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Chairman: Mr. Thanat KHOMAN (Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 35

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/3601 and Corr.1, A/3602, A/3603, A/3606/Rev.1, A/3607, A/3608, A/3609, A/3647 and Corr.1, A/C.4/360, A/C.4/L.497) (continued):

- (a) Information on economic conditions;
- (b) Information on other conditions;
- (c) General questions relating to the transmission and examination of information (A/C.4/357/Rev.1, A/C.4/359);
- (d) Offers of study and training facilities under resolutions 845 (IX) of 22 November 1954 and 931 (X) of 8 November 1955 (A/3618 and Add.1);
- (e) Methods of reproducing summaries of information concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/3619)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. KHADRA (Saudi Arabia) said that his delegation attached great importance to the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, because it was convinced that those Territories would eventually achieve a measure of independence that would enable them to join the community of nations on an equal footing. The fact that the principle of self-determination was now finding application in all parts of the world meant that all dependent peoples would one day assume the responsibilities that were their natural right. Moreover, Saudi Arabia, as a loyal Member of the United Nations, recognized that the interest and welfare of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was paramount; it was therefore much concerned for the well-being of all Non-Self-Governing Territories and it naturally had a special interest in the other Arab nations. In that connexion his delegation earnestly hoped for a speedy

settlement of the dispute between the Kingdom of Yemen and the United Kingdom authorities.

2. His delegation regretted the continued absence of the representative of Belgium from the Committee on Information and hoped that Belgium would reconsider its attitude and resume its co-operation with the Committee.

3. Turning to the Committee's report on economic conditions (A/3647, part two), he agreed that it should be read in conjunction with the reports submitted in 1951 and 1954 (A/1836, part three; A/2729, part two). The objectives of economic policy defined in 1954, which were quoted in paragraph 10 of the report under consideration, had lost none of their urgency. While, however, the importance of promoting economic development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not be underestimated, it was well not to lose sight of some of the adverse effects that such development might entail. The data available left no doubt that in a number of Territories there had been an increase in the per capita income of the indigenous population. Nevertheless, there was a bleak counterpart to that picture: it was uncertain to what extent the indigenous rural population of the Territories was benefiting from the economic expansion that was taking place and doubts had been expressed whether in some Territories in Africa the local production of food had kept pace with the growing population or whether the expansion of export crops had brought sufficient returns to compensate for deficiencies in local food production. Some Territories were over-dependent on a single export crop or a single mineral and were consequently more vulnerable than others.

4. One of the best methods of raising the level of living of the indigenous populations would be through land development plans. Much progress had been achieved in that field and it was gratifying that grants-in-aid and money extended under the colonial development and welfare acts had been utilized; in some cases, however, the amount spent did not fully meet the needs of the Territories. In certain areas development was hampered by a lack of technical and administrative staff and of skilled workers; in others, finance was the principal limiting factor. In that connexion the proposal to establish territorial central banks was of particular interest.

5. In order to achieve a balanced economy it was essential to draw up a development programme that would strike a balance between industrial and agricultural development. The local inhabitants should be trained in skilled professions to enable them to participate in both the industrial and the rural economy of their country. Moreover, the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not merely serve as a source of raw material for the metropolitan country or a market for the finished products of foreign manufacturers but should be encouraged to utilize their

own resources with a view to achieving economic viability. To that end, teaching and vocational training should be more widespread; in that respect the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations could no doubt be of invaluable assistance. The need to encourage agricultural diversification and selectivity was also apparent.

6. With regard to the European Common Market, the Saudi Arabian delegation had a number of observations to make. Firstly, the thesis that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter was applicable in that case was dismissed in view of the provisions of Articles 10, 73 a and 103. Secondly, under Article 73 the Administering Members clearly recognized that the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories were paramount and accepted as a sacred trust the obligation of promoting their well-being. Thirdly, the fact that the members of the European Common Market had not yet ratified the relevant Treaty was no reason for postponing a study of the impact the Treaty would have on the Economy of the Non-Self-Governing Territories concerned; such a study was all the more urgent in view of the negotiations being carried on by seventeen Western European nations with a view to building a free trade zone, to be linked to the Common Market. Fourthly, inasmuch as the interests of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount, it was necessary to ascertain whether the inhabitants of those Territories had been consulted on the matter of the European Common Market, which undoubtedly affected them. Fifthly, it was not clear whether the development fund provided for in the Treaty would be adequate for the needs of the Territories or whether the inhabitants would have any part in formulating investment policies. Sixthly, a comprehensive study was needed to determine the effects of the Common Market on the trade and the industrial and agricultural products of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The delegation of Saudi Arabia would therefore support any proposal for a thorough examination of the question.

