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Chairman: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).

AGENDA ITEM 31

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/2651, A/2652, A/2653, A/2654 and Add.1 to 3, A/2655, A/2656, A/2657 and Add.1 to 4, A/2658, A/2729) (*continued*):

- (a) Information on economic conditions;
- (b) Information on other conditions;
- (c) Transmission of information;
- (d) Participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

1. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) paid a tribute to the Belgian representative for his statement at the previous meeting. The Fourth Committee should hear both sides of the colonial question and Mr. Ryckmans spoke with authority on colonial affairs in general and Africa in particular.

2. In attempting to justify his delegation's non-participation in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Belgian representative had stressed that Belgium alone was responsible for the administration of the Belgian Congo and that that Territory was not under trusteeship. The Committee on Information would fully agree. There was no question of placing the Congo under trusteeship or changing the Belgian Government's control over that Territory. The Belgian representative had also argued that his Government had an obligation to transmit information to the Secretary-General, not to the Committee on Information. That was a purely technical interpretation which could not alter the basic premise of the Charter, namely that information should be

transmitted to the United Nations and that there should be some machinery for examining it. That was all the Committee on Information was doing. The Belgian representative's arguments were, therefore, neither valid nor convincing and the question of Belgian non-participation remained unanswered. It would have been better had the Belgian representative's helpful and illuminating information been given in the proper place, i.e., the Committee on Information. He hoped the Belgian Government would reconsider its attitude.

3. There were no aborigines in any of the Arab countries. In any event the question was purely technical, since the Charter did not call on non-administering Members to assume a sacred trust with regard to the aborigines within their boundaries, whereas it did call on the Administering Members to assume such an obligation with regard to the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Since the aborigines lived within the boundaries of sovereign Member States, they fell within the domestic jurisdiction of those States and any comparison of their conditions with those of the inhabitants of the colonies would be wrong.

4. The Non-Self-Governing Territories on the other hand did not fall within the internal jurisdiction of the Administering Member. That contention was acknowledged in the Charter and supported by the freedom movements in the Territories. The European colonist had undoubtedly brought peace and progress to Africa but that fact did not justify actions that were incompatible with the desires of the indigenous peoples and the spirit of the times. The European colonizers would be serving the interests of peace and their own interests if they told the indigenous inhabitants that they would be freed from foreign domination.

5. The Belgian representative had implied that the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories would be impeded if land were withheld from European settlers. No one would object to the reasonable allotment of land to Europeans. The difficulty lay in interpreting the word "reasonable". Giving the best land predominantly to immigrants was inadvisable for the following reasons: it could be done only at the expense of the indigenous inhabitants by depriving them of fertile land for farming; it prevented the indigenous inhabitants from learning modern agricultural techniques; it retarded the economic development of the Territories by keeping down the standard of living of the indigenous population; it created social and therefore political problems in the Territory, from which the colonial Powers themselves were the first to suffer; lastly, it gave a handful of immigrant settlers an influential position quite out of proportion to their numbers.

6. Speaking as Chairman of the Committee on Information, he recalled his earlier remarks (410th meeting) on the spirit of harmony which had prevailed in the Committee. Although the various delegations had made

a number of reservations with regard to the Committee's report (A/2729), it had been supported as a whole as a co-operative effort containing general recommendations of value to the indigenous inhabitants. The Polish representative apparently felt that the Committee had carried compromise too far and had paid insufficient attention to the rights of the indigenous inhabitants. On the contrary, the Committee had been deeply concerned with those rights. Its search for common ground was an illustration of United Nations committee work at its best.

7. In endorsing the economic aims and objectives stated in part two, paragraph 17, of the report, the United Kingdom representative had said that one effect of the report might be that performance was judged against a background of abstract ideals. The Australian representative had associated himself with that comment but had expressed the belief that the Committee had been justified in approaching its work with idealism and imagination. The Administering Members could rest assured that if the idealistic and imaginative approach had been stressed in the Committee on Information, that had not been with any view to minimizing practical problems or the efforts being made to improve conditions and promote a full measure of self-government.

