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Chairman: Mr. Enrique de MARCHENA
 (Dominican Republic).

AGENDA ITEM 34

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/3105 to A/3109, A/3110 and Corr.1, A/3111 and Add.1 and 2, A/3112 and Add.1 and 2, A/3113 and Corr.1, A/3114 and Corr.1 and Add.1, A/3115, A/3127) (*continued*):

- (a) **Information on educational conditions (A/3165 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2) (*continued*);**
- (b) **Information on other conditions (*continued*)**

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) expressed his delegation's conviction that any policy of the administering Powers, whether educational, economic or social, must have the assent of the indigenous population if it was to be successful. Only if the particular needs and wishes of the people were recognized and encouraged could that assent be gained. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had therefore done well in emphasizing the need to take into account the basic cultural values and aspirations of the peoples and to enable them to assume increasing responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs.

2. His delegation held that the policy of the administering Powers should be guided by four basic concepts: the dignity of man regardless of race, colour or creed, the termination of political rule of one people by another, equality of economic and social opportunities, and the promotion of international peace and security. In view of the growing interdependence of nations, the policies practised by the administering Powers would have far-reaching repercussions in other parts of the world. The underlying cause of the unsatisfactory conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories was to be found in the failure of the administering Powers to abolish racial discrimination in their policies, for such discrimination implied the political subordination of

indigenous peoples. His delegation had been pleased to note the inclusion in the report of a section entitled "Race relations in education". Racial discrimination tended to foster disharmony and antagonism in Non-Self-Governing Territories and thus might constitute a threat to world peace and order.

3. In the view of his delegation, political information was essential to a proper understanding of educational, economic and social problems in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The position taken by the United States with regard to the Territories under its administration was particularly pertinent in that it envisaged the realization of educational objectives within a political context, as noted in paragraph 14 of the report on education (A/3127, part two). His delegation endorsed the opinion of the Guatemalan representative, as quoted in part one, paragraph 20, of the report, that one of the tasks of the Committee on Information was to appraise educational policies and verify whether action was being taken on the recommendations of that Committee and of the General Assembly. Under the Committee's terms of reference, such an appraisal should be made in the context of Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter, which outlined the political, economic and social framework within which the advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be achieved.

4. It was universally agreed that education was the key to progress and prosperity, and should therefore play an important part in the political evolution of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Education would enable the indigenous peoples to understand more fully the concepts of suffrage, political organization and popular representation in the councils of government, and to participate in the formulation of government policies and legislation affecting the well-being of their countries. Education had been called the pivot on which self-government turned, and as such it had often been used to disguise the real intentions of Powers bent on dominating other peoples. Instead of adopting an educational policy under which subject peoples would be prepared for future independence, those Powers had used education as a means of forcing upon the people moral and political concepts which were alien to them. Such a policy was calculated to bring about the weakening of national consciousness, and was a prerequisite for incorporation of a subject population into the population of the metropolitan Power. Under that policy, old customs, habits and traditional institutions, instead of being used as a basis for education, were treated as obstacles to educational advancement. His delegation supported the view of the Committee on Information, as expressed in paragraph 14 of the report on education, that the peoples themselves must decide what form of education they required and how education could contribute to the exercise of civic responsibilities. Elementary and secondary school curricula should be carefully prepared in order to ensure that they were in consonance with the indigenous life and culture of the peoples concerned.

5. His delegation endorsed the views outlined in paragraph 23 of the report on education regarding the causes of the high percentage of wastage and retardation among primary school children. The tendency for students to concentrate on courses such as law rather than the more practical subjects, as noted in paragraph 38, bore out his delegation's contention that educational, economic and social policies could be carried out successfully only within the political framework. Nevertheless that tendency indicated a growing awareness on the part of the indigenous inhabitants of the need for an educated *élite* to guide them along the path towards self-government or independence. It also indicated their realization of the difference between government based on force and government based on law, for it reflected their desire to become acquainted with the instruments whereby the latter could be realized.