7. The social aspects of economic development presented a very complex problem by reason of the human factor involved. There was a need for flexibility in dealing with countries at different levels of social advancement. Education should provide a stimulus for further action, particularly in the matter of community planning, which was assuming increasing importance. It was to be hoped that in future the summaries would supply more statistical information on social policies and conditions. Such illuminating studies as that concerning the social aspects of industrialization in Africa South of the Sahara (A/AC.35/L.250) showed the need to offset such adverse effects of industrialization as the increase in social inequality, marriage instability and inadequate investments of industrial earnings in the rural sections of the community. In that connexion, the increased aid given to the dependent territories under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance deserved a tribute. The proposal now before the Second Committee for the establishment of an economic commission for Africa (A/C.2/L.334) was also a welcome measure.

8. It was essential that the campaign to eradicate illiteracy should be expanded in a systematic manner. Educational policies should be more closely related to the requirements of the community and a wider use of the vernacular in teaching would help the indigenous inhabitants to pursue their own cultural aspirations.

While primary education should be compulsory and free throughout the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the need for higher education and advanced studies should not be neglected. In that connexion it was to be hoped that some machinery would be devised to enable the widest possible use to be made of the scholarships provided for students from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

9. The two main criticisms levelled by the Committee on Information concerned the dearth of information and statistical data furnished, and the slowness of the rate of advancement. It was to be hoped that the Administering Members would take steps to remedy those defects.

10. The Saudi Arabian delegation would be glad to vote in favour of the two draft resolutions submitted by the Committee on Information (A/3647, p.11).

11. Mr. PRADO (Ecuador) considered the item under discussion one of special importance, in that it reflected the spirit of international co-operation which had brought Chapter XI of the Charter into being. It involved the fundamental principle of self-determination which it was the inescapable obligation of the Administering Members to apply. It was important to bear in mind the essentially temporary nature of the status of the dependent peoples and it was the duty of the United Nations to ensure that the Non-Self-Governing Territories were administered in such a way as would best equip them for self-government within a reasonable time.

12. His delegation was glad to note from the interesting and objective report prepared by the Committee on Information that the economies of many Territories showed a general increase in production and imports. In that respect, the economic objectives could not differ from those described in the report approved by the General Assembly at its ninth session (A/2729, part two). It was satisfactory to note that the Administering Members appeared to be pursuing a policy in line with those objectives. It was clear, however, that greater efforts were needed to improve the conditions of the inhabitants and particularly to reduce the gap between their level of living and that of the more developed countries. There was also a need to reduce illiteracy; in that connexion the statistical information furnished on education was inadequate and the administering Members should endeavour to rectify that deficiency.

13. With regard to social conditions, it was lamentable that no progress had been made in that field. It must be remembered that progress was indivisible and that economic advancement would indeed be useless without parallel improvement in social conditions. According to the report, it was not always certain to what extent the local inhabitants had benefited from the material progress made. The increase in production and consumption would seem to indicate a certain measure of economic improvement which benefited some sections of the population, but the main task was to create both economic and social conditions that would help to develop the moral and civic consciousness of the people to a degree that would enable them to manage their own affairs and achieve self-government.

14. He felt it necessary at that point to refer to the effects of the European Common Market on the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Although the relevant Treaty had not yet entered into force, his delegation

did not consider that a sufficient reason to preclude discussion of the matter. He agreed, however, that it was necessary to study the repercussions of the Treaty before arriving at a definite decision. Until there was sufficient information available upon which to assess the impact of the Treaty on the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, his delegation would merely draw attention to the need for an investigation into the dangers of economic specialization which might reduce those Territories to mere suppliers of raw materials and the possibility that they might become too dependent on the European Economic Community.

15. The United Nations and the administering Powers shared the responsibility for improving conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Member States should therefore lend their full co-operation as an international body. Such specialized agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) should intensify their efforts to help the peoples most in need, and in so doing they would have the full support of the delegation of Ecuador. The report the Secretary-General was preparing on the progress achieved in Non-Self-Governing Territories since the establishment of the United Nations, which he was to submit to the General Assembly at its fourteenth session, would be of great value in comparing the progress of the various Territories particularly with regard to their preparation for self-government.

16. The delegation of Ecuador would support the draft resolutions submitted by the Committee on Information (A/3647, p.11) and congratulated the Committee on its report.