8. The representatives of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Poland had disagreed with many specific points in the report but they had accepted many of its underlying intentions and broad outlines. It was therefore to be hoped that, reservations having been expressed, the report as a whole would win general approval.

9. The Australian and Danish representatives had commented that many of the points in the report were not applicable to all the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and that less attention would seem to have been paid to the Pacific and Caribbean Territories than to those in Africa. In his view, the parts of the report dealing with rural economy applied to the Pacific Islands, the industrial parts to the Caribbean and the sections on development plans to the Territories as a whole. Nevertheless it might be well if in future the Committee paid more attention to the non-African Territories.

10. The French representative had expressed the view that the section on international co-operation was too brief and that insufficient attention had been given to regional organizations such as the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara. In that connexion, he drew attention to the suggestion in paragraph 127 (part two) of the report that the Administering Members themselves might provide more information on the participation of Territories in regional commissions. If that was not enough, he was sure that the Fourth Committee would give sympathetic consideration to any French proposal aimed at extending co-operation between the Committee on Information and the regional commissions.

11. The Committee on Information exercised a healthy influence. The Administering Members had paid more heed to world public opinion and accelerated the rate of progress in the dependent territories while the non-administering Members had become less visionary and more methodical. The information transmitted, the summaries prepared by the Secretariat and the friendly discussions in the Committee had all contributed to those developments. While, as representative of Iraq,

he could not agree with all the points made by the Danish representative (413th meeting), the latter's considered judgment on the Committee's work merited careful consideration. He paid a tribute to the policy and co-operation of the Danish Government and its representative.

12. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil) said that a number of arguments could be adduced to invalidate the contention that no system of international accountability existed for the Non-Self-Governing Territories. His delegation had consistently maintained that the objections raised to any action by the General Assembly on the matters covered by Chapter XI were based on a mistaken interpretation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. According to that interpretation the privilege of exclusive jurisdiction over the dependent peoples not within the purview of the Trusteeship System was safeguarded by the allegedly unilateral nature of the declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories in Chapter XI and the freedom reserved to the colonial Powers to specify the Territories to which Chapter XI should apply. That argument reduced the Charter to a contractual document, whereas it was in fact an organic instrument through which an organization had been created for specific purposes and with interests and rights of its own which transcended all others. The very idea of a unilateral declaration and hence of the establishment of obligations by unilateral consent was therefore alien to the underlying philosophy of the whole system. Article 10 of the Charter had much greater significance viewed in the light of the growth and rights of social institutions than if it were interpreted according to the classical theory of contract. The broad statutory authorization conferred on the General Assembly in that Article invalidated easy recourse to the right of domestic jurisdiction. Furthermore, Chapter XI itself prevented the right of domestic jurisdiction from being invoked in the case of Non-Self-Governing Territories by specifying the objectives of the United Nations in the colonial sector. While the extent and content of the obligation assumed by the Administering Members towards the Organization were open to question owing to the legal imprecision of Chapter XI, the existence or juridical nature of that obligation could not be challenged. If the concessions to the principle of State sovereignty embodied in the Charter were to be used generally and as a means of evading the fulfilment of obligations of statutory character, the whole system would be undermined by the idea of permanent conflicting competences and the possibility of resolving the supposed conflicts by setting the competence of national law above the competence of international law.

13. On the other hand, that basic constitutional philosophy must be translated into action in accordance with the dictates of political wisdom. It would be a grave mistake if the United Nations were tempted to use an arithmetical majority to impose on the Administering Members such a broad definition of its rights to supervise colonial administration without first eliciting their consent and co-operation. The attainment of the goals set forth in Chapter XI might be prejudiced and delayed and the United Nations discredited if the Fourth Committee did not keep within the framework of the machinery that had been granted to it to achieve its institutional aims, and if it disregarded the distinction between the provisions of Chapter XI and the provisions applicable to the Trust Territories. Realism,

however, should not be confounded with resignation. The fundamental problem was to define in terms of action and increase in terms of possibilities the Organization's ability, within the organic restrictions of the system, to implement the principles laid down in Chapter XI.

