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Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

**Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories
transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter
(*continued*)**

[Item 32]*

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. ABOU-AFIA (Egypt) regretted that the Belgian delegation had thought it unnecessary to take part in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which had thus been deprived of a valuable contribution. It was possible that the work of the Committee might not yield practical results immediately, but the discussions in the Fourth Committee and its subsidiary bodies were never entirely useless from the point of view of the Administering Members. The non-administering Members had the humanitarian approach to the question of the Non-Self-Governing Territories which had prevailed when the Charter had been signed, and it was reasonable to expect as much of the Administering Members. He therefore welcomed the statements made by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom who had emphasized the value of sincere co-operation between all the Member States whose aim it was to bring the work of the Fourth Committee to a successful conclusion.

2. The Egyptian delegation found the report of the Committee on Information (A/2465) clear and concise and it paid a tribute to that committee and to the specialized agencies as well as to the Secretariat, which had succeeded, after analysing the data supplied by the Administering Members, in preparing a series of documents which facilitated considerably the study of the situation in each territory.

3. With regard to the question of the voluntary transmission of information (A/2465, part one, chapter XII), it was unfortunate that most of the Administering Members had not replied to the repeated appeals made to them by the General Assembly, namely, in its resolutions 327 (IV) and 144 (II), asking them to transmit voluntarily certain information regarding political progress made by the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Assembly had shown a desire for

conciliation which was shared by the Egyptian delegation but it was clear that it did not consider its request an excessive one that was not based on any provision in the Charter. An excessive interpretation would be to attempt to isolate the provisions of Article 73 e from the essentially political aims of Chapter XI. According to that interpretation the transmission of the information requested under Article 73 e would constitute the final goal whereas, in actual fact, that was only a means of achieving the aim set by the Charter. Lastly, even if from a legal point of view the restrictive interpretation of Article 73 e were accepted, the General Assembly had given the Administering Members the opportunity of showing a conciliatory spirit, without too much affecting their position.

4. The question of the participation of representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee was also of paramount importance. The discussions during the preceding session had proved the usefulness of such participation, despite the practical or constitutional difficulties which had led the General Assembly to ask, in its resolution 647 (VII), that the Committee on Information study the question further. The Committee apparently had not made any appreciable progress in that respect. Following the deletion of paragraph 2 from the operative part of the draft resolution submitted to the Committee (A/2465, part one, para. 93) as a result of a French amendment, the text finally adopted by the Committee confined itself to noting the present position with regard to the question. The deletion of paragraph 2 was all the more regrettable since certain Administering Members pointed out that it was difficult for them to supply information concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories which had reached such a high degree of constitutional development that the representatives of the indigenous population themselves dealt with the activities with which the Committee was concerned. Even if that argument were accepted, with due reservations, direct contact between the Committee on Information and the government responsible for the Non-Self-Governing Territory was still desirable. The Egyptian delegation had been interested in the proposal of the representative of Pakistan (334th meeting) that officials recruited in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be appointed to the Secretariat. It would be prepared to support that proposal if, after consideration, such a measure proved to be desirable.

5. The special report on education (A/2465, part two) mentioned the progress made in certain regions in increasing the number of schools and pupils. The Egyptian delegation knew from experience the technical and financial difficulties liable to slow down such progress. However, the intentions of the administering Powers played a decisive part in that question; Powers which did not devote to education a reasonable proportion of the receipts of the territory were clearly responsible for the results.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

6. The Committee had considered the question of the indigenous languages and its work had borne out the recommendations of resolution 329 (IV), whereby the Assembly had invited the Administering Members to make those languages, wherever possible, the languages of instruction in elementary, primary and secondary schools, without prejudice to the use of any other language. He recalled, in that connexion, the conclusions reached in 1950 by the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/1303/Rev.1, part two, para. 41). The Egyptian and other Arab delegations had on many occasions emphasized the need to recognize Arabic as a basic language of instruction in the territories where the populations used it in its vernacular or classical form. To ignore that need could only lead, as had been emphasized by the Committee on Information, to a heightening of the racial, political and economic tension existing in some Arabic-speaking Non-Self-Governing Territories. The examples of Morocco and Tunisia, where the administering Power seemed by no means ready to take into account the General Assembly resolution and the conclusions formulated by the Special Committee in 1950, were conclusive. The French Government had refused an offer by the Egyptian Government to set up an institute of Arab civilization in North Africa. That refusal was all the more disconcerting as there were very many French institutes and schools in Egypt, where they were much esteemed; moreover, the representative of France had given no reason for that refusal, but merely stated that it was not actuated by any political motive. The proposal mentioned by the Yugoslav representative (335th meeting), which would enable the non-administering Powers to award scholarships to students from the Non-Self-Governing Territories seemed a particularly wise one, and the Egyptian delegation was prepared to submit or support a draft resolution calling upon the Administering Members to encourage any such offers by Member States.