17. Mr. DASKALOV (Bulgaria) welcomed the two new Member States, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, and observed that it was characteristic of the times that national movements had brought about and continued to bring about freedom of the dependent territories. Some delegations attributed the success of those movements to generosity on the part of the administering Powers. Yet he could not understand how those delegations could make such assertions in the face of some recent events in North Africa, Suez and the Middle East as well as in the face of the fact that so many millions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories were still subject to colonial administration.

18. Every year the United Nations was called upon to examine a vitally important question concerning the implementation of Article 73 of the Charter. In order to do so, however, it needed to be provided with sufficient information. A number of resolutions had been adopted requesting the Administering Members to submit information on the political advancement of their dependent territories, but they had consistently failed to do so and it was the duty of the Committee to convince them of the need for co-operation in that respect.

19. In considering economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories the main consideration should be to assess the extent to which individual factors hampered or promoted the achievement of self-government. The improvement of economic conditions was of primary importance since advancement in other fields depended largely on economic well-being.

20. A proper assessment of the extent to which economic conditions favoured the achievement of self-government was not, however, possible when information was incomplete or lacking. His delegation agreed with the opinion expressed in paragraph 22 of the report on economic conditions (A/3647, part two), namely, that it was difficult to assess changes in the economic condition of the populations and that it was not clear to what extent the local peoples had directly benefited from the various elements of material progress recorded in the information before the Committee. The information appeared for the most part to have been submitted for the purpose of obscuring the issue.

21. Year after year the Administering Members had been appealed to for clearer and more detailed information, but with little result. For the year under consideration they appeared to have given an over-optimistic picture of the conditions in every field.

22. The figures on per capita income given in the Secretariat's study on economic conditions (A/AC.35/L.245) showed that the level of living of the indigenous inhabitants of the Belgian Congo, Kenya, Uganda and Northern Rhodesia was extremely low. Those figures bore out the conclusion of FAO that malnutrition was a major problem in many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The figures in table 37 of document A/AC.35/L.245 showed that in Uganda the increase in the cost of foodstuffs, which was the only significant item as far as the indigenous inhabitants were concerned, had absorbed more than half the increase in per capita income. It was stated in paragraph 67 of the same document that in the period 1950-1955 the cost of living index in the Territories shown in table 37 had risen an average of 25 per cent for all items and the increase for food had been 27 per cent. Having in mind the extremely low incomes of the indigenous inhabitants, the sharp rise in food prices acquired an even greater significance. On the basis of the figures given in table 24 it could be seen that the per capita income of the non-African population in the Belgian Congo in 1955 had averaged \$4,675 as compared with \$40.40 for the indigenous inhabitants, while the data given in table 36 showed that the average yearly per capita income of the non-African population in Kenya in 1954 had been thirty-eight times higher than that of the indigenous inhabitants and in Uganda it had been seventy times higher. When it was recalled that the European population represented only a small percentage of the non-African population in those two Territories, the rest being Indians, Arabs and others whose incomes were considerably lower than those of the Europeans, the gap between the incomes of Africans and Europeans was even more striking.

23. In paragraph 12 of the Committee's report on economic conditions it was stated that the shift towards a monetary economy had not yet been clearly reflected in improvements in the living conditions of the indigenous inhabitants in some of the Territories and that there was a feeling among some members of that Committee that economic progress in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was slow. His delegation thought that those points should have been expressed even more emphatically.

24. There could be no question that the policy of industrialization of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, if conscientiously carried out, would constitute

one of the most effective means of attaining the goals set forth in Article 73 of the Charter. In paragraph 52 of part two of the report, however, the Committee on Information noted that although industrial development in many Territories was approved in principle, a note of caution was often sounded when practical action was under consideration. The fact that the available information gave no indication of a substantial change in the industrial picture in the Non-Self-Governing Territories showed that the Administering Members had yet to translate their declared intentions into deeds. In paragraph 57 apprehension was expressed lest reliance on private investments, which were likely to be directed to further development of existing plantation and mining undertakings, would not ensure a sufficiently rapid and diversified industrial development. The data at the Committee's disposal showed that the Non-Self-Governing Territories continued to be administered for the benefit of foreign monopolistic interests which were concerned not with the balanced economic development of those Territories and the realization of the aspirations of their peoples but rather with the exploitation of their resources with the object of making the largest possible profit in the shortest possible time. The increased demand for and rise in the prices of certain ores and other materials which were needed for the war industries of the Western countries would probably intensify that process of exploitation.

