kingdom representative's statement at the same meeting to the effect that the Governments of the Territories themselves were to draw up their own plans, their own development programmes and their own budgets, or in short that the most important object of United Kingdom policy in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was to train local men and women for the service of their Governments and their countries.

18. Another equally important requirement of self-government or independence was the equipment of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories with proper systems for maintaining law and order and for the promotion of their material and spiritual well-being. The metropolitan Powers seemed to have failed to establish a suitable system for the equitable distribution of natural wealth in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, with disastrous results. The exclusion of the people of the Territories from any share in the economic enterprises of their own countries had led to intense conflicts and to resentment. His delegation noted with commendation the two principles which the United Kingdom representative at the 1006th meeting of the Committee had said constituted two of the objects of his Government's policy: firstly, the need to raise the income and the level of living of the people of the Territories; secondly, the need to build up the wealth of the countries through the development of their natural resources for the benefit of their people.

19. In certain Non-Self-Governing Territories the administering Powers seemed to have failed to take into account the fact that one of the best guarantees for the progress of the indigenous people was to be found in justice, friendship and mutual respect between races. In such Territories, political advancement appeared not to be accompanied by measures for economic, social and educational advancement. If political advancement was not coupled with higher living standards and the development of the Territory's resources in such a way as to lessen its economic and financial dependence on the administering Power, it was of benefit only to that Power. Certain relationships had been established between the metropolitan country and Non-Self-Governing Territories which ensured that the material benefits derived from the exploitation of the natural wealth of the latter were enjoyed exclusively by the administering Power; what appeared to be spectacular political reforms were in fact introduced with a view to legalizing that position.

20. The presence within the United Nations of so many newly independent States made it particularly fitting that economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be discussed by the Committee, since the experience of those States would be valuable to the Organization when it was making recommendations for the development of other less fortunate Territories.

21. Urgent measures dealing with such matters as law and order and health had been made subordinate to

political considerations. Those political considerations only became known to the United Nations after the Administering Members concerned had ceased to transmit information; yet it was obvious that economic conditions could not be judged in isolation from political developments in the Territory. It was because of the clear interrelationship between political and other conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories that the Charter had clearly stipulated that, in the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the interests of the inhabitants were paramount; they were never to be subordinated to any theory whereby the administering Powers sought to promote their own interests. The administering Powers had moreover accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to promote, within the system of international peace and security established by the Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of those Territories. The Powers responsible for the Non-Self-Governing Territories should therefore ensure that development there should proceed in a peaceful and orderly manner, so as not to disturb political stability and order in any region of the world.

22. In the light of that requirement of the Charter, the people of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not be brought to take a position which would prejudice their relations with other States or to precondition their national aspirations under the pretext of a lack of national consciousness among the people or of the complexity of the problem facing the Territory concerned. The Non-Self-Governing Territories should not be forced to take sides in the war of ideologies but should be left free to decide for themselves their form of State and the philosophy on which they would base their own national destiny.

23. The predominance of economic motives in the policies of States administering the Non-Self-Governing Territories had substantially affected the free development of those peoples. The subordination of their economic interests to the international economic policies of the administering Powers had brought those Territories into the arena of international economic competition. It was for that reason that his delegation viewed with great apprehension the association of certain Non-Self-Governing Territories with the European Economic Community; in particular, it wished to lodge a strong protest at the inclusion of West Irian among the Territories associated with the European Common Market. As his delegation saw it, the Common Market was a means whereby certain States could co-ordinate their economic policies in such a manner as to serve the interests of their own European nationals. The association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in that economic endeavour clearly violated the Charter, which obliged States administering those Territories not to subordinate the interests of their inhabitants to those of the European minorities. It had been stated that the African Territories would send their goods to the Common Market under the same privileged conditions as those obtained by the Powers participating in the European Economic Community; but the state of economic dependence of those Territories made it obvious that the adjustments effected would benefit only the participating European States. The participation of the African Territories in the Common Market as free and equal partners presupposed the establishment of political structures in those Territories, giving them power to create their own economic systems. If they were forced to participate in the Common Market before—or even after—in-

dependence, the Territories would be obliged to develop along the lines of the civilizations of the European States rather than in accordance with the needs of their own peoples. The United Nations could offer valuable help by studying the possible effects of the Common Market on the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and by making recommendations regarding the economic policies to be followed by the administering Powers.