7. His delegation was pleased to note the increase in the number of schools and pupils, but it regretted that in some territories the indigenous population did not benefit from that increase as much as the European population. In that connexion the French delegation had outlined in the Committee on Information the measures taken by the French Government to achieve an equilibrium between the Islamic and European cultures in Tunisia and Morocco. However, the figures it had quoted showed that proportionately the number of Arab children attending primary school was well below that of European children, and the higher the level of education, the greater was the disproportion.

8. As regards Kenya, the number of indigenous pupils attending primary school had considerably decreased. The Government of the United Kingdom had stated (A/2413/Add.6) that the state of emergency had created conditions in which exact returns were impossible in the case of a number of schools. According to the Press, those same conditions had led to the closing of Kikuyu schools. Without going into the political aspect of the question he wished to ask for some particulars concerning the number of Kikuyu schools closed down, the number of pupils enrolled in them and the percentage of those pupils in relation to the total number of children attending school in the Kikuyu area. He further wished to know whether those schools had been closed permanently and whether steps had been taken to give the pupils

attending them the possibility of continuing their studies.

9. He then came to the question of land distribution, which the Committee on Information was to re-examine at its next session in connexion with its study of the economic situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In the *Special Study on Economic Conditions and Development in Non-Self-Governing Territories* (ST/TRI/SER.A/6/Add.2), it had been recalled that, in most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the whole pattern of society was founded on agriculture and that any agricultural legislation or policy would prove unfair and difficult to enforce if it failed to take into account all the social and political aspects of that fact. Egypt, essentially an agricultural country, was in a position to realize how well-founded that conclusion was. In its own experience in the sphere of land reform, it had been confirmed. The law on land reform of 1952, which provided for a fair distribution of land, was the basis on which the republican régime recently set up in Egypt would build. That law had influenced not only the economic life of Egypt but also the development of democratic political institutions, in accordance with the wish of its authors. Quoting an extract from page 256 of the study, he had just cited, which gave figures relating to the area of the land alienated in Kenya, he recalled that the question of land tenure had always been a source of conflict wherever there was a shortage of land, particularly when the dispossessed farmers had no other means of support and when whole regions in the most fertile areas were reserved for the immigrant settlers. The example of Kenya showed the paramount importance of the work facing the Committee on Information at its coming session.

10. At the previous meeting, the representative of Mexico had replied to the question put at the 334th meeting by the Australian representative, who had asked what régime would be established in the place of colonialism if it was desired to abolish the latter. At first sight, it might be said that that question had already been partly answered in the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which the mandates system had been set up, and that an attempt had been made to solve it in Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter. However, the question remained unsolved since the solution provided for under the Charter was not satisfactory. The fears of the representative of Australia might at first sight seem justified from the logical standpoint, since any system which disappeared must be replaced by another. Nevertheless, experience had shown that similar fears which had been expressed when the question had arisen of abolishing another system—slavery—had been ill-founded. Just as, after the abolition of slavery, the slaves had been replaced by free men, so, after the abolition of colonialism, the subject peoples would be replaced by free nations.

11. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) noted that in a period of six years the Committee on Information had gained in stature and had been able to overcome the doubts and reservations, based on practical and legal considerations, of the Administering Members which had first opposed its very existence and later questioned the value of its work. Those objections, far from weakening the Committee, had enabled it to define the principles guiding its work and had shown the need for a definite doctrine whereby the declaration in Chapter XI could be translated into simple and effective rules of action. The Committee had now won its place

among the important organs of the United Nations not only because its creation resulted from the logical interpretation of the objectives of the Charter, but because, by its work, the value of which could no longer be doubted, it had refuted the criticism that had been voiced concerning its effectiveness and the value of its work to the administering Powers. The Committee's report bore testimony to the results that could be achieved through the collaboration in the United Nations of administering and non-administering Powers when both worked in a spirit of mutual trust and with the firm intention of accomplishing work of real practical value.

12. In accordance with resolution 333 (IV) the Committee had devoted particular attention to the study of educational conditions, a complex problem for which widely differing solutions had been proposed. Thanks to a common desire for conciliation—which had never meant abandoning personal convictions—the Committee had been able to submit a report reflecting the opinions of all its members. That result would not have been possible had the members not all approached the various problems objectively, with the firm intention of deriving the maximum profit from their discussions.

13. During the preceding three years the Administering Members had made noteworthy efforts for the advancement of education and, as the report showed, the Committee had been favourably impressed by the measures adopted to solve increasingly complex problems and to remedy the most serious shortcomings of inadequate school systems—the result of a concept of colonial exploitations which was incompatible with the aims of Chapter XI. Nevertheless, there was still much to be done in that sphere, as the Administering Members themselves had admitted.