6. There was a close relationship between education on the one hand and economic and social conditions on the other. Racial discrimination should not be permitted to lead to the adoption of economic and social policies favouring one part of the population at the expense of another, nor should education be used as a means of maintaining economic and social privilege. Inequality in economic and social status would deprive the indigenous inhabitants of the means with which to fulfil their civic responsibilities. Economic and social legislation must not serve to legitimize discriminatory measures which would make the indigenous population increasingly dependent politically on the administering Powers. Such a policy would constitute a violation not only of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but also of the principle of the Charter.

7. Mr. BARRIGA (Ecuador) felt that educational policy in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be based on the principle that education was important not only as an end in itself but as a means of improving the economic and social status of the people. It should be the purpose of education to enable the inhabitants to realize to the fullest extent their development as human beings, to acquire a sense of civic responsibility, to participate increasingly in the management of their own affairs, and eventually to take upon themselves the full exercise of self-government as envisaged in Chapter XI of the Charter. Illiteracy was one of the basic causes of economic and social backwardness in many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and was consequently a hindrance to political advancement. While his delegation welcomed the efforts made by the administering Powers to eradicate illiteracy, it noted that the incidence of that condition was still high. Furthermore, the continued education of the inhabitants once they had achieved literacy must not be neglected.

8. Racial relations in education were another important aspect of the study made by the Sub-Committee. His delegation shared the view expressed in the report that education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be available to all without discrimination based on race or colour. He therefore noted with satisfaction the improvement in racial relations and the elimination of discriminatory laws and practices reported by the administering Powers. Much remained to be done, however, to enable the different ethnic groups to take their rightful part in the development of the Territories in which they lived, and in the evolution of those Territories towards self-government or independence.

9. His delegation commended the increase in technical assistance rendered to the Non-Self-Governing Terri-

tories and hoped that it would continue. It likewise noted with approval the co-operation of the regional commissions and the specialized agencies, particularly the work done by UNESCO in the training of teachers, which had been an important contribution to the campaign against illiteracy.

10. Mr. YANG (China) said that the harmony and understanding which had prevailed throughout the 1956 session of the Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories were the prerequisites for effective work in any organ of the United Nations; only through close co-operation and mutual understanding between Administering and non-Administering Members could the United Nations hope to further the advancement of dependent peoples. It was one thing to recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount; to translate that principle into action was another and extremely difficult undertaking. While his delegation unswervingly supported the principle of international accountability, it was confident that the Member States which had accepted the obligation to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories would fulfil that obligation in good faith.

11. His Government would continue to uphold the concept of the indivisibility of Article 73 of the Charter. To isolate Article 73 e from the rest of the Article was to emasculate the whole of Chapter XI. For that reason, his delegation considered that part I. D of the revised Standard Form of 7 December 1951, calling for the voluntary transmission of information on government, was a significant step towards the fulfilment of the responsibilities assumed under Chapter XI of the Charter. It accordingly congratulated the Member States which had continued to transmit the optional information concerning government in Territories under their administration, and it hoped that other administering Powers which had not yet transmitted such information would decide to do so in the future. As that type of information grew in quantity and quality it would enable the Fourth Committee to make a better assessment of information regarding economic, social and educational conditions in the Territories.

12. His delegation considered that the 1956 report on education in Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/3127, part two) was an extension and continuation of the two previous reports on the subject (A/1303/Rev.1, part two, and A/2465, part two), and would be best understood if studied in conjunction with those reports. Since 1950 the Committee on Information had studied various aspects of the manifold educational problems confronting the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Indeed, the problems of education were perennial and called for ceaseless effort and vigilant supervision. In that connexion his delegation would emphasize the importance of the conclusion reached by the Committee on Information in 1950 that education was a necessary basis for progress in economic, social, cultural and political knowledge and responsibility (A/1303/Rev.1, part two, para. 12 (b)), and of General Assembly resolution 328 (IV) calling for equal treatment for different ethnic groups in matters related to education.