25. In agriculture, too, the situation remained unchanged. The indigenous inhabitants still used primitive methods of cultivation and had not yet begun to diversify their agricultural production. Alienation of land for the benefit of people other than the indigenous inhabitants was widely practised. Paragraph 33 of the report on economic conditions showed that the sums expended on development from metropolitan sources and the sums secured under metropolitan guarantees for development did not fully meet urgent needs and that another difficulty was to be found in the lack of technical and administrative staff and the insufficiency of trained workers.

26. In that connexion the question arose whether the administering Powers were making the fullest possible use of the assistance which the United Nations or its individual Members could make available. The hundreds of unutilized fellowships which had been offered to the indigenous inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories by the Governments of Member States were sufficient evidence that the Administering Members were not making a serious effort to train the indigenous inhabitants. Annex XII of the annual report of the Technical Assistance Board ^{1/} showed that of the total sum allotted under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for 1956 less than 0.9 per cent had been assigned to the Non-Self-Governing Territories in Africa.

27. The statement in paragraph 45 of the Committee's report on economic conditions that an excessive share of the proceeds of exports from certain Territories accrued to external investors and that the large-scale purchasing of agricultural products, their transport and processing mainly benefited non-indigenous and extra-territorial interests was borne out by the information before the Committee. Territories whose ex-

ports were limited to one or a few primary commodities, which according to paragraph 42 of the report was the case in most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, were the most vulnerable when prices on the world market fluctuated. The figures given in the Secretariat's study on external trade (A/AC.35/L.244 and Corr.1) showed that there had been a sharp decline in the prices of almost all the agricultural products exported from the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the period 1953-1956, whereas the prices of certain non-ferrous metals and of oil had risen considerably in the same period. As 90 per cent of the indigenous population were engaged in agricultural pursuits, that trend had caused them great hardship, for it was a recognized fact that when prices declined it was the producers and not the exporters who suffered. The local and foreign monopolies dealing in non-ferrous metals, oil and other strategic materials, on the other hand, had been making ever-increasing profits.

28. His delegation considered that the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community was of great significance for the Non-Self-Governing Territories, in the light of the provisions of Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter. From the relevant document submitted to the Committee (A/C.4/360) it appeared that the six countries which had signed that Treaty had included in it provisions imposing obligations on the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories without consulting them in the matter, despite the fact that the Charter and other international instruments guaranteed those peoples the attainment of their independence in the near future. Moreover, there was no provision whereby they could refuse to participate in the implementation of the Treaty if they so desired. The articles of the Treaty affecting Non-Self-Governing Territories were clearly colonialist in character and permitted the contracting parties to exploit the Territories and their inhabitants just as in past centuries. By means of those articles the contracting parties were seeking to ensure for their own products low customs duties in the colonies, thus preventing the development of local industries. Article 135 of the Treaty allowed unlimited freedom of movement of the inhabitants of the metropolitan countries in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, while the indigenous inhabitants were restricted to the role of mere labourers. Certain articles in the Treaty, as the Czechoslovak representative had rightly pointed out at the 672nd meeting, made the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning the Non-Self-Governing Territories dependent on a European country which was not a Member of the United Nations, namely, the Federal Republic of Germany, while other articles would make compliance with the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter impossible. In those articles the Treaty was entirely at variance with the provisions of Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter and represented an attempt to salvage the colonial system. The United Nations could not remain indifferent to that attempt and should insist on receiving detailed information on the matter from the Administering Members.

29. It was clear that during the period under review the indigenous inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had not made substantial progress in either the economic, social or educational fields. In particular, it was to be noted that the administering Powers had not sought to establish conditions which would enable the indigenous inhabitants increasingly to

^{1/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 5.

assume responsibility for the management of their own affairs. Instead, there had been an alarming tendency in the past few years to violate the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, the most flagrant example being the extension to the Non-Self-Governing Territories of the provisions of the European Economic Community.

30. In conclusion, he hoped that the proposal which was before the Second Committee (A/C.2/L.334) concerning the establishment of an economic commission for Africa would be adopted by the General Assembly and that the proposed commission would be established without delay. If it were patterned on the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, as it presumably would be, it would include various Non-Self-Governing Territories in Africa in the scope of its activities, thus affording the African peoples an opportunity to participate more actively in the development of their economy.

31. His delegation was prepared to support any draft resolutions which would contribute to improvement of the conditions of the indigenous inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and ensure the implementation of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter.

