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**Chairman: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).**

**Requests for hearings (A/C.4/269, A/C.4/270, A/C.4/271 (*continued*))**

1. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the requests for hearings from the Togoland Convention People's Party (A/C.4/269), the Mouvement populaire togolais (A/C.4/270) and the Parti togolais du progrès (A/C.4/271) had been circulated to members of the Committee.

*In the absence of any objection, the Committee decided to grant the requests.*

**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

2. Mr. ARENALES (Guatemala) entered his delegation's express reservations with regard to the Territory of Belize, which was mentioned under the name of British Honduras in the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2729). His delegation's participation in the work of the Fourth Committee did not imply any renunciation of Guatemala's rights to Belize or any repudiation of its protests in that connexion, which were in keeping with its traditional policy and reflected the feeling

of all Guatemalans. The historical, geographical, ethnic, juridical and other arguments on which Guatemala's claims were based were well known and he would not repeat them. He reiterated his Government's protests against the continued occupation of Belize by the United Kingdom and its reservations in respect of the United Kingdom or any other Government regarding Guatemalan sovereignty over that Territory.

3. Mr. JOUBLANC RIVAS (Mexico) restated his Government's position with regard to Belize. If the status of Belize were changed, Mexico's rights over part of the Territory would have to be taken into account.

4. Mr. CAMPOS CATELIN (Argentina) reserved his Government's position with regard to the information submitted by the United Kingdom Government under Article 73 e. The Territories on which information had been submitted included the *Islas Malvinas*, improperly known as the Falkland Islands, which had been illegally occupied by force. He reaffirmed Argentina's inalienable rights and sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, the South Sandwich Islands, South Georgia and the Argentine Antarctic, and requested the Secretariat to refer in future to the "*Islas Malvinas*", not to the "Falkland Islands".

5. Mr. BOURDILLON (United Kingdom) stated that his Government had no doubts whatsoever regarding its sovereignty over British Honduras, the Falkland Islands and the Falkland Islands dependencies. He fully reserved his Government's position in that connexion.

6. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) reminded the Committee of a proposal that he had made several years previously. Every year certain delegations made reservations concerning their Government's sovereignty over certain Territories on which information had been transmitted. Once such reservations had been expressed, they had to be renewed in order to remove any implication that they might have lapsed. Time might be saved if the Committee unanimously adopted a resolution or made a solemn affirmation to the effect that no delegation's presence at meetings of the Fourth Committee would in any way be interpreted as a renunciation of rights claimed over any Territory or a recognition of the sovereignty of any other State over such a Territory.

7. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) felt that the Belgian suggestion would amount to casting doubt on the right of delegations to express any reservations their Governments might consider necessary concerning certain Territories that were still non-self-governing.

8. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) and Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) asked the Belgian representative not to insist on his suggestion, which might well give rise to lengthy discussion.

9. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that he would not press his proposal at that juncture, but he suggested

that the representatives of the various delegations which were obliged to make reservations should meet and see whether they could not find a formula which would obviate that necessity.

10. Mr. BOURDILLON (United Kingdom), replying to criticism of the United Kingdom amendments incorporated in draft resolution A, on educational advancement, in annex II of part one of the report of the Committee on Information (A/2729), said that his delegation was giving the matter further study.

11. His Government had been gratified by the co-operative and friendly spirit prevailing in the Committee on Information and had been glad to see that the Brazilian Government, as well as a number of Administering Members, had attached an economic expert to its delegation.

12. His Government accepted the report as a general expression of the views of the Committee on Information and would transmit it to the Governments of the United Kingdom Territories for their consideration. It whole-heartedly endorsed the fundamental aim of economic policy in the Non-Self-Governing Territories defined in part two, paragraph 17, and the very full statement of concrete objectives given in the same paragraph, although those objectives might not always be compatible in practice. At the previous meeting, the Brazilian representative had drawn a distinction between the idealistic and the empirical approach. He wondered whether the difference was really great. The carrying out of policies or principles in terms of practical situations was a universal problem.