13. Careful perusal of the 1956 report showed that considerable progress had been made in the field of education in Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Committee noted that the number of girls attending school showed a substantial increase since 1953, and that there had been a considerable increase in the sums spent on all forms of education in the Territories.

14. Nevertheless, the Committee was alive to the mounting needs caused by the rapid increase in the population of the Territories, and to the fact that those needs would inevitably outstrip financial resources. It had been said that the shortage of funds was a major obstacle to educational advancement; his delegation agreed with the Committee's statement that from the point of view of principle it was a responsibility of the Administering Members to assist in the provision of adequate resources for the development of education and that investment in education was no less imperative on grounds of economic policy than on grounds of cultural policy (A/3127, part two, para. 66).

15. Finally, his delegation drew attention to paragraphs 12 and 14 of the report, and expressed its satisfaction that the Administering Members generally subscribed to the objectives of education as formulated by the Committee in 1953. It was indeed encouraging to note that the United States recognized the principle that education should be a reflection of democratic self-government, with control vested in representatives of the local populations, and that for the United Kingdom the participation of the indigenous people in the formulation and execution of educational policy was a fundamental principle.

16. His delegation hoped that the current report on education, together with its two predecessors, would form the basis of a more comprehensive study which the Committee might be asked to undertake, in accordance with the three-year cycle, in 1959.

17. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that all freedom-loving peoples had welcomed the inclusion in the Charter of the doctrine that the well-being of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was a sacred trust. That doctrine had already been embodied in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, but it had been a very indefinite concept. It was clear from Article 22 of the Covenant that none of the Members of the League had accepted as a sacred obligation the promotion to the utmost of the well-being of the dependent peoples, as the Members of the United Nations had done in accepting Article 73 of the Charter.

18. It must be admitted in fairness that during the previous eleven years there had been constant change and progress in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. The rate of progress naturally differed according to the policies of the administering Powers concerned; some of them had evidently done their best to promote the development of the dependent peoples, others appeared to have been impelled by constant urging in the United Nations to do a little more than previously, if only to give some semblance of compliance with the provisions of Article 73. Progress had therefore been uneven and sometimes painfully slow, but even slow progress was better than none at all.

19. Despite the limitations imposed on the Committee on Information and the difficulties it encountered through insufficiency or lack of information, particularly in the political field, it had nevertheless produced an admirable report, which embodied a scientific analysis of the problems encountered in the educational field. At the same time, what mattered was not so much a definition of policy in the educational or any other field, as the implementation of that policy. In that respect the reports that had been received for the past ten years showed that there was a wide gap. In saying that, he had no intention of minimizing the efforts of the admin-

istering Powers to implement their declared policies, for he realized the difficulties that they had encountered and were encountering. One point that should be emphasized was that money was required to implement those policies, and that the funds available seemed to be insufficient to meet the requirements.

20. Certain aspects of education could perhaps have been given greater emphasis in the report. For example, it appeared that certain administering Powers had limited progress in higher education to the slow rate achieved in the lower grades. From his own country's experience while under United States administration, he was convinced that there should be as much, or even greater, emphasis on higher education, since it was educated indigenous inhabitants who had graduated from foreign universities who would eventually return to their own Territory and assume the leadership of the people.

21. When, as a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States had taken over the administration of the Philippines, there had from the very outset been a constant endeavour to choose students who showed capacity for leadership and to send them to foreign universities. In the course of time, when those students had returned, they had constituted the nucleus of leadership in the various fields. That policy was one of general application that could well be emulated in other dependent Territories, in some of which the development of higher education had been so delayed that it would take decades, if not generations, before they would be able to produce leaders in the various fields.

22. Another point which he felt the report disregarded was that education in dependent Territories was too often left in the hands of private initiative. He was not referring to any particular organization or religious sect, but obviously each of them had its own point of view, only too often at variance with the basic purposes of true education as defined in the resolutions of the General Assembly. For that reason he thought the report might have placed greater emphasis on the expansion of public school systems organized and maintained by Governments.