14. Considerable progress had been made in the last eight years. From the vague phraseology of Chapter XI practical significance had been given to the idea of international accountability. By compromising and building carefully the foundations of the Charter, the United Nations had set up the machinery for the implementation of Chapter XI, overcome reservations and mistrust and secured the frank co-operation necessary to the Committee on Information.

15. Much had been said about the constitutionality and terms of reference of the Committee on Information. He would gladly join in any effort to enlarge the Committee's mandate, but that would not be advisable if it were to reduce the possibilities for action that the Committee had developed under its present terms of reference. He questioned whether the time was ripe to extend the Assembly's competence to include information on political advancement. Machinery for the implementation of Chapter XI existed. If it was to produce the maximum within the technical field where it was allowed to work, there must be confidence on the part of the Administering Members and idealism and progressive anti-colonialism on the part of the non-administering Members. The growing confidence of the Administering Members and their acceptance of international co-operation, constructive criticism and comprehensive appraisals of their policies in colonial areas was proved by the statements of the United Kingdom and French representatives. It was gratifying to note that all but one of the Administering Members had participated in the work of the Committee on Information and that they considered that the Committee's analysis and conclusions would be of help to the colonial administrations. That in itself was enough to compensate the non-administering members of the Committee for the restrictions they had placed upon themselves in order to draft a report that would stress the essential points of economic policy, give directives, raise fundamental questions and win unanimous approval, without compromising on points of principle.

16. The important point was that the principle of international accountability was being fulfilled. Viewed in that light, criticism of the technical limitations imposed on the Committee on Information by its terms of reference were of little importance. The Committee's work had certainly been technical. He hoped that in the following year it would have more experts to advise it on technical problems, such as the organization of trade unions, and that it would be able to improve the standard of its technical conclusions and recommendations. Anti-colonialism could be at least as bad as colonialist paternalism. The emphasis on the technical aspects of the Committee's task was not a shortcoming because the purpose of the technical co-operation of the United Nations was to promote the well-being and political advancement of dependent peoples and create conditions favourable to self-government. If the Committee strove, within the institutional scope of the Organization, to improve the economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, it would *ipso facto* be preparing a sound political basis for self-government.

17. The Charter represented a compromise in that it implicitly admitted the concept of the colonial possession, which was in itself a violation of the right of self-determination. That compromise was made acceptable to the conscience of the contemporary world only by the definition of the goals to be served by colonization. In addition, Chapter XI was based on the fundamental assumption that the existing situations of colonial subordination were by definition transitory. The outstanding feature of that chapter was its implicit recognition that the well-being of the non-self-governing peoples was inseparable from their ultimate political emancipation from alien jurisdiction. There was a very close link between the adequate implementation of the sacred trust and the interests of international peace and security. The reference to the general objectives of the United Nations in the preamble to Article 73 and in paragraph (c) could not therefore be considered redundant.

18. He expressed appreciation of the attention paid to the Committee's report, of the spirit of frank inquiry that had prevailed during the general debate and of the understanding attitude taken by the majority of delegations with regard to the difficulties which had prevented the Committee from preparing a fuller analysis of the available information. It was hardly possible to conceive of a constructive debate on economic matters unless it led to a concise statement of trends, policies and problems. That was one, although only one, of the reasons for the continuation of the Committee on Information. The Danish representative's statement in that connexion would be useful when the renewal of the Committee's mandate was discussed in 1955.

19. The Philippine representative had suggested that the Committee on Information had failed to fulfil its mandate in the economic field, in that the draft resolutions submitted to the Fourth Committee (A/2729, part one, annex II) contained none of the substantive recommendations which the General Assembly had called for in resolution 332 (IV), and the Polish representative apparently regretted the Committee's failure to take into account the concrete problems of individual Territories. While, as Brazilian representative, he agreed with many of the comments on the large number of generalizations in the report, it should be noted that specific recommendations were in fact made in many passages, for example in part two, paragraphs 9, 10, 15, 17, 28, 29, 39 and 40. Paragraph 28 especially called for supplementary information on the *per capita* income and distribution of the national income among the various sectors of the population on the proportional increase in the standard of living and specific studies on the general level of savings and their distribution. In addition, the report had concentrated realistically on certain particular problems of agricultural development. The section on rural economy had in it a large number of recommendations on the necessity for agricultural diversification, the use of agricultural supplies, and the encouragement of local organs of self-government to direct and plan programmes of soil conservation; it emphasized the need for a revision of the land tenure system, the improvement of agricultural education and land credit, and it dealt with many other similar problems. While its phraseology was not always precise, the report represented a consensus of the views of the members of the Committee and sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly, made positive policy recommendations.