24. The report had made clear the extent to which certain Non-Self-Governing Territories were economically dependent on the administering Powers. In the case of the Territories under United Kingdom administration, about half the total trade in both directions was with the metropolitan country; in the case of the Territories under French and Australian administration, or formerly under Belgian administration, the position was even worse. Consequently, the terms of trade of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were largely determined by conditions in the metropolitan country, and, as a result, the interests of the peoples of those Territories were completely subordinated to those of the administering Powers. Accordingly, his delegation fully supported the view expressed in part three, paragraph 21, of the report that a considerably greater diversification in the direction of the Territories' trade, resulting in some reduction in their dependence on metropolitan markets, might lead to improvement in their terms of trade. Their political position vis-à-vis the administering Power would thereby be strengthened.

25. The financial dependence of the Non-Self-Governing Territories on the administering Powers was shown by the close link between the monetary systems of the Territories and that of the metropolitan country. That link, and the absence of an independent monetary authority in the Territory itself, such as would make it possible to apply a co-ordinated monetary policy and, in particular, to adapt the volume and terms of credit to the Territory's needs, enabled the colonial Powers to exert political and financial control. The inevitable result was the absence of a money market and of a capital market, which made it still more difficult to mobilize savings within the Territories to meet their development needs. Despite diversification of the economy, the absence of a monetary system specifically adapted to a Territory's needs would seriously impede its advancement. It was moreover a regrettable fact that the preferential treatment accorded to most of the Territories' main export products in the metropolitan market and the close commercial relation between the metropolitan suppliers and the concerns responsible for the majority of investments in the Territories—concerns which were mostly owned by nationals of the administering country—would preclude any significant change in the politico-economic relationship between the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the administering Powers for some time to come.

26. Agriculture was the basis of the economy of large sections of the population; but the raising of the productivity of the indigenous farmer came up against such obstacles as unsuitable land-tenure, lack of credit facilities, bad communications and inadequate education. The productivity of indigenous labour appeared to remain low because, *inter alia*, of the inadequacy of incentive. Lastly, improvements in health conditions and in education and technical aid would necessitate

international co-operation and support on an extensive scale.

27. To judge from the information in the report, considerable economic and social changes in most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were urgently needed. In his delegation's view, those changes could be brought about only if the administering Powers made a major effort in the fields of health, education, agriculture and technical training, and in the maintenance of an effective system of law and order; and if the people themselves participated fully in public administration and in all political institutions. The administering Powers should increase their efforts to develop the natural resources of the Territories and to establish diversified local industries. In conformity with Article 73 of the Charter, under which the Administering Members were under an obligation to ensure the just treatment of the inhabitants of the Territories and their protection against abuses, there should be no differential treatment of races either before the law or in social custom.

28. In conclusion, he desired to express his thanks to the representative of the Soviet Union for his support of the Indonesian position on West Irian.

29. Mr. KENNEDY (Ireland), in expressing his delegation's appreciation of the work of the Committee on Information, said that the monumental report on progress^{1/} was one of which the United Nations could feel justifiably proud. Although the welcome presence of so many new Member States was a clear indication that the report, which ended with the year 1957, was out of date, that was not to say that it had no practical use: on the contrary, it provided valuable guidance for the Committee's future work. The future of dependent peoples, particularly in Africa, had become one of the world's most immediate problems and the work of the United Nations in relation to the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories was now rapidly gaining in significance.

30. The most encouraging sign of progress over the ten-year period was the extraordinary fact that during that time the number of persons living in Non-Self-Governing Territories had decreased by over 100 million; since 1945, the number of people who had gained political independence was well over 700 million. It was true that 75 million people still remained under alien rule, but many of them were already well on the road towards independence. The formerly dependent peoples themselves were to be congratulated on the magnitude of that development, and their success served as a constant encouragement to those who still remained in dependent status, especially in Africa. A full measure of appreciation was also due to the Administering members for having guided independent peoples under their care towards the goals of the Charter. The United Nations, the dependent peoples and the administering Powers had together succeeded in achieving the "widening of freedom", to which the Irish Minister for External Affairs had referred in the General Assembly (890th plenary meeting) and the liquidation of nineteenth century colonialism. But much work had still to be done on behalf of the remaining dependent peoples, work which in some cases continued to be inhibited by the lack of essential information from some of the Administering Members.