14. The Committee had studied the most urgent questions and those most directly concerned with the development of education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It had stressed the need for practical solutions to the questions of the language of instruction and of adopting measures to make school attendance not only obligatory but actually possible, in order to solve the serious problem of school failures. On the other hand, the data on the financing of education were very incomplete: he hoped that the Administering Members would in future supply accurate figures showing the percentage of the territorial budgets devoted to the various branches of education, the aid given by the metropolitan country and the distribution of expenses between public services and voluntary societies. He hoped that when the Committee took up the matter again it would be able to prepare a broad picture of the progress accomplished since 1946, particularly in the campaign against illiteracy and the development of secondary education, vocational training and school attendance. The Committee should give its constant attention to two questions: first, the development of secondary education, which was of inestimable importance for the selection and preparation of political leaders and technicians in the economic and social spheres; secondly, community education, a question closely connected with the campaign against illiteracy and social evolution in the broader sense. In 1953 the Committee had made a brief study of the philosophy underlying that movement and the sociological aspects of the question. Later on it would be useful to have information regarding the practical application of that new idea.

15. He also hoped that the Administering Members would supply information on the distribution of students by class in the elementary and secondary schools, the number of enrolments and the distribution of the enrolled students among the various types of primary and secondary educational institutions.

16. With respect to the items which the Committee was to consider at its next session, the Brazilian delegation had already submitted to that body a number of suggestions on the documentary material that should be prepared to enable it to form an exact idea of the development programmes launched in the territories. The documentary material supplied by the Administering Members should not only make it possible to establish statistics, but should also correspond to the various items of the Standard Form. Accordingly, it would be useful for the Committee to know what measures the Administering Members had taken to counteract the drop in 1952 in the prices of raw materials, the export of which was of primary importance in the economic life of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Hitherto, specialized production, based on the existence of metropolitan industrial centres, had not been advantageous to dependent territories where the administering Powers had encouraged production of raw materials to serve their own industry or for their own profitable re-export trade. The administering Powers apparently wished to maintain the *status quo*. The diversification of production with a view to avoiding a single-crop economy or encouraging industrialization was a basic condition for the establishment of a certain degree of economic stability, the development of the domestic market and the improvement of the conditions of exchange. Owing to the persistence of the antiquated concept of colonial exploitation it was a times still difficult for the metropolitan States to give up a certain type of profit based on the unilateral exploitation of increased production. In the past that increase had enabled those States to obtain at better prices the raw materials for their own use or for re-export. It had not, however, led to increased wages for the indigenous workers. It was to be hoped that the Administering Members were giving greater attention to that aspect of the problem and he would welcome any information bearing out that hope.

17. The draft resolution on the association of representatives from Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information (A/2465, part one, annex II) was the result of a sincere attempt at conciliation both on the part of the sponsors of the draft, who had accepted the proposed amendments to their initial text, and on the part of the Administering Members of the Committee, who had responded half-heartedly, but none the less affirmative, to that effort to find a practical solution to the problem of participation. The scope of the draft resolution was of course limited but the Brazilian delegation felt that the results obtained could be regarded as satisfactory for the time being; the important principle of participation would thus become a fact and its application could be extended later as desired.

18. He regretted that the Belgian acting permanent representative had abstained from participating in the work of the Committee on Information and that he had felt his negative attitude to be justified by the legal arguments advanced in the communication contained in document A/AC.35/L.142, which were based on a fanciful interpretation of the obligations laid down in Chapter XI of the Charter. Moreover, Mr. Nisot's re-

fusal meant that Belgium was formally denouncing the General Assembly's resolutions extending the powers of the Committee to a field in which the Belgian Government disputed its competence. There was reason to suspect retaliation provoked by the rejection of the Belgian delegation's point of view. He would refute in detail certain allegations made by that delegation.

19. Contrary to Mr. Nisot's statement in point II of document A/AC.35/L.142, and as Mr. Rao, now Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, had clearly shown, there was no deliberate confusion on the part of certain Member States that envisaged the progressive assimilation of the system of Non-Self-Governing Territories to the International Trusteeship System; it could be seen from the documents that had served as a basis for the preparation of Chapter XI that the provisions of that chapter extended to all peoples who did not yet enjoy political independence—irrespective of whether they were colonies, protectorates or Trust Territories. That did not mean that Brazil refused to admit that a question of sovereignty existed in the case of Non-Self-Governing Territories which did not arise in the case of Trust Territories, since the powers that every Administering Authority of a Trust Territory exercised with respect to that Territory had been delegated to it by the United Nations. However, no Administering Member could properly invoke the principle of sovereignty to evade the obligations incumbent upon it in virtue of the doctrine of the responsibility of the international community laid down in Chapter XI of the Charter, a doctrine involving a limitation of the general provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7. Effective discharge of that responsibility was a duty which the United Nations could not evade; it should be regarded merely as a desire to collaborate in the achievement of the aspirations of the peoples that were not yet self-governing and not as an infringement of the Administering Members' sovereignty. The tendency to assimilation to which the Belgian communication referred was merely a natural result of the similarity of the objectives stated in Chapters XI, XII, and XIII of the Charter—a similarity that was particularly understandable since those three chapters had been derived from the principal points laid down at the San Francisco Conference in a unique document dated 15 May 1945.¹