20. It must be borne in mind that the information before the Committee had been useful primarily for an analysis of a static nature, and that it had not been possible, for example, to determine the favourable or unfavourable impact of development plans. Yet despite its shortcomings the report sketched a balanced and comprehensive picture of the economic situation and the Committee had benefited from the interaction of what the United Kingdom representative had called the idealist and the empirical approaches. That method had made it possible to put forward far more detailed and concrete recommendations than would have been feasible if the Committee had undertaken the almost impossible task of summarizing every conclusion in the form of a General Assembly resolution.

21. The representatives of Denmark and Australia had suggested that the general views expressed in the report might not be applicable outside Africa and the representative of Thailand had implied that the Committee on Information should find a way of giving more detailed attention to conditions in individual Territories. It would be useful if, without abandoning its emphasis on the need to integrate colonial economies with the world economy, the Committee could consider economic problems on a regional basis. He agreed that the Committee should study individual conditions more closely and looked forward to the time when its terms of reference would be improved on that point. He felt, however, that the present report dealt with problems that were relevant to all territories. Its recommendations were directed towards the establishment of a sound policy of economic development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, which the United Nations could endorse whole-heartedly. The ultimate goal of that economic policy should be the equitable distribution of the material benefits of the economy, as expressed in the national production and national income.

22. In connexion with the points that had been made regarding possible comparisons between conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and in under-developed countries in general, he noted that certain experiences were common to under-developed countries and Non-Self-Governing Territories, as was clearly admitted in the report. The United Kingdom representative had referred to the desirability of using the Committee as a pool of information on the methods used in different countries and areas to solve similar problems. Such an interchange would, of course, be profitable to both sides. However, there were important differences between the situation prevailing in independent countries and dependent areas. Comparisons were pertinent only when they applied to the economic factors of under-development, and not when they referred to the evolutionary process towards development. The fundamental discrepancy between the two situations lay in the fact that sovereign peoples had the right to choose the means whereby they would achieve their economic development. Their subordination to economic forces was purely economic. On the other hand, the links between the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the metropolitan countries created peculiar circumstances which put the problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in a special category. Those circumstances, which in many cases originated in political subordination, were very marked in the economic field. For example, the general lines of economic policy and economic development were nearly always defined by

the metropolitan countries. In the past, there had been a serious risk that metropolitan control would result in various forms of exploitation. A more modern concept was of an international division of labour in which colonial economies were the source of raw material and primary commodities in general for the more highly developed metropolitan economy. That policy too would appear to have been largely discarded by the Governments of the Administering Members, but it was nevertheless still desirable that the General Assembly should re-emphasize, as the report did, the supremacy of the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

23. The report also showed that there were a number of influences at work artificially directing the external trade of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and their customs and fiscal systems. Although in many cases the support of the local governments was obtained for such policies, the external economic relations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were undeniably determined for the most part by the policies of the metropolitan countries. The Committee on Information had no means of deciding on the basis of the data available to it whether the result was to the advantage of the dependent peoples or not. A similar point could be made in regard to programmes of capital investment. The political subordination of a Non-Self-Governing Territory could be a help in securing large-scale public or private investment from the metropolitan country or other countries closely associated with it. If those investments were correctly controlled, they might be of great advantage to the Territory. If they were not so controlled, they might encourage a form of economic development primarily of benefit to the investing country or to elements in the Territory dependent upon the investing country. Again the Committee on Information had not had sufficient information to decide whether economic development plans were being used in the interests of the metropolitan markets and in order to improve the competitive position of certain sectors of metropolitan industry, thereby distorting the economic position of the Territories. It would be much easier to make a comprehensive analysis of plans for economic development if it was possible for example to appraise the reciprocal benefits accruing to the colonial and the metropolitan economies. Such details ought to be given in the description of economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. There were many other examples which could be given of important ways in which the economic problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories thus differed from those of independent countries, even those sharing the same natural circumstances.