^{1/} A/4105-4109, A/4114, A/4124, A/4128 and Corr.1, A/4129, A/4131, A/4134, A/4136, A/4137, A/4142, A/4144, A/4152, A/4162 and Corr.1, A/4165-4167, A/4175, A/4178, A/4181, A/4192-4195, ST/TR/SER.A/15/vol.5.

31. Turning to economic conditions, he observed that while solid and encouraging achievements could be recognized, much remained to be accomplished. The report made the point that economic progress had been uneven in the Territories during the period under review; but most of the Territories had begun the period with economies which were extremely underdeveloped when viewed in the light of the needs of emerging modern States. Progress had therefore taken place within a framework of fundamental deficiencies, and the purpose of plans for development had been to establish an economic, social and administrative infrastructure essential to achieve a balance economy. The report rightly pointed out that the post-war period had undoubtedly been one of steady economic growth in the indices of production, consumption and per caput income, and of strengthening and broadening of the basic structure of Territorial economies.

32. As section B of part two of the report of the Committee on Information (A/4371) made clear, the indigenous inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories faced two important gaps in their living standards. The first contrast was between the relative rate of growth of developed and underdeveloped countries in the post-war world. The gap, already wide in 1946, remained ten years later one of the most striking features of the situation in most of the Territories, and underlined the importance of accelerating the rate of economic growth there. The second striking disparity was that between the levels of the per caput personal income of the indigenous inhabitants and the income of the non-indigenous residents. The report rightly mentioned that the personal incomes of the indigenous population of the African Territories in 1956 and 1957 were among the lowest in the world. His delegation fully agreed with the Committee on Information that that disquieting disparity in living standards and personal incomes underlined the necessity for full and equal opportunities and conditions of employment for all indigenous workers in the Territories, and for greatly increased opportunities for sound educational and vocational training.

33. His delegation had found the paragraphs in section C of part two of the report, devoted to social progress, among the most encouraging in the entire document. It had noted with approval that social welfare programmes in the Territories stressed the importance of the family as the focus of welfare action, for the break-up of traditional tribal and community patterns of living which had inevitably accompanied the political and social upheavals of the past fifteen years had often led to a weakening of family ties. Nevertheless, the administering Powers would no doubt be the first to admit that a vast amount of social progress had still to be completed. A great deal, for instance, remained to be done in order to prevent the heavy incidence of avoidable blindness. The control of communicable diseases was far from complete, and the over-all amount of suffering which they caused remained excessive in relation to the knowledge and techniques now available to mankind. It was discouraging to note that, in the African Territories, there had been in 1948 only 3.1 doctors per 100,000 inhabitants and that by 1956 the proportion had increased only to 3.6. His delegation fully supported the earnest hope of the Committee that really significant attempts would be made to remedy the serious shortage of professional and technically qualified health and medical personnel.

34. With regard to education, his delegation had noted with satisfaction that, in its report on education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4131), UNESCO had calculated an approximate school enrolment increase of 90 per cent in all Territories in the ten years after 1946, and that a rise in expenditure on education was evident in the annual budgets of all of them. It was satisfactory, too, that the education of girls and women had come to be universally accepted as an essential element of community development. The need for further progress was, however, clear; the number of illiterates was still very high, and compulsory primary education remained in many cases a distant goal, while the available numbers of trained teachers were clearly inadequate for the immense task to be undertaken. The problem was all the more urgent when it was remembered that the diminishing death-rate and the high birth-rate in many Territories were resulting in an important revolution in the age structure of the population. His delegation fully agreed with the Committee on Information's view that no investment would provide more fruitful results in terms of opportunities, happiness and welfare, than increased outlay on education and teacher-training.