32. Mr. LOIZIDES (Greece) recalled that General Assembly resolution 933 (X) had instructed the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to examine the summaries and analyses of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter in the spirit of Article 1, paragraphs 3 and 4, and Article 55 of the Charter, which embodied the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. In addition, under Article 73 of the Charter both the Member States administering Non-Self-Governing Territories and the United Nations as a whole assumed certain obligations towards the inhabitants of those Territories. The purpose of the Article was to enable the General Assembly to ascertain how the Administering Members were discharging their obligations towards the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to make recommendations concerning the future of the indigenous inhabitants. In resolution 637 (VII) the General Assembly had recommended that the States Members of the United Nations should recognize and promote the realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. His delegation therefore wished to suggest that the Committee should sooner or later consider how and to what extent the Administering Members were complying with those recommendations.

33. In resolution 446 (V) the General Assembly had invited the Members responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories to include in the information transmitted to the Secretary-General a summary of the extent to which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was being implemented in the Territories under their administration. In the seven years which had elapsed since then, the General Assembly appeared to have forgotten that resolution despite the flagrant violations of human rights which had taken place in certain of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. His own country, although particularly concerned over the future of Cyprus, felt strongly that all subjugated peoples should be enabled to exercise the right of self-determination.

34. With regard to economic conditions in the Non-

Self-Governing Territories, his delegation's first impression was that the information transmitted was not sufficient and that in any case its value was relative. The Committee could not reach definite conclusions regarding the economic development of the Territories without a full knowledge of their economic resources in raw materials, minerals and agriculture. Even where the figures given by the Administering Members presented a favourable picture, the question arose whether the economic development which had taken place benefited the indigenous population or only the non-indigenous minority. In that connexion he wished to refer to the exploitation of the mineral resources of Cyprus, which was very briefly touched upon in the report of the Committee on Information. The Colonial Office's report on Cyprus for the year 1956^{2/} showed that mineral exports from the island were valued at £13,845,254, representing more than half the value of total exports. The Cypriot people, however, derived little benefit from the exploitation of the natural wealth of the island, for the profits went to foreign companies which paid their Cypriot workers very low wages. A table on page 130 of the Cyprus Report of the Colonial Office for 1956 showed that whereas exports to the United Kingdom in that year had totalled £5,573,000, exports to the Federal Republic of Germany had totalled £7,141,000, indicating that the latter country was the island's best customer. Another table showed, however, that imports from the Federal Republic of Germany were valued at only £2,899,000 as compared to £17,707,000 for imports from the United Kingdom. It could thus be seen that there was a preferential tariff favouring British goods and making German goods 20 per cent more expensive, an arrangement which cost the Cypriot people several million pounds annually.

35. It was futile to try to establish a stable economy in Non-Self-Governing Territories which were being forcibly prevented from attaining their independence, for the measures taken by the administering Powers to suppress independence movements drastically affected economic conditions. In Cyprus, for example, expenditure for the police force, which had amounted to £583,521 in 1954, had increased to £2,526,087 in 1956. In other words, the administering Power was now spending twice as much on the police force as it was on education. In addition, the imposition of curfews which sometimes lasted for weeks and the frequent strikes resulting from the political upheaval had the effect of suspending economic development.

36. With regard to social conditions, his delegation felt that, even if the Administering Members were to submit more extensive information, practical conclusions on social development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories could not be reached as long as no political information was supplied, for it was obvious that social development was linked to political as well as economic development. To allege, as had the administering Power for Cyprus, that there had been no significant changes with regard to human rights in 1955 was strange, for it was in that year that the national resistance movement had been initiated, concentration camps had been established, curfews imposed, arrests carried out and public gatherings prohibited.

37. The Committee on Information had given only a

^{2/} Colonial Office, *Cyprus 1956* (Nicosia, Cyprus Government Printing Office, 1957).

limited time to the discussion of educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. However, paragraph 46 in part one of the report (A/3647) stated that the representatives of Guatemala and India had regretted the lack of information on that subject in the summaries. Some representatives had raised the question of illiteracy in Non-Self-Governing Territories and of discriminatory practices in education; in spite of the arguments adduced by the representatives of Administering Members, the figures in the information constituted incontrovertible evidence that such practices did in fact exist. His delegation did not dispute the goodwill of the Administering Members with regard to educational progress in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but they were undoubtedly faced with a dilemma. In deciding to raise the educational standard of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, an administering Power virtually decided to grant independence to such a Territory, since it was a historical and psychological fact that educational progress not only led to social and economic development but also awakened the people to a longing for freedom and independence.