13. It was regrettable that the report failed to give any guidance based on evidence of the way in which similar problems were being tackled elsewhere, although it did contain a recognition that the problems confronting the Non-Self-Governing Territories were worldwide and not confined to those Territories alone. He was not speaking in any spirit of criticism. His Government realized that it and the Governments of the United Kingdom Territories had a very difficult and complex job, that much remained to be done and that many difficulties still confronted them; they were always ready to learn. Nevertheless, the standards for the administering Powers had to be the efforts of others who were attempting to do a similar job in similar circumstances. It was only against that background that his Government could feel satisfied that criticisms of its performance were well founded or could draw from those criticisms practical encouragement and guidance for the future. If that standard were not applied, the inevitable result would be to judge performance against a background of abstract and unattainable ideals, a process bound to lend an air of unreality to conclusions reached and even, in some cases, to vitiate judgments. That defect could be detected in places in the Committee's report.

14. The Committee had been disturbed to find that, with few exceptions, the Non-Self-Governing Territories were among the countries which might be classified as under-developed. That was hardly surprising since the majority of the Territories, and certainly all those in Africa, had started the process of development long after other countries, some of which were still under-developed, had embarked on it. It was interesting to speculate how much more undeveloped those Territories would be if the administering Powers had not, at a late stage in history, arrived on the scene. Efficacy of policy had to be assessed in terms of rate of advance and not by reference to the degree to which the Non-Self-Gov-

erning Territories still fell short of ideal standards. A comparison between revenue, import and export figures for 1934 and the corresponding figures for 1954 would not discredit the Non-Self-Governing Territories in any comparable company.

15. In paragraph 118 of the report on economic conditions it was urged that more vigorous action should be taken to provide rural credit to farmers of good local repute even though they could not offer as guarantees the formal securities normally required in banking practice. The Governments of the United Kingdom Territories were very much alive to the problems of agricultural credit under conditions where traditional systems of land tenure, for example, hampered the use of normal forms of security and they had been actively exploring the possibilities of extending co-operative credit on the lines indicated in the report. Recommendations for more vigorous action, however, could hardly be considered in the abstract. Anyone with experience of the problem knew the dangers of encouraging thriftlessness and bringing the whole credit movement into disrepute, which arose from trying to go too fast. It would have been interesting, therefore, to have had some evidence of an exchange of ideas on the way in which the same problem was being dealt with in other areas with similar conditions.

16. There was ample evidence to show that it was not true of the United Kingdom Territories to suggest, as paragraph 80 suggested, that a low priority was attached to agricultural services and agricultural education. As for the suggestion that more attention should be paid to agriculture in institutes of higher education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, Makerere College was developing its school of agriculture with a view to introducing degree courses either in addition to or in replacement of the existing diploma course; arrangements had been made for degree courses in agriculture at the University Colleges of the Gold Coast and Ibadan and additional training schemes for agricultural instructors were being established particularly in Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia and Kenya. In Kenya the employment of women instructors had proved particularly successful. It would have been interesting to know how the programme of government agricultural services, with the inevitable burden of recurrent expenditure which the expansion of those services threw on limited budgets, was being tackled in essentially similar areas. The report itself admitted that there could be no ideal or theoretical level of adequacy which could be applied indiscriminately.

17. Some members of the Committee on Information considered that the information requested of the Administering Members and transmitted by them did not provide a picture of the economy of the Non-Self-Governing Territories sufficient to enable the Committee to make a "dynamic analysis" of their economic development (A/2729, part two, para. 4). His Government, besides providing full information in accordance with its obligations under Article 73 e, had always done its best, by attaching experts to its delegation and by its contribution to the discussions in the Committee, to give practical co-operation and to provide the Committee with any additional information it required.

18. The report rightly said that planning and programming for economic development required reliable and up-to-date statistics. That was another matter to which his Government and the Governments of the United Kingdom Territories had devoted close attention over a number of years. The considerable progress

achieved should be assessed, not in the light of ideal standards, but in the light of practical difficulties and practical achievements in the world as a whole. The first essential was the establishment of government statistical departments and their staffing by trained personnel. During the past four years the number of qualified statisticians working in the United Kingdom had increased by more than 50 per cent. New departments had been set up in the smaller Territories and assisted in the early stages by staff from the expanding departments in the larger Territories and experts from London. African officers from the United Kingdom Territories had attended the African Training Centre for Agricultural Statistics held in 1953 in Nigeria under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization. Members of the staff of Governments of United Kingdom Territories had also attended seminars arranged by the World Health Organization and the International Labour Office. Many statisticians had attended United Kingdom universities for advanced training and courses had been started at the University College of the West Indies and the University of Malaya.