35. His delegation had listened with attention to the urgent demands made in the General Assembly and in the Fourth Committee that the work of the Committee should end forthwith, that the current report on progress should be the last, and that all remaining Territories should be granted immediate independence without any further preparation. They appeared to amount to a demand that the Chairman should preside over the liquidation of the Committee's work and that the United Nations should now abandon the task conferred upon it, as a sacred trust, in Chapter XI of the Charter. But if there was one important lesson to be learned from the progress report, it was the value of sustained and orderly progress leading on, within the framework of the United Nations, to the development of free political institutions and the final attainment of self-government and independence. That process of advancement might not always be as rapid or as enlightened as the Committee might wish; nevertheless, it was surely a matter for general agreement that satisfactory levels of literacy and education, economic infrastructure, social development, administrative training and political experience were most desirable elements in the orderly progress towards independence. There was one further essential requirement—namely, the encouragement of a sense of national consciousness and loyalty transcending local or tribal allegiances, for the good of the indigenous peoples as a whole. The tragic events in Central Africa had shown the importance of adequate preparation. Without it, the grant of independence might create a dangerous political vacuum imperilling the future of the indigenous peoples concerned and endangering world peace. It was the heavy responsibility of the Members of the United Nations, and especially of the Fourth Committee, to do everything in their power to ensure that that did not occur. It was surely their duty to help the remaining dependent peoples of the world to achieve the aims of the Charter, swiftly and effectively but in orderly conditions of peace and security. Far from laying down the sacred trust conferred upon it at San Francisco, the United Nations should see that that trust was fulfilled with greater speed but always within the framework of the Charter. Beneath the massive report on progress lay a vital issue which, if not handled wisely and with cool judge-

ment, might affect the whole future of the United Nations and more especially the work of the Committee; more important still, it might affect the peace of the world. He had felt it high time that that fundamental issue should be raised.

36. The duty of the Committee was not to accentuate differences. It should no longer be divided into colonial and anti-colonial camps; the only real disagreement within it now related to the pace of development towards the agreed goal of the Charter. His delegation firmly believed that, if the "widening of freedom" apparent in the report was continued in the years immediately ahead, the next progress report might very well be the last, and the United Nations would then have achieved a new world of free nations in conditions of peace and order. No people in the world would rejoice more sincerely at such an achievement than the people of Ireland.

37. Mr. VITELLI (Italy) said that it was perhaps of particular significance that the problems with which the Committee was concerned in 1960 should be those connected with the economies of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In the context of the current world movement towards political independence, economic problems automatically acquired particular importance, since political progress could not be divorced from economic progress. But the question of determining at what precise stage of economic progress a non-self-governing people could effectively take over the management of its own affairs was one to which the Committee might well devote some consideration. He himself had been particularly impressed by the statement made by the Prime Minister of Nigeria before the General Assembly (893rd plenary meeting) to the effect that political independence was totally inadequate unless accompanied by stability and economic security, and that economic weakness laid a new country open to every kind of pressure. It had been often emphasized in the Committee on Information that economic problems played a fundamental part in the building-up of new countries and that they were thus bound to be of extraordinary complexity. It had also been pointed out that the economic problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had to be studied in the context of the world economic situation; that in itself might be an indication of the progress made by those Territories, for such a study revealed that, far from being isolated, they were now in the mainstream of the world's economic development.

38. Admittedly the economies of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were still beset by problems which could be summed up as a basic pattern still mainly characterized by subsistence agriculture and the production of a few primary products for export; but on the whole the Committee was witnessing a comforting spectacle, and there were ever clearer signs of an encouraging trend towards more articulated and diversified economies. While there was merit in the Indian representative's contention that progress should be measured by the degree to which the needs of the Territories were being met, it could be said that real progress, in terms of material achievement, had already been made.

39. In that connexion, he welcomed the outstanding success registered by the United States in the accession to statehood of Alaska and Hawaii. While that country's responsibilities as an administering Power had considerably diminished, its interest in the welfare and

development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the under-developed countries in general remained keen. The statement made by President Eisenhower before the General Assembly (868th plenary meeting) had outlined an honest and realistic policy in that respect, truly designed to meet the material and spiritual needs of millions of human beings who were longing for a better and fuller life.