20. Owing to the common origin of the three chapters, it could be said that the Belgian delegation was quite justified in declaring that the provisions of Chapter XI should apply to all territories whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. Care should be taken, however, to point out that the meaning of that term was basically political; that it designated territories where the population was largely indigenous, under the political and legal domination of a foreign State; and that it could in no way be taken, as the Belgian delegation claimed, to include the aboriginal peoples, the descendants of the pre-Colombian races inhabiting certain parts of the territory of sovereign States in Latin America. Likewise the Belgian delegation apparently denied that the "sacred trust" mentioned in Article 73 was that of preparing the colonies—political or social entities separate from the State—for political equality with the State. The political objectives of Chapter XI of the Charter could not be confused with the limited, humanitarian objective of non-discrimination in Article 23 (b) of the League of Nations Covenant. There were aboriginal groups in

Brazil that remained socially apart from the mass of the population, and the problem of integrating them into the national life had not yet been solved. That, however, was a temporary situation which would disappear as the savage tribes came into contact with civilization; as soon as they ceased to be isolated their members would become Brazilian citizens and they would enjoy the same rights as the rest of the population. The Belgian delegation's interpretation of Chapter XI was more than arbitrary and unfounded; it failed to take into account the fact that colonialism in any form was tolerable only in so far as the administering Powers, faithful to the paramount principles of their civilization and of Christian humanity, undertook to return to non-self-governing peoples, in the form of economic, social, cultural and political advancement, the material advantages that the former derived from their presence in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

21. In the Belgian communication Mr. Nisot had regretted the narrow and arbitrary limits within which the Committee on Information had had to do its work. All the representatives who had participated in the deliberations of that committee would unhesitatingly support that view.

22. He would take the liberty, in view of Brazil's deep and historic friendship for Belgium, and of the Brazilian people's respect and admiration for the Belgian people's capacity for work, its elevated political concepts and its attachment to the great principles of Christian civilization, to point out to the Belgian delegation that it could not and should not withhold its information, collaboration and rich experience from the Committee. Accordingly, the Brazilian delegation hoped that Mr. Nisot would reconsider his decision.

23. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America) stated that of the many problems facing all the peoples of the world at the present time the colonial question was one of the most challenging, and she felt deeply privileged to represent the United States on the Committee which had it under consideration. Complex, impossible of immediate solution, and so requiring much understanding, great wisdom and carefully considered action, the colonial question had within it rich possibilities of drawing all the people of the world into ultimate understanding and accord. It was in that spirit that she spoke.

24. Although the United States was responsible for only a minute fraction of the non-self-governing areas of the world—a fraction whose combined populations numbered less than three-quarters of a million—her Government knew from practical experience how difficult it was to raise Non-Self-Governing Territories to the social, economic and spiritual levels which made the full enjoyment of political freedom possible.

25. In view of the rapid evolution of the African continent, it was undoubtedly important for every Member of the United Nations to help the peoples of Africa to satisfy their aspirations for self-government. Their welfare and development were of deep interest to the United States; but it was important to bear in mind that such territories as existed in Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean were likewise the home of peoples seeking to achieve a greater measure of self-government. The impact of two world wars on dependent areas had been accompanied by a technical revolution which had carried into the most remote parts of the world the knowledge that poverty and ignorance were conquerable enemies. With that new hope came new energy and new demands. All those peoples

¹ See *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, II/4/12.

were growing increasingly restive under foreign political control, no matter how enlightened, and they demanded the right to guide their own destinies. The legitimacy of their goal was solemnly recognized by the Charter and by the Administering Members themselves. But the obligations imposed by Chapter XI of the Charter could not be fulfilled by sudden abdication of administrative responsibilities. Rather, the problem was one of finding ways to accelerate the pace of economic, social, educational and political development, and called for the most constructive efforts and maximum goodwill of all Member States truly concerned with the advancement of dependent peoples.

26. With regard to her own Government's attitude to peoples which were not yet fully self-governing, her country had united many national and racial strains, and drew its strength from a love of liberties and a respect for human dignity. Those were the foundations of international peace and security because recognition of the sacredness of the individual and his rights was at once the sign and the safeguard of any government which had the moral authority to promote peace and security in the world community.