24. As Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Economic Conditions, he had been much interested in the comments made on paragraph 17, part two, of the report. The Sub-Committee had regarded the objectives set forth in that paragraph as a common-sense approach to problems of economic policy, to be considered within the framework of the report as a whole rather than in isolation. The sharpest criticism had been that the statement of economic objectives made no mention of the political objective of the ultimate achievement of a full measure of self-government. The Committee on Information had thought it better to avoid a statement of that kind, on the grounds that it might be regarded as going beyond its terms of reference. It could be argued that those terms of reference excluded the

passing of recommendations on constitutional development but not the discussion of the political effects of economic, social and educational policy. His own feeling was that paragraph 17 as a whole emphasized the political as well as the economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The political objective was thus inherent in the report as a part of economic development in general.

25. A number of delegations had felt that insufficient attention had been paid to social questions such as the standards of living of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories and the part that could be played in their development by co-operative societies and community organizations. In reply, he would draw their attention to the programme of work for 1955. The Committee on Information had not neglected those matters; on the contrary, its critical appraisal of economic conditions had paved the way to a fuller discussion of social conditions at its next session and furnished an adequate background for such discussions.

26. In conclusion, he expressed his belief that the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly should approve the report, and that the work of the Committee on Information would contribute to the advancement of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

27. Mr. RAMADAN (Egypt) said that there had been a great deal of discussion on whether information should be supplied on political as well as economic, social and educational conditions. General Assembly resolution 327 (IV) on the voluntary transmission of information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories, including information on the development of self-governing institutions, recalled the statement made in General Assembly resolution 144 (II) that the voluntary transmission of such information was in conformity with the spirit of Article 73 of the Charter and should therefore be encouraged. The reference to the spirit of Article 73 of the Charter should be interpreted in the sense of the objectives of that Article, which laid down the obligation of the Administering Members to ensure the political, as well as the economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was clear that the obligation to transmit information on economic, social and educational conditions was designed to make it possible for the General Assembly to study the successive phases of the advance towards self-government. He reaffirmed, therefore, his delegation's position of principle that the transmission of political information was of essential importance.

28. It had frequently been argued by representatives of the Administering Members that conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and in the so-called under-developed countries should be compared, probably in the belief that it could be shown that greater progress had been achieved in some of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Any such comparison should not be limited simply to the rate of development but, to give an accurate picture, should cover all aspects of the problem. Moral values were sometimes of much greater importance than material ones in assessing the influence and growth of nations. Economic progress was only one link in the chain of factors determining national stature. Political freedom was the crown of the edifice of which economic progress was the foundation. He noted in passing that many Non-Self-Governing

Territories had made rapid progress in the economic sphere on receiving their independence.

29. He agreed with the representative of Syria that unless the United Nations made its fundamental aims unmistakably clear, it might find that the world which it created for the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was different from that envisaged in the Charter. The United Nations must not fail in its moral obligations; it must be worthy of the hopes placed in it by the non-self-governing peoples.

30. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) said that the representatives of France and Denmark had argued that a practical comparison of economic, social and educational conditions in specific Non-Self-Governing Territories with conditions in sovereign States in the same region would not involve any question of sovereignty. For himself, he could not understand why some European countries should persist in regarding sovereign territories in other continents in the same light as colonies. It was true that all the Non-Self-Governing Territories were under-developed and so were some sovereign territories. However, the Committee on Information did not study conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories as an end in itself, but as a means of gauging the progress of those Territories towards a full measure of self-government. The point at issue was not the development of the colonies but the influence of advances in the economic, social and educational fields on the process of attaining self-government. In the case of countries which were already sovereign States, there could be no question of such influences. Moreover, any such study would be in direct violation of their rights under the Charter. The refusal of the non-administering Powers to agree to a comparison of conditions would not deprive the administering Powers of the benefits of their experience. Analyses of development in the various fields in sovereign States were in fact made in many other organs of the United Nations and he was sure, moreover, that any administering Power which sought the advice of a sovereign State would meet with a favourable reception. All States were interested, for example, in combating one of the causes of present instability in world economic conditions, namely the low wages paid in certain of the Non-Self-Governing Territories which prevented true competition. To look at the matter from another angle, the system of colonial preferences condemned the dependent territories to engage in economic activities limited by market conditions in the metropolitan country. Thus, for example, the Non-Self-Governing Territories on the American continent were not a part of the economic system of the Latin-American sovereign States. They belonged instead to the colonial region, and their economic problems were those of other colonies rather than those common to Latin America. In that connexion, he noted that all sovereign States in Latin America were anxious to end the anomaly of colonialism on their continent. The representative of Chile had already referred to resolution XCVII adopted at the Tenth Inter-American Conference held recently in Caracas, the fifth paragraph of which expressed the sincere desire of the Latin-American States to see all Non-Self-Governing Territories emerge from their dependent status.

31. The arguments of the Belgian representative on the comparison of conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories with those obtaining in sovereign States had been of a different order. In fact, they were entirely

out of order. The Belgian representative had acknowledged that his aim in connexion with the Non-Self-Governing Territories was to prevent any compromise. He would appear to believe that a position neither for nor against the colonial Powers must be hypocritical. He had sought to attribute the resistance of Venezuela to any comparison of conditions in dependent territories with those in sovereign States to undue sensitiveness and, indeed, bad faith. Nevertheless, the Venezuelan delegation would not depart from its traditional policy of moderation. In its own contribution to the general debate, it had deliberately refrained from referring to conditions in any specific Non-Self-Governing Territory, in order to avoid recriminations and the widening of already existing differences.

32. Mr. PIGNON (France) regretted that he had not time to do more than express his disagreement with certain of the general arguments that had been advanced in the debate, notably the views put forward by the representatives of Greece and Syria, which seemed to him to rest on very slender foundations. In connexion with questions of fact, for example, the statements that had been made in regard to educational conditions in the Territories administered by France, he could do little more than state that they were due either to misinterpretation or misrepresentation. He advised his colleagues to refer once more to the official documents which were available and to the records of the proceedings of the Committee on Information.

33. On the other hand, he had been very much interested in the remarks made by the representative of Yugoslavia at the 417th meeting on certain concrete problems of transport in Non-Self-Governing Territories under French administration. His statement had been an example of a useful contribution by a non-administering Power to the study of problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In connexion with the statement of the Venezuelan representative on the suggested comparison of conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories and in sovereign States, he recalled the example of the Indian representative on the Committee on Information who had never hesitated to base his arguments on specific cases drawn from the experience of his own country in similar problems. It was co-operation of that kind which he had had in mind.

34. The representative of Pakistan had referred, in connexion with Morocco, to an article in an American magazine by Justice William O. Douglas. However, that article gave a completely false picture of conditions in Morocco. He regretted that when the representative of Pakistan had had access to the official information provided, he should have given credit to such a misinformed article. Morocco was not being "milked" by France; on the contrary, the metropolitan taxpayer was forced to bear a heavy burden as part of the price of his acceptance of France's civilizing mission. For example, between 1920 and 1953, more than one third of the expenditure under the budget had gone on capital equipment, all of which had become the property of Morocco. France had spent between 15 and 20 thousand million francs on outright gifts or low-interest loans for the modernization of Moroccan agriculture and similar projects. Aid to Morocco had also taken other forms, such as covering its foreign trade deficit or giving special preference to Moroccan goods. With regard to the allegations of racial discrimination, he stated formally that there

was no segregation of any sort in Morocco, either in law or in fact. Furthermore the number of elementary schools was not two dozen but 1,716, while there were more than half a million young Moslems attending secondary and vocational schools of various kinds.

35. In conclusion, he regretted that the Secretariat, in a desire for economy, tended to make the records of meetings too concise.

36. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) was grateful to the Belgian representative for the information he had given the Committee in his statement at the previous meeting. At the same time he pointed out that if the Belgian Government had agreed to collaborate with the Committee on Information the Belgian representative would not have been obliged to reply to so many criticisms of the administration of the Belgian Congo.

37. In reply to the Belgian representative's statement he had three observations to make. First, when in his previous speech (418th meeting) he had referred to the refusal of the colonial Powers to transmit information on political advancement in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he had not meant to imply approval of their attitude, to which that of his own delegation was diametrically opposed. Secondly, it was of relatively minor importance whether the members of the Committee on Information or of the Fourth Committee were well informed on a particular question; what mattered was that there should be agreement on essential principles. Thirdly, the Belgian representative had appeared to speak of the Belgian Congo as if it were a territory forming an integral part of the metropolitan country. Without reopening the discussion on the substance of the matter, he would merely say that the representative of a country called upon to defend part of its own territory against claims by a foreign Power would have expressed himself in exactly similar terms.

38. Mr. CALLE Y CALLE (Peru) observed that a large proportion of the population of his country consisted of indigenous inhabitants, and that Peru was proud of that fact. It felt that it was the inheritor not only of Western and Christian civilization but also of the traditions of the Incas.

39. At the previous meeting the Belgian representative, without alluding to any particular country by name, had made general references to the situation of indigenous peoples in independent countries. A great number of countries had indigenous populations, and the Belgian representative's interpretation of the Charter appeared to be that they should be obliged to provide information to the General Assembly or the Committee on Information with regard to the stage of advancement reached by those peoples. Such information was, however, freely available to all Members of the United Nations from various sources. He pointed out that Chapter IX of the Charter contained provisions concerning those peoples. The States Members of the United Nations had established the Economic and Social Council, the regional Economic Commissions, the specialized agencies and other bodies in order to assist them in promoting the well-being of all peoples.

40. The Belgian representative had asserted that the indigenous populations of certain sovereign States were not self-governing. As far as Peru was concerned, the indigenous peoples enjoyed the right to elect their own representatives and their property rights were guar-

anted by the Constitution. They were in an entirely different situation from inhabitants of a territory administered by a distant country in the government of which they had no part. The Peruvian Indians had a voice in the legislation of the country and any position, no matter how high, was open to them. Their poverty was not due to the fact that they were indigenous peoples but to the fact that they lived in a world where certain countries could fix prices to suit themselves; the problem was an economic rather than a colonial one. The Peruvian Government had done its utmost to advance the cause of the indigenous peoples. For that purpose it frequently made use of the services of the specialized agencies; the study of the problem made by the International Labour Office¹ was an example of such assistance, furnished at the request of the Governments, to Latin America.

41. He associated himself with the remarks made by the representative of Venezuela.

42. Mr. KUCHKAROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) felt that the Belgian representative had misunderstood his statement at the 415th meeting. He had not blindly condemned all the colonial Powers, but had merely, on the basis of examples drawn from the figures in the report of the Committee on Information and the reports of the Administering Members, analysed trends of development without making a separate analysis of the economic situation of each Territory. The purpose of the Belgian representative's statement had apparently been to extol the situation in the Belgian Congo and to justify the economic policy of the Belgian Government. He would not refute his assertions in detail, since the figures in the reports spoke for themselves.

43. The Belgian representative's remarks concerning the USSR representative's previous statement had apparently been based on the summary records, which were very much condensed and somewhat inaccurate. The USSR delegation had submitted a corrigendum and he would refer the Belgian representative to the final version.

44. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium), in reply to the representative of Venezuela, denied having made any offensive allusion to that representative or to his country. He would submit the full text of his statement to the representative of Venezuela and felt sure that he would be unable to find anything in it to which he could take exception.

45. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) took note of the Belgian representative's remarks, which he accepted in the friendly spirit which always characterized his delegation.

46. Mr. SHTOKALO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the Belgian representative had referred to his delegation's statement at the 415th meeting with regard to imports and exports from the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In his view the Belgian representative had confused two different ideas, i.e., the actual balance of foreign trade and the nature of exports and imports.