40. The Italian delegation believed that the United Kingdom should once again be commended for its approach to the problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It had rightly emphasized the importance of training in responsibility—of which much would be necessary if the new countries were to master their environment. His delegation had taken note with satisfaction of the principles guiding the United Kingdom's economic policies. In the Committee on Information, the need for diversification of the economies of many Territories had repeatedly been stressed; on the other hand, attention had been drawn to the high cost of such diversification, depending as it did upon considerable expenditures on infrastructural development, and consequently—owing to general financial conditions in the Territories—upon external assistance. And infrastructural development required carefully outlined economic programmes keeping the Territories' economies on an even keel, a balance being preserved between long-range and short-range policies. What Professor Walt W. Rostow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had called "reactive nationalism", tempted to move in directions other than economic growth, constituted another problem; it was therefore essential that Governments should come to power which were prepared to channel a high proportion of their peoples' energies, talents and resources into the tasks of economic growth rather than towards other possible objectives.

41. His delegation did not believe, however, that the present trend in African countries should be either held in check or slowed down. Italy's record in that regard spoke for itself. His words were a reflection of certain wise remarks made at the 866th plenary meeting of the General Assembly by the Prime Minister of Togo, who had stressed the importance of using restraint and acting with responsibility in dealing with such matters.

42. The Italian delegation had also been impressed by the achievements of New Zealand in regard to the Territories under its administration, and it agreed with the analysis of the general problems confronting the Non-Self-Governing Territories made by the representative of that country at the Committee's 1007th meeting. The Australian representative in the Committee on Information had presented a picture of conditions in Papua which did credit to the administering Power; the Italian delegation subscribed, in particular, to that representative's observation that in many Territories Governments should be cautious in their approach to demands for rapid industrialization and that it was advisable to consider carefully such factors as basic natural resources, the availability of capital and of technical personnel, the degree of economic and social evolution, the level of living of the population and the latter's purchasing power, and the potentialities of local, regional and international markets. His delegation also wished to acknowledge the achievements of the Netherlands, which had faced the hardest task of all, since Netherlands New Guinea was probably the most

undeveloped of the under-developed countries. In the Committee on Information the Netherlands representative had rightly stressed that in Papuan society social development was the primary requirement, upon which advances in other fields largely depended. Also welcome was the Netherlands representative's statement that his Government's sole aim in respect to New Guinea was to discharge its responsibilities towards the inhabitants of the Territory and to permit them as soon as possible to determine their future in absolute freedom.

43. While his delegation subscribed to the view expressed by the Indian representative that much remained to be done in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and that there was a need to press forward in social, economic and educational matters, that did not alter Italy's belief that the administering Powers had correctly approached the problems posed by the Territories, in full compliance with the relevant provisions of the Charter; and that belief found confirmation in paragraph 21 of part two of the Committee on Information's report. While much remained to be done, there was no doubt that much would be done. External assistance would be the prime requirement, but it was a matter of common knowledge that thousands of millions of dollars had already gone into the development of those countries and that more would be devoted to raising their people's economic, social and educational level. Indeed, at the third meeting of the Development Assistance Group, which had met in Washington at the beginning of October 1960, several countries had announced that they had increased their financial commitments towards the under-developed countries and had streamlined their assistance programmes and that they would increase their contributions to the United Nations Special Fund and to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance; the meeting as a whole had expressed the hope that the total annual resources of those two programmes would as quickly as possible reach the target figure of \$100 million.