19. He went on to outline the results achieved. During the past ten years population censuses had been taken in twenty-eight United Kingdom Territories. Techniques for improving the knowledge of age distribution and rates of birth and death were constantly being improved. The United Nations *Demographic Yearbook, 1953* contained a table classifying the quality of population statistics for the whole world. About 80 per cent of the United Kingdom Territories were in the complete census category; such territories as Basutoland, British Guiana and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands fell in the same category as the United States, India or the United Kingdom. Only five United Kingdom Territories fell in the partial census category, and in only two were population figures merely conjectural. In those two Territories, the nomadic life of a great proportion of the people made census-taking exceptionally difficult and it was not surprising to find that neighbouring territories fell within the same category. In all United Kingdom Territories in the Western Hemisphere, with the exception of the Falkland Islands, the statistics relating to births were classified as complete.

20. In many other statistical fields, especially the development of sample surveys for agricultural purposes, the work in United Kingdom Territories was in the forefront of new techniques. His Government had been giving much thought to the difficult technical problem of assessing national income in Territories which had not yet fully developed an exchange economy. Estimates of varying kinds had recently been made in Malaya, Kenya, the Gold Coast, Cyprus, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and many of the Caribbean Territories. Especially interesting work had been done in Nigeria by members of the Department of Applied Economics of the University of Cambridge, working under the auspices of the Colonial Economic Research Committee—a good example of the kind of technical assistance furnished by his Government to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The national income as estimated in that study was approximately £20 per head, a figure which was reasonably close to the corresponding estimates for India and more than twice some of the pre-war guesses for West Africa, even when adjusted to existing price levels.

21. The report referred to the necessity of full integration of economic development policy with the policy of fitting the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories

for self-government. That was his Government's policy. The development plans of United Kingdom Territories had been prepared on local initiative, designed to meet the needs of all sections of the community and carried out in co-operation with the people themselves at all levels. Particular attention was being devoted to the encouragement of spontaneous initiative by the people in promoting their own betterment through the policy of devolution and self-help known as community development. A study of the United Kingdom record in that matter would dispel the fear apparently felt by some members of the Committee on Information that development programmes might in some cases be designed mainly to profit only some of the inhabitants or even interests outside the Territories.

22. The full information transmitted by the United Kingdom Government under Article 73 e might encourage the belief that it had the sole determining voice in the various fields of economic policy in the United Kingdom Territories. In fact, such matters were increasingly in the hands of Ministers responsible to their own elected legislatures. The growth of systems of ministerial responsibility throughout the United Kingdom Territories was a continuous process. It was against that background that his Government had to consider such objectives as removing the obstacles to economic development by modifying where necessary the basic structure of the economy, mentioned in paragraph 17 of the report on economic conditions. The problem of balanced development set out as an objective in subparagraphs (f) and (h) of paragraph 17 and dealt with more fully in paragraphs 37 and 38 was one which had occupied the continuous attention of the United Kingdom Government and the Governments of the United Kingdom Territories in all their development policies. The problem was world-wide and it would have been particularly fruitful to hear how it had been dealt with elsewhere.

23. In fiscal terms the problem was one of recurrent expenditure. That aspect of the matter was touched on in paragraph 39. The post-war period had on the whole been favourable to primary producers and that had brought financial benefit to most of the United Kingdom Territories. The situation was not, however, without its dangers. Apart from the danger of inflation, there had been the danger that a too rapid immediate expansion of services might lay upon Governments an insupportable burden of recurrent expenditure in less prosperous years. That would be highly inimical to the growth of that financial self-reliance which was inseparable from true political progress. In many cases, therefore, the Governments of the United Kingdom Territories had attempted to put aside funds both to ensure the continuity of capital development in the future and to help to meet the recurrent costs of expanding services. The same philosophy of helping the Territories to help themselves underlay the grants which had been made from United Kingdom funds for development in the United Kingdom Territories. That assistance amounted to £140 million over the years 1946-1956 and proposals for continued assistance would shortly be laid before the United Kingdom Parliament.

24. The process of planning for the future had been aided in a number of cases by the introduction of a separate capital budget to which systematic contributions were made from revenue and to which the proceeds of export duties had in some cases been devoted. His Government endorsed the Committee's views on the

importance of encouraging progressive direct taxation. That form of taxation was on the increase in the United Kingdom Territories. On the other hand, the export tax, which was not inequitable in Territories consisting largely of peasant producers with a fairly uniform income level, still had an indispensable role to play in some places, provided that the proceeds were used as far as possible in the way that he had indicated. In some cases, a steeply graduated export tax had been introduced: the incidence was heavier when the price of the product was very high but it diminished or disappeared altogether when the price fell below a certain level. That kind of tax was essentially connected with the financing of long-term capital development in times of fiscal prosperity.