47. Mr. JOUBLANC RIVAS (Mexico) said that in his statement in the general debate (413th meeting) he had made no reference to the Belgian Congo. He

had pointed out deficiencies in certain Non-Self-Governing Territories, but in examining the reports of the Administering Members he had found nothing that especially deserved criticism in relation to the Belgian Congo.

48. With regard to the indigenous populations of Mexico, he would associate himself with the remarks made by the representatives of Venezuela and Peru.

49. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) said that the Belgian representative, replying to the Polish delegation's statement in the general debate (414th meeting), had alluded to figures mentioned therein showing the enormous disparity in the consumption of goods between the indigenous peoples and the overseas settlers in the Congo. He had to some extent distorted the meaning of the Polish delegation's remarks. When speaking of that disparity, the Polish representative had referred not only to imported goods but to the disparity in the consumption of all industrial articles, including imported goods.

50. He would not reply to the Belgian representative's remarks concerning the International Labour Organisation's report on the situation in under-developed sovereign States, since that subject was outside the Committee's terms of reference.

51. In reply to the Chairman of the Committee on Information and the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Economic Conditions, he said he felt that constructive criticism was helpful and necessary for the Committee's work.

52. Mr. ARENALES (Guatemala) associated himself with the replies made to the Belgian representative's statement by the representatives of Egypt and Peru.

53. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that in his statement the Belgian representative had spoken of differences between the natural aspirations of peoples who were of the same race as those of the metropolitan country and other peoples, thus by implication differentiating them from those who did not belong to the same race. He was unable to see what difference there could be in the desire of peoples to be free and to improve the conditions of their lives.

54. It was not the first time that such statements had been made in the Committee; they arose from the theory of the superiority of certain races, a theory that had long been exploded. Those who upheld such arguments were apparently oblivious to the thoughts and feelings of other races. The Belgian representative had drawn a comparison between certain independent under-developed countries and certain Non-Self-Governing Territories. The speaker wondered whether he had ever reflected that many independent countries were still struggling to free themselves from economic conditions which were the result of centuries of domination by colonial Powers.

55. It was often asserted by apologists of the old colonial system, in particular by the representative of Belgium, that the United Nations had no authority to discuss or to interfere in the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Philippine delegation had on many occasions adduced reasons why, under Article 73 of the Charter, the United Nations had authority and competence to discuss the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was an elementary rule of law that where an obligation existed

¹ *Conditions of Life and Work of Indigenous Populations of Latin American Countries*, Geneva, 1949.

there must be a correlative right on the part of others to see that that obligation was complied with. The Philippine delegation had made that clear on a number of occasions, but the supporters of the old system had never produced any convincing arguments to the contrary, nor shown any good reason why the United Nations should not have authority to discuss political advancement in the Non-Self-Governing Territories under Article 73, paragraphs a and b.

56. In reply to the Brazilian representative, he said that he appreciated the conscientious efforts made by the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Information. He had already explained why, in his view, the Committee's report, although laudable so far as it went, did not go far enough. The report mentioned certain policies planned or envisaged by some of the Administering Members as well as various problems, in particular economic problems, but it did not give any evaluation of how those policies would improve the lot of the indigenous inhabitants. He had also consistently maintained that the word "generally" in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 332 (IV) had been in-

cluded in order to cover information in the political field as well as the functional fields. He was unable to understand how members of the Committee on Information themselves could claim that that Committee had no competence to decide how policies were being translated into actual betterment of the daily life of the peoples.

57. Mr. LYRA (Brazil) said that the Belgian representative had not referred specifically to Brazil. However, since the Indian peoples of South America had been mentioned in the debate, he wished to state that Brazil also had some forest-dwelling aborigines, but they were only about 5 or 6 thousand in number, out of a population of 56 million. The Indians of Brazil were citizens on the same footing as the other inhabitants, enjoying the same civil and political rights. It was true that they lived in a somewhat primitive state, but it was hoped that in a few years they would be as civilized as any other Brazilian citizens and would take their place in the United Nations, side by side with colleagues who were citizens of the Congo.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.