44. With regard to agenda item 37 (e), it was still too early to make a full and accurate assessment of the impact of the European Economic Community on African trade so far as the Non-Self-Governing Territories were concerned. Various members of the Committee had shown some apprehension, particularly in regard to the extent of trade diversion that would be provoked by the Community arrangements. Those arrangements would by definition tend to divert trade, were it not for a number of correctives which would be brought into play partly by the very mechanics of a system based on liberal economic policies, and partly by mutual agreement. One such corrective was the fact that the countries of the European Economic Community had no intention of creating trade discrimination, as was evidenced by their action in extending the initial 10 per cent reduction in their tariffs to the members of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation and GATT. Another corrective was offered by commodity agreements. The United Kingdom representative in the Committee on Information, for example, had said that his Government was prepared to participate in any examination of the problems caused by wide fluctuations in commodity prices, on a commodity-by-commodity basis. Moreover, he had also remarked that the interests of the commodity-exporting Territories could best be served by maintaining economic activity at a high level and by promoting its expansion both generally and in the importing indus-

trialized countries. The third corrective, therefore, lay in the fact that in many cases the African countries stood to benefit from increases in production and income in the countries of the European Economic Community, which caused an expansion of the demand for primary commodities. While in relative figures exports from the African countries to the countries of the Community might have tended in some cases to decrease, in absolute figures such exports had increased, owing mainly to the expansion of manufacturing activity in Europe. For example, in the last few years Italy had registered a steady annual increase in economic activity, of more than 5 per cent—which, of course, had been accompanied by a proportional increase in imports. Out of thirty-one countries or Territories in Africa, nineteen had increased their exports to Italy by a substantial percentage between 1958 and 1959. It should, moreover, be recognized that the over-all impact on total exports from non-associated African countries was unlikely to be very great.

45. With regard to the pressing problem of assistance to developing countries, Italy had doubled its contribution to the United Nations Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the next fiscal year; it had, despite its own problems in the southern regions of the country, agreed to pay its quota to the International Development Association in gold and convertible currency, had purchased approximately \$63 million worth of parts of loans granted by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and had repeatedly subscribed to the dollar obligations of the Bank. Besides such indirect aid to the under-developed countries, Italy had also granted substantial amounts directly; in 1959, such aid had totalled about \$180 million.

46. Italy shared the desire to help the new countries which was displayed by all other countries. It earnestly believed that results could be achieved by close and friendly co-operation. An excellent example of such co-operation was the building of the Kariba dam, which had brought the quintessence of modern technical civilization to the very heart of Africa. The future of the world lay in ventures of that kind. The Kariba dam had shown what could be achieved through close, friendly and confident co-operation between Africa and Europe; it was one instance of what could be done to help Africa, and not Africa alone, release its immense spiritual and material potentialities.

Mr. Pachachi (Iraq) took the Chair.

47. Mr. MIYAZAKI (Japan) said that the Japanese Government considered that the provisions of Article 55 and the principles and policies set forth in Article

73 of the Charter, which embodied the lofty ideals of the United Nations, deserved the whole-hearted support, not only of the Administering Members, but of other Member States as well. Such support should in no way lessen or obviate the responsibilities of the Administering Members from whom, indeed, additional efforts were required. His delegation considered that the report of the Committee on Information had presented a great deal of material in a well-co-ordinated way, and that the Committee's observations and conclusions were generally well-balanced and wise.

48. The Japanese delegation noted with satisfaction the continued increase in the number of requests for assistance under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and in the amount of assistance rendered, and hoped that the Administering Members would submit their requests on behalf of the Non-Self-Governing Territories at an earlier date in order to take greater advantage of the Programme. It was encouraging that the assistance requested generally reflected the stage of economic development of the Territory concerned, and that a gradual transition from assistance in basic services to assistance in productive services could be noted.

49. The statement, in paragraph 41 of part two, that technical assistance supplied to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under the United Nations programmes had been on a modest scale suggested that such technical assistance should be broadened and intensified, and his delegation hoped that that would soon be done.

50. The Japanese delegation considered that the participation of international organizations, especially those affiliated with the United Nations, in the task of developing the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be regarded as a pertinent form of United Nations presence, not only in the negative sense, but in the positive as well. Whether it would have a negative or a positive effect would depend on the general attitude of the administering Power concerned.

51. Any advance made by a Non-Self-Governing Territory was a step forward towards self-government or independence. While the road might be long or short, the important thing was progress and the speed with which it was effected. The report of the Committee on Information provided a fairly good picture of the progress made in a great number of cases. His delegation hoped that the pace of such progress would be maintained and, wherever and whenever possible, accelerated.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.