27. The United States Government was convinced that, in the achievement of orderly progress towards self-government, equal emphasis should be placed on order and on progress. The pace had to be faster than before the Second World War. In the new and changing post-war world there was a new urgency. A more satisfactory outlet had to be provided for the natural impatience of young nations to control their own destinies as soon as possible.

28. True liberty for dependent or other newly-liberated peoples could never be attained or made secure unless the free world was able and ready to protect itself against the growth and spread of a new form of imperialism immeasurably more destructive of human liberties than any form of alien control in modern history. The people of the United States was so strongly attached to the principle of political liberty for all peoples, and so sympathetic to the aspirations of all constructive nationalist movements, that it would strive to prevent them from being captured or distorted by the tactics of any international totalitarian movement.

29. With regard to the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, she praised the co-operative, constructive and harmonious manner in which the Committee had approached colonial problems. At the appropriate time her delegation would have observations to make on certain specific matters in part one of the report, but for the time being she would confine her remarks to the Committee's special report on educational conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was a useful adjunct to the basic report of 1950 (A/1303/Rev.1, part two), and her Government was commending it to the attention of the appropriate authorities in the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration. Generally speaking, and subject to certain minor reservations her delegation supported both the report on the Committee's draft resolution on educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2465, part one, annex II).

30. Education was fundamental to the development of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government; the Committee would therefore find satisfaction in the conclusion that substantial

progress had been registered in a number of such territories. Her Government was doing everything in its power to encourage both general and technical education in the territories under its administration. To that end education was free and compulsory, so that equality of opportunity for all social, religious and cultural groups might be assured. In the United States' view, best results could be achieved by providing that responsibility for matters of education remained at the local level.

31. Her delegation endorsed the general objectives of educational policies and programmes outlined in the report, particularly the statement in paragraph 12 that education is "an integral part of general progress, reaching the adults as well as the children and aiming at the highest possible development of the individual in the changing society of which he forms a part". In that connexion it should be stressed that education should not only be adapted to local social and cultural conditions but should be focused on the needs of the individual served; the goal should be to give everyone the type of education which best would equip him to deal with his environment. For that reason higher education, including technical training should wherever possible be available in the territory, or in nearby areas with similar social and cultural patterns. In territories where financial resources were limited or the candidates relatively few, the problem might be solved by some form of international regional co-operation. Examples of that type of co-operation were to be found in the Metropolitan Vocational Training School in Puerto Rico and the Central Medical School at Suva, Fiji, which were receiving increasing numbers of students from the Caribbean and South Pacific areas respectively.

32. It was gratifying to see what importance the report assigned to the education of women. A guiding principle of the United States, both within its own territory and in the territories which it administered, was to develop the capacities of all pupils, irrespective of sex; education was not intended to develop a certain number of people required for leadership, but all were encouraged to continue their education for as long as facilities were available and their capacities permitted.

33. Two principal facts had emerged from the Committee's discussions. First, such differences as there were had centred on questions of principle which involved an effort by some Members to extend the activities of the United Nations beyond what was specifically provided for in the Charter. That was an understandable attitude which her delegation respected, even though it could not always agree with it. The second fact, of much greater importance, was that the Non-Self-Governing Territories were making progress towards self-government; the record showed that each year they had more schools, and hospital facilities, more advances in agriculture and secondary industry, more participation and training in their own political institutions, and many other advances which were preparing the way for the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to stand firmly on their own feet when they achieved self-government.

34. The Committee had a very important role to play. It provided both an opportunity for assessing what had been achieved and what remained to be done, and a means whereby all Members might obtain information on the important matters the Committee had been established to consider. One could appreciate the attitude of those delegations who believed that

the rate of progress of dependent peoples towards self-government should be accelerated. It would certainly, however, be foolhardy if impatience were permitted to wreck the only available vehicle. The position of the Administering Members was much like that of the driver of an automobile on a modern highway. It was risky either to be too cautious and go too slowly or to be too impatient and go too fast. Her delegation recognized that proposals which seemed extreme might sometimes be no more than an effort to maintain pressure and to prevent the relaxation of effort. That kind of pressure was of value, but only if it stopped short of damaging the machinery in an attempt to drive it beyond its capacities.

35. With the mutual understanding and goodwill of all concerned dependent peoples would reach peaceful, fruitful and enduring freedom.

36. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) complimented the Committee on the spirit of conciliation and goodwill which it had displayed and which had been due largely to the efforts of the Chairman, Mr. Loomes, the representative of Australia, who had directed the Committee's work with great ability and tact. He wished also to congratulate the Secretariat on the excellent documents placed at the Committee's disposal.