38. He had described at previous sessions the struggle going on in Cyprus between the colonial Government of Cyprus and the Greek people of the island, who were trying to preserve their national consciousness, their Greek language and their Greek traditions. Although in some respects matters had improved, the disruption of education continued. Secondary education was particularly affected because of the lack of teachers. At the end of August 1956, out of a total of 132 teachers of Greek nationality eighty-four had had to leave Cyprus because their residence permits had not been renewed, thirty-three had left because they knew their permits would not be renewed and four had been deported; only eleven had remained in Cyprus. The vacant places could not be filled by qualified Cypriots graduating from the University of Athens because most of them were denied entrance to Cyprus. At the beginning of the new school year four elementary schools had been closed. It was not known how many were closed at the present time.

39. As an illustration of the mistakes made by the administering Powers with regard to education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he would mention some characteristic points of British educational policy in Cyprus. While closing Greek schools or making their functioning impossible, the Administration was establishing English schools. It severely limited the teaching of Greek history and prohibited Greek teachers from entering Cyprus. On being given permission to reside in Cyprus and practise their profession teachers were obliged to sign an undertaking that they would exert their influence to promote loyalty to the Government of Cyprus in the minds of the pupils and to make them good citizens of the British Empire. That was a clear violation of Article 73 of the Charter.

40. Friction between the administering Powers and the people of the Non-Self-Governing Territories arose from different ways of thinking and different concepts of morality and justice. The Government of Cyprus, for example, complained that Greek students and schoolchildren in Cyprus had lost all moral sense and all respect for law and order. The Cypriot people, on the other hand, believed that the youth of Cyprus had never had such high ideals of morality and justice

as it had today. Strangely enough, even in the United Kingdom itself public opinion often agreed rather with the Cypriots than with the Government of Cyprus. Students killed in Cyprus as terrorists were frequently praised in the United Kingdom as heroes and patriots. He continued to hope that the principles of the United Nations would be applied to Cyprus. The recent conference of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom had affirmed that democratic self-determination was that party's policy for Cyprus and had promised to endeavour to introduce it during the term of office of the next Labour Government.

41. With regard to the transmission and examination of information, it was disquieting to realize that Article 73 e was being more narrowly interpreted every year and that the information transmitted was longer delayed and more inadequate. The Administering Members had not complied with the General Assembly's suggestions that information on political conditions was necessary for a proper appraisal of the situation in the Territories. On the contrary, the tendency seemed to be in the direction of ceasing any transmission of information.

42. According to paragraphs 92, 93 and 98 of part one of the Committee's report, one Administering Member had failed to transmit any information and the permanent mission of that country, when approached by the Chairman of the Committee, had stated that it had no communication to make. The Fourth Committee had been informed at the 672nd meeting that information had now been transmitted by the Administering Member concerned. Nevertheless the unwarranted delay that had occurred showed how little respect the administering Powers had for Article 73 of the Charter. Apart from that particular case, the Fourth Committee was now discussing information relating to 1955, although early in 1957 books had already been published concerning the United Kingdom colonies in 1956. The whole situation was, in his view, a consequence of the failure of the General Assembly, at the 657th plenary meeting held during the eleventh session, to adopt a resolution setting up an *ad hoc* committee to study the applicability of Chapter XI with respect to the new Members of the United Nations. As a result one new Member, well known to be a Power administering colonies, had not been required to transmit information. Naturally, therefore, Members of long standing administering Non-Self-Governing Territories had later declined to transmit information. His delegation had foreseen such a development at the previous session. It had then been argued by some delegations that it was for the Member States themselves to decide whether they were responsible for the administration of any Territories to which Chapter XI applied; on the contrary, the General Assembly, in resolution 334 (IV), had held that it was within its responsibility to express its opinion on the principles which might guide Members in enumerating the Territories on which information should be submitted in accordance with Article 73 e. The Greek delegation had been disappointed to hear the United States delegation upholding the former thesis. The General Assembly must be consistent; if Members were allowed to decide whether or when to begin transmitting information they might logically conclude that they could decide when to stop doing so. He sympathized with those members of the Committee who considered it an open question and had suggested asking the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the subject (A/C.4/L.497).

43. His delegation appealed earnestly to all Members administering Territories outside their metropolitan frontiers to comply with the obligations of the Charter and with the spirit of the times. They should understand that the evolution towards freedom and self-determination was irresistible and would continue side by side with the tremendous scientific progress and the international co-operation which day by day became inevitably closer. All efforts for the continuation of colonial systems were deplorably outmoded. There was no going back. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were looking forward to their freedom and self-determination more than to economic and social development and the sooner the administering Powers understood it the better.