23. He wished to call attention to one particular aspect of the question. Whereas Chapter XII of the Charter had created international machinery for the administration and supervision of Trust Territories, Chapter XI had left a vacuum by not setting up a committee to supervise the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories; the General Assembly had therefore had to set up the Committee on Information on an *ad hoc* basis. Moreover, Article 73 e unfortunately limited the submission of information to the economic, social and educational fields. Nevertheless, the very reason for the application of Article 73 was the fact that the Non-Self-Governing Territories had not as yet attained a full measure of self-government. Article 73 thus established a moral if not an implied legal obligation on the part of the administering Powers to submit political information, in order that the United Nations might be able to gauge whether the duty of developing self-government was being performed. It was therefore regrettable that the report said little with regard to the political development of the peoples who were in political subjection. Under its terms of reference, the Committee might have been able at least to formulate some general recommendations in the political field. He was aware that the question was a controversial one which had been debated many times in the Fourth

Committee and elsewhere, but it was his sincere belief that, following the assumption by the administering Powers of the duty to develop self-government, the Members of the United Nations had a right to see that that duty was being scrupulously fulfilled, and to demand that it should be faithfully observed.

24. Another difference was that Chapter XIII specifically authorized the sending of visiting missions to the Trust Territories, whereas there was no corresponding provision in Chapter XI. In order that the Committee on Information, which was envisaged as a counterpart of the Trusteeship Council, should acquire the same efficacy as that body and perform similar functions, the General Assembly might find it useful to consider the possibility of sending visiting missions from time to time to Non-Self-Governing Territories. As it was, the United Nations had all too often to depend on information which might not necessarily represent the actual situation. The Fourth Committee might do well to consider that point with a view to future action.

25. Following the Second World War, there had developed a world-wide awareness among the peoples of their right to wider opportunities to share in the benefits of modern civilization. It was obvious that the Administering Members were conscious of that new development and were making efforts, in varying degrees, to satisfy that universal clamour. Unfortunately, however, some of them seemed not to have complied strictly with the provision of Article 73 that the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories were paramount. In the economic field, for instance, development was too often in the interests of the metropolitan country rather than of a dependent Territory. Sometimes it was difficult to determine whether progress in a given Territory was reflected in better standards of living for the indigenous inhabitants; very frequently it seemed to be more in the interests of other peoples than of the Territory concerned. It was essential to realize that it was only on the basis of the eternal principles of justice and equality that the necessary atmosphere could be created to dispel the discontent which in the past had so often been the cause of wars. He hoped that those who were in a position of dominance

over dependent Territories would realize that it was only on the basis of justice and equal opportunity that they could maintain the goodwill of those Territories. In saying that, he had in mind the experience of his own country. The Philippines had obtained its freedom without shedding blood. If the United States had friends in Asia today it was due to the gratitude of the Philippine people for its enlightened and humane administration, which had been based on the principle of a sacred trust, long before that principle had been embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Charter of the United Nations.

26. Colonialism was often referred to as though it was something shameful. There were, however, many forms of colonialism. Before 1900 it had apparently had a deplorable significance, but since then it had changed with the changing conscience of mankind, and gradually, though slowly, increasing attention had been paid to the interests of the dependent peoples. Although there had been abuses in the past, colonialism had also served as a boon to all those peoples which had been subjected to it. It would be unjust, simply because there had been abuses, to disregard the benefits which had derived from colonialism. Times had changed and so had the ways of colonialism. What was needed at the present day was vigilance to ensure that the administering Powers did not deviate from the lines laid down in Article 73. He appreciated the efforts they were making in the interests of the indigenous inhabitants; they should not, however, claim that all they were doing was for the exclusive benefit of the indigenous peoples, nor should they assert that there was full freedom and independence when in fact there was little, if any.

27. If all delegations were to act on the basis of principle and the objectives of the Charter, and vote accordingly, rather than, as sometimes happened, on the basis of Great Power politics, there could be no doubt of the ultimate implementation of Article 73.

28. He reserved the right to speak again later, if necessary, during the discussion of any draft resolution that might be submitted.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.