37. The Government of Iraq was guided by certain fundamental principles in matters relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Charter conferred certain rights upon the United Nations and imposed certain great responsibilities, including that of promoting the welfare and progress of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and aiding them to achieve independence by freeing themselves from foreign domination. The transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter, viewed in the light of Chapter XI, would undoubtedly help the General Assembly to assess the extent to which the Administering Members were discharging their duties, and to appraise the progress made towards full self-government.

38. The work of the Committee on Information had proved extremely useful, and its existence seemed essential for the proper functioning of the General Assembly. He therefore regretted the Belgian Government's decision not to take part in the recent session of the Committee; he hoped the Belgian Government would reconsider that decision and lend its valuable assistance.

39. While it was true that the administering Powers had at times rendered valuable services to the peoples of the dependent territories, the basic question was whether the colonial system was good and necessary. When the representative of Australia had asked, at the 334th meeting, what the opponents of colonialism intended to substitute for it, he had wondered whether that representative thought colonialism a blessing or a necessary evil. There was no doubt that colonialism could not be a blessing; it was an evil, but by no means a necessary one.

40. The colonial Powers had not acquired territories through compassion for the indigenous peoples living there, but to obtain raw materials and cheap labour. It was true that a more humane concept had been evolved later in certain territories, but the colonial system was still based on ruthless exploitation and remained immoral and dangerous.

41. With reference to the report of the Committee on Information it must be admitted that the administering Powers encountered very great difficulties in

spreading education in the territories they administered. To some extent, the difficulties were the same as those encountered by the governments of the under-developed countries; but the problems varied from one country to another, and had deep roots in the historical and the psychological conditions of the people. However, evidence pointed to the fact that progress in education in territories that had gained their independence had been much swifter after independence than before. India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan provided the most recent examples.

42. His delegation was glad to note that the Committee on Information listed in its report the general principles which the Committee of 1950 had adopted. Those principles were indeed of such a general and fundamental character that they were not liable to short periodic changes.

43. A careful examination of the Committee's report disclosed appreciable progress in education during the preceding three years. He congratulated the Administering Members, particularly the United Kingdom, on the great increase in the number of entrants into universities in their territories. Furthermore, he had noted with satisfaction the increased percentage of expenditure on education in some colonial budgets. Nevertheless, that progress fell far short of the objectives fixed in 1950, which the Committee on Information recalled in paragraph 3 of its special report on educational conditions.

44. The territories should be divided into two types: those with a large immigrant European populations, and those with very little or no immigrant population.

45. In territories of the first type, education had one disturbing feature, namely, the lack of equality of opportunity between the European and indigenous populations. In 1950, the Committee on Information had emphasized that no principle was more important in education than that of equality of opportunity for all social, religious and cultural groups. Now the Committee, while admitting that some progress had been made in the matter of equal treatment, had discovered that in some territories there remained wide differences in the opportunities for learning open to various groups.

46. Before examining in detail the situation in two African territories, Morocco and Tunisia, he wished to place on record that his Government considered that those territories fulfilled all the conditions necessary to complete independence, and that none of the comments which he was about to make should be taken as an acceptance of the *status quo* there. However, since his Government's position on the political future of Tunisia and Morocco was being stated before another organ of the Assembly, he would confine himself to an examination of educational conditions and of the general situation in the two territories.

47. In paragraph 19 of document A/AC.35/L.130 it was stated that in Morocco the former European type of school was thereafter to be called the Franco-Moroccan school, and that primary and secondary Moslem schools and primary Jewish schools were thereafter to be considered Moroccan educational institutions. However, it was also stated that there had been no structural reform of the school system. The statistics resulting from the present classification of schools were somewhat difficult to read. It appeared, however, that 138,325 pupils had been enrolled in Moslem primary schools in 1951 and 53,000 non-Moroccan

pupils in the Franco-Moroccan primary and post-primary schools. As to secondary education, it was reported that 14,722 non-Moroccan pupils attended secondary schools, whereas 2,192 Moroccan pupils were enrolled in Moslem secondary schools. It might be said that some Moslem pupils attended Franco-Moroccan schools, but it appeared from page 402 of volume II of the recently published summaries of information communicated in 1952 (ST/TRI/SER.A/7/Add.1) that 53,000 non-Moroccan pupils and 163,797 Moroccan pupils were enrolled in the primary schools. It was further stated there that 14,722 non-Moroccan pupils and 6,340 Moroccan pupils were enrolled in secondary schools. The figures for higher educational institutions were even more revealing: 1,277 non-Moroccan students and 303 Moroccans were enrolled in such institutions in Morocco. Outside Morocco, the respective figures were 1,085 non-Moroccan students and 350 Moroccans. In general, therefore, only a small proportion of the indigenous population received primary education and that proportion dwindled to almost nothing at the higher educational levels.