44. Mr. KADRY (Iraq) said that, in the Committee on Information, it had always been the unwritten prerogative of the Administering Members to express their views first and his delegation, like others, regretted that most of them had not seen fit to follow the same procedure in the Fourth Committee. He hoped that the Administering Members would follow the example of the United States, whose representative had made an enlightening statement setting forth the attitude of the United States Government on several issues of concern to all the members (674th meeting). In view of the importance of that statement he proposed that it should be circulated *in extenso* to the members of the Committee.

45. Although his delegation took issue with certain arguments put forward by the United States representative, it felt that the last part of the United States representative's discussion on Article 73 e of the Charter, where mention was made of the obligation to adhere to the Charter, coupled with the declaration made by the representative of Spain at the beginning of the debate on the present item (670th meeting), gave grounds for hope that the Fourth Committee's deliberations on sub-item (c) of agenda item 35 would yield concrete results based on the widest measure of support by the members of the Fourth Committee.

46. His delegation had presented its views on the various aspects of economic development in Non-Self-Governing Territories during the 1957 session of the Committee on Information and would therefore confine itself to some brief general observations.

47. He drew attention to paragraph 11 of the special report on economic conditions (A/3647, part two) which referred to the French *loi-cadre* in so far as it related to the objectives of economic policies in Territories under French administration, and to the statement that emphasis was also being placed on the participation of the peoples in the formulation of economic policies. Paragraphs 109 and 110 of that report referred to the articles on the association of Overseas countries and territories contained in the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community and to the provisions of the Applicatory Convention relating to the Association of the Overseas Countries and Territories with the Community. Thus on the one hand the true aims of the Charter were manifested in the desire of the French Government to give the indigenous populations of the dependent territories for which they were responsible a larger share in the formulation of economic policies; on the other hand the Treaty bound the economic fate of those territories to an arrangement in the formulation of which the populations most directly concerned had not participated and in regard

to which they had not been given an opportunity to express themselves. Those facts, and the absence of any adequate provision for the termination of the association, gave rise to the most serious apprehensions concerning its effects. It might well be that the peoples brought into the European Common Market would be obliged to relinquish all hope of real independence. A policy of integration, whether in the political, economic or cultural fields, was the first step towards destroying the very premise upon which Chapter XI of the Charter was based.

48. His delegation therefore welcomed the fact that the matter had been raised in the Committee on Information, which was the sole organ of the United Nations directly concerned with the problems arising in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Indeed the members of that Committee had an obligation to consider the consequences of an association of those Territories with the European countries and the effect which the European Common Market might have on their evolution towards self-government. The General Assembly would have to consider the issue in the light of Article 73 of the Charter.

49. In view of the statements made by the French representative in the Committee on Information (152nd, 162nd and 163rd meetings) and in the Fourth Committee (672nd meeting) it might be appropriate to recall the basis on which the Committee on Information had prepared its special reports in 1951 and 1954 on economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/1836, part three; A/2729, part two). According to both those reports, the point of primary importance was the interests of the inhabitants, and although every effort should be made to reconcile those interests with the interests of the world as a whole, investments should be channelled and improvements made which would bring benefits to the Territories and their peoples and not merely contribute towards those developments which, though useful or necessary to the rest of the world, were of only secondary interest to the Territories.

50. In the opinion of the delegation of Iraq, the association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the European Common Market could have the most detrimental consequences on the trade relations between those Territories and a number of countries which did not form part of the Common Market. Investment in the Territories by States which were not parties to the Treaty would undoubtedly be discouraged. Moreover, there was the legitimate fear that the association would benefit primarily the industrialized countries of Europe, which would tend to subordinate the industrial and economic development of Africa to their own interests. The association would affect every aspect of the economic structure and the development of the Territories, with inevitable repercussions in the political and social fields. The United Nations was in duty bound to take note of that new and far-reaching development, to examine all its implications and to act in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. The United Nations would be judged by coming generations in Africa by the manner in which it had assumed its role in safeguarding the sacred trust it had promised to promote. The association of dependent territories in a European Common Market was one of the factors upon which future judgement would be based.

51. In regard to the joint draft resolution submitted

by the delegations of Iraq, Mexico, Morocco and Yugoslavia (A/C.4/L.497), his delegation felt that the matter should be decided once and for all so that the Assembly could be systematic in its voting procedure and he hoped the proposal made by the representative of Mexico at the 672nd meeting would meet with the approval of both the administering and non-administering members of the Committee.