48. In Morocco, only half of the credits assigned in 1950 for primary and secondary education (45 million francs out of 88 million) had been allocated to Moroccan children. The other half had been assigned to the sons and daughters of French residents (A/AC.35/L.128). That ratio was staggering when it was considered that the French inhabitants of Morocco formed less than one-twentieth of the total population. Only 363,000 of the 8 million inhabitants were French; the others were the indigenous and rightful inhabitants of that unhappy country. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Moroccans complained of the fact that 1,344 French students were sent from Morocco to France to study at the Moroccan taxpayer's expense, whereas only one-third of that number of indigenous Moroccans were entitled to receive some partial benefit for the taxes they had paid.

49. In Tunisia, education was more wide-spread. It was significant, however, that only 4,647 Moslem pupils out of a Moslem population of approximately 3 million were enrolled in secondary schools, that figure being practically the same as the figure for French children so enrolled. According to document A/AC.35/L.130, paragraph 31, the school system in Tunisia was such that it was hardly possible to distinguish between expenditure on education for Tunisians and expenditure on education for non-Tunisians.

50. With reference to paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 644 (VII), there was another dangerous aspect of the educational policy of some administering Powers, and that was the general imposition of Western culture and education on the indigenous peoples. The administering Powers tended to base their educational policy on the theory that, because of its inferiority, indigenous culture should be completely suppressed and replaced by the culture of the administering Power. The reasons were political: an indigenous population which had completely assimilated Western culture would not insist on political independence and would accept political association with the metropolitan States without very much resistance. In that connexion, a work entitled *On Governing Colonies*, published in London in 1947 by Mr. Walter Russell Crocker, a former United Kingdom colonial official, stated that the purpose of French policy in Africa was assimilation and that the end in view was not to turn

Non-Self-Governing Territories into independent countries but into departments of France.

51. Nevertheless, his Government did not advocate a kind of cultural quarantine for the indigenous peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Those peoples should be given the opportunity to understand cultures other than their own. Interdependence of cultures and civilizations was essential. What the Iraqi Government objected to was the arbitrary and indiscriminate way in which certain cultures were being forced on the indigenous peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Such a policy could not but be detrimental to the peoples' interests, for even those who had adopted Western ideas and ways of thinking would suffer: they would be strangers both to their own people and to the peoples whose culture and civilization they had adopted. If they were called upon to lead their country, they would not be able to do so properly because they would have lost all spiritual contact with their countrymen.

52. The Committee on Information had also considered the question of wastage in education and the parallel question of retardation in primary education. He drew the Fourth Committee's attention to paragraph 28, 29 and 30 of the report of the Committee on Information. Since that situation resulted partly from insufficiency of funds, the administering Powers should make an attempt to remedy it. His delegation hoped that the authorities of the territories would make an additional study in three years' time in the light of the Committee's comments in its report.

53. His delegation shared the views of the Indian and Indonesian representatives on women's education. There could be no doubt that women's education was the corner-stone upon which all schemes of social reform and advancement must be based, for women were the greatest educators. Education began at home, and what a mother taught her children had a more lasting influence on them than anything they could learn at school. It was therefore of the utmost importance to give women equal educational facilities. The administering Powers should make very serious efforts to that end.

54. He wished to point to some shortcomings in economic and social matters, and, in particular, to some cases of discrimination in medical care in Morocco. Although Morocco was rich in mineral and other resources, its wealth benefited the trade balance of France and not that of Morocco.

55. It was only by the participation of all Member States in the Fourth Committee's debates that the questions concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories, especially those referred to in parts (c) and (d) of item 32, could be solved satisfactorily and in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

56. The results of the study made by the Committee on Information of the question of the participation of the representatives of Non-Self-Governing Territories in its work were disappointing. The Fourth Committee must take a more effective and realistic decision.

57. His delegation would support unreservedly the Pakistani proposal (334th meeting) on the recruitment of nationals of Non-Self-Governing Territories by the Secretariats of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

58. Mr. LAWRENCE (Liberia) congratulated the Committee on Information on its report and on the atmosphere of harmony and conciliation which, ac-

according to the statements of its Chairman and Rapporteur, had prevailed throughout its session.

59. His delegation had noted with satisfaction that the Administering Members had co-operated with the Committee on Information in providing the information which was summarized in the documents before the Fourth Committee, but it regretted that the Belgian delegation, acting on the theory set forth in document A/AC.35/L.142, had considered it unnecessary to take part in debates of the Committee on Information. The Liberian Government had always maintained that, under Chapter XI of the Charter, all the Members of the United Nations were in duty bound to concern themselves with the welfare of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories from the day they signed the organic law of the Organization.

60. Among the nations represented in the General Assembly there were scarcely any which had not suffered oppression and discrimination at one period or other of their history. That being so, it was natural that all Member States should wish to do everything possible to promote the development of the dependent territories' populations in conformity with the principle of self-determination of peoples, in order that those populations might achieve a full measure of self-government as quickly as possible. His delegation had already had occasion to say that in its opinion the expression "a full measure of self-government" meant absolute independence. It therefore felt that all Members of the United Nations, administering and non-administering Powers, recognizing the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of those territories were paramount, should seek in an atmosphere of brotherly co-operation and concern to hasten the day when every human race and nation would be free to administer its own affairs.

61. Although paragraph 70 of part one of the report of the Committee on Information indicated that the urban areas were over-populated, there had been stringent reduction in the expenditure on social development. Furthermore, racial discrimination persisted in many Non-Self-Governing Territories, and corporal punishment was still applied. Such conditions were deplorable in the twentieth century and, far from representing an effort to ensure the prosperity and social welfare of the inhabitants, seemed to indicate an intention to delay their progress and development.

62. In the case of many territories the economy of the administering Powers depended largely on the territories' peoples and natural resources. In some cases the currency of the metropolitan country was worth only a fraction of that of the territory, a fact which bore witness to the work and abilities of the dependent populations. Commercial statistics for most dependent territories showed that they had extremely rich natural resources and that the exploitation of them brought enormous profits which were to a great extent used to ensure the prosperity of the metropolitan Power, leaving only the bare minimum to be spent on the welfare and progress of the local populations. It was far from clear how those populations, labouring under discriminatory measure and inequality of treatment in education, might so advance as to assume the conduct of the social and economic life of their country, even in part.

63. His delegation therefore urged the metropolitan Powers to change their attitude towards the dependent peoples. Their present policy could have only one result: hatred and bitterness; and what the world of

today needed was friendship. Everyone knew the story of Androcles and the lion. The principle it illustrated was eternal. During the lifetime of every representative on the Committee, new States had been born, others had declined and yet others had ceased to exist. Who knew what the future held for any one Member State?

64. Anxious to hear the representatives of the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and learn their reactions to the efforts to lead them to complete independence, some members of the Committee had drawn up the draft resolution set forth in paragraph 93 of part one of the Committee's report. Unfortunately that draft had finally been re-worded in such a way as to rob it of virtually all value. His delegation felt that the invitation to the metropolitan countries to attach to their delegations indigenous representatives, as worded in the original draft, had offered an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the progress made by the populations of the territories towards a full measure of self-government.

65. In paragraph 95, the Committee stated the French representative's objections to the draft resolution: he had pointed out that his delegation could not countenance the possibility that indigenous representatives from the Non-Self-Governing Territories might express before the Committee views not in accordance with the line of policy laid down by his Government. However, in some cases, administering Powers had attached indigenous representatives to their delegations to the United Nations itself.

66. In that connexion, he welcomed the Pakistani proposal concerning staff recruitment for the secretariats of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The recruitment of competent and qualified nationals of the Non-Self-Governing Territories would certainly give those concerned a grounding in international affairs, and experience which could not but help to prepare them to render even greater services to their compatriots and their countries.

67. He greatly regretted that, with a few exceptions, the information supplied about education in the Territories was not sufficiently detailed to give the Committee an adequate picture of what had been accomplished. In some territories, where there were special schools for European and for indigenous pupils, only one figure was given for expenditure on education. Hence the Committee had been unable to ascertain what had really been done to develop the education of the indigenous peoples whose fate was of particular concern to the United Nations.

68. His delegation unreservedly approved paragraph 12 of the special report on education submitted by the Committee on Information, and would support any resolution inviting the Administering Members to apply the points set forth there.

69. With regard to equality of treatment, the picture presented was rather sombre. It could be observed that in some territories children attended school for barely two years, and that compulsory education was given to all save indigenous children who, however, needed special preparation for the day when they attained a full measure of self-government.

70. With regard to the statement made at the 324th meeting by Mr. Hopkinson, the United Kingdom Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, in the Fourth Committee on 2 October concerning land claims by Africans, he found it strange that Africans should have been expelled by force from their ancestral lands. It

would have been much easier and more equitable to settle Europeans in the under-developed and under-populated areas of which the United Kingdom representative had spoken. The African was by nature very generous and quite ready to share what he owned with his brothers, of whatever colour; but he should not be asked to agree to dispossession from the land he had chosen for himself and held for centuries before the European colonists arrived. Indeed, when the first

Europeans had arrived, the Africans themselves had shown them land on which to settle.

71. He congratulated the Committee on Information once more on the spirit in which it had prepared its report. The report showed once again that self-restraint and tolerance were virtues essential to the success of any human enterprise.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.