52. Mr. ZIKRIA (Afghanistan) said that ever since his country's admission to the United Nations his delegation had felt that all questions concerning the destiny of the dependent peoples should be examined and solved in accordance with the fundamental principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. That attitude was governed by his delegation's concern with the observance of law and its desire to see peace reign in the world. Force had never produced a lasting solution to differences between peoples. For example, the First World War, rather than remedying Europe's evils, had merely created fresh difficulties which had led the Western peoples to the catastrophe of the Second World War. That war in its turn had roused passions which threatened man's very existence. States talked of coexistence but in reality sought their own ends; mankind refused to follow the path of reason; the world was overshadowed by discord and conflict. As long as force was the decisive argument on the international scene it was useless to hope for a better future.

53. There was no great difference between the organization of the international community and that of any society; the difference was not one of kind but of degree. Just as order and peace within society must be guaranteed by law, only the rule of law could save the community of nations. Certain traditionalists, in order to defend their position, claimed that law must take into account the existence of historical facts. He did not intend to enter into academic discussion but would merely say that the purpose of law was not simply to preserve the status quo. It was an undeniable fact that institutions which had lost their meaning could not be perpetuated. Peoples had now awakened to national consciousness and the era of colonialism was drawing to a close. In an earlier day history had entrusted the Western Powers with the sacred mission of guiding the peoples towards the benefits of civilization; today it entrusted them with the duty of reshaping relations between peoples on the basis of democratic principles. The public opinion of the whole world demanded that relations between peoples should be governed by the three principles of liberty, equality and fraternity.

54. The delegation of Afghanistan, which had striven in the Third Committee during the seventh session of the General Assembly to have the principle of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination included in the draft International Covenants on Human Rights, hoped that the Fourth Committee would be guided by that principle. Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and certain other territories which had been detached by force from their mother countries were the most appropriate fields for its application.

55. Articles 73 and 76 of the Charter explicitly laid down the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories were paramount. Hence his delegation considered that in so far as the European Common Market affected the

interests and the progressive advancement of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories it was the right and the duty of the United Nations to examine it. The argument that information should be considered *a posteriori* was untenable. He emphasized that his delegation had no prejudice against the European Common Market; it merely asked that the question should be considered in the light of all the facts.

56. Since the report of the Committee on Information dealt chiefly with economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he would make a few brief observations on that subject.

57. It was desirable that the Administering Members should pay more attention to the objectives laid down by the Committee in 1954 and set forth in paragraph 10 of part two of the present report. The realization of those objectives would lead the peoples of the Territories in question gradually towards self-government or independence and would lay a firm foundation for their economic development. Until the peoples concerned took a real part in the carrying out of economic programmes and enjoyed a higher level of living, any increase in national production and productivity would remain precarious. In that connexion the French *loi-cadre* should be regarded as a step forward. The establishment by the United Kingdom of local banks and markets was also of note. He hoped that those examples would soon be followed by other States. Nevertheless, as pointed out in the report, the action of the Administering Members had been insufficiently effective in many sectors. For example, no serious effort had been made to increase the imports and exports of certain Territories and the exports of a number of Territories were still limited to one or two primary products. Certain Territories under United Kingdom administration were apparently free to establish commercial relations with any country, subject to the limitations applicable to the sterling zone; but that freedom was not really very wide, owing either to the lack of local issue banks or to the fact that where such banks existed their activities were paralysed by the absence of autonomy. Moreover, the investment of foreign capital in the Non-Self-Governing Territories raised a problem which should be thoroughly studied. Generally speaking the only direct benefit such capital conferred on the Territories concerned was the salaries of the personnel employed.

58. With regard to industrialization, he would merely suggest that in certain Territories it would be well for private enterprise to be accompanied within reasonable limits by State action.

59. Education was for the most part neglected in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was clear from the report that the Administering Members showed very little interest in the development of education and took no steps to ensure that the scholarships offered to students from Non-Self-Governing Territories were taken up. The lack of technical administrative personnel and the shortage of trained teachers were further proofs of that want of interest. His delegation hoped that the Administering Members would do more to promote educational advancement in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. A sound system of education would accelerate economic development as well as the general advancement of society.

60. His delegation was prepared to support any draft

resolutions that were based on the principles he had enunciated.

61. The CHAIRMAN said that if there were no objections the United States representative's statement would be circulated to the members of the Committee, as proposed by the representative of Iraq.

It was so decided. ^{3/}

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

^{3/} The complete text of the statement made by the representative of the United States was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/361.