25. One of the purposes of the separate capital budget was to keep the development programme before the eyes of the legislatures and the people and to show it as something which demanded systematic effort and support rather than as something which could be put on paper and then left to fend for itself. That or any other system of development finance was very much a matter for the Governments and legislatures of United Kingdom Territories themselves. The main role of his Government was to advise as best it could in the light of varying circumstances.

26. Funds laid aside by such means were not used solely for direct government expenditure through the budget in succeeding years. They were also used for investment by autonomous public bodies such as development corporations. The Uganda Development Corporation, for example, which was a product of local initiative, had successfully promoted a number of industries designed to broaden the basis of the economy and to benefit the whole people of the Protectorate. Finally, possibilities were being explored of increasing the use of government and produce board funds, as well as the funds of such institutions as savings banks, for investment in local publicly issued securities, thereby encouraging the growth of securities markets wherever possible. The process of capital formation, which was fundamental to all economic expansion and of great political importance, was therefore going on in the United Kingdom Territories. In that connexion, he endorsed the observations in paragraph 41 of the report.

27. He went on to discuss priorities in the field of economic development in United Kingdom Territories with particular reference to the relation between agriculture and industry. It was not true that the key to the development of under-developed agricultural communities lay simply in a rapid process of industrialization and that all that was required was an influx of capital for that purpose. In a report<sup>1</sup> to the Gold Coast Government on the development of secondary industries in that country, Professor Arthur Lewis, a distinguished economist and a native of the British West Indies, had emphasized that the way to promote industrialization was to lay the foundation it required by taking vigorous measures to raise food production per person in agriculture. That was widely true the whole world over. Hence, any examination of the steps being taken to improve economic conditions in undeveloped territories had to concentrate on the steps being taken to improve agricultural production by increasing the area of land under cultivation and the production per acre.

<sup>1</sup> See W. Arthur Lewis, *Report on Industrialisation and the Gold Coast*, Accra, Government Printer, 1953.

28. Much basic work on soil surveys, conservation, drainage and irrigation was being carried out in the United Kingdom Territories. For example, £3 million had been made available by the United Kingdom Government for pilot schemes to investigate the possibilities of developing rice production during the next three years; surveys were being undertaken of land which might prove suitable, new strains of rice developed and experiments made with new mechanical methods. An example of a planned scheme for land utilization was that being undertaken, at a cost of some £900,000, in an area of some 150 square miles in the Gold Coast. It involved the construction of contour banks and other mechanized conservation methods, the provision of adequate water supplies, the development of new forests, the improvement of natural pasture, the resettlement of population in areas more suitable for agriculture and the development of a carefully planned system of mixed farming.

29. Work was also being done to develop agricultural machinery which could be adapted for use by peasant farmers, often working in co-operative groups. An advisory group had been formed in London with the object of placing at the disposal of local farmers, through their own departments of agriculture and extension services, the up-to-date developments in that field. Territories learned from each other too; the Secretary of State's technical advisers travelled many thousands of miles each year.

30. All the fundamental research work which was being done would, however, be useless unless the peasant farmer could be persuaded to make use of the new techniques. The work of the Northern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture illustrated the recognition of the prime importance of improving peasant farming methods. There were extension services based on over twenty small agricultural stations which had encouraged the growing of rice, groundnuts, beans and cotton. Peasant farming schemes aimed at establishing permanent African farming communities on a tenant farming basis. Agricultural education was provided at three African training schools. Under the Improved African Farming Scheme a bonus was paid to African farmers who carried out the Department's recommendations for improvement. Nearly half the arable land occupied by African farmers had been protected against soil erosion by contour ridging.

31. Effective land utilization must indeed be the guide to land policy everywhere. In the United Kingdom Territories, as elsewhere, the pioneer in that field had often been the immigrant settler. Due weight had been given to that fact in paragraphs 78 to 92 of the 1951 report of the Committee on Information (A/1836, part three), where it was stated that well managed estates in the hands of external investors or the well-established descendants of immigrant communities made an important contribution to the prosperity of the Territories. That conclusion was relevant to the remarks in paragraph 69 of that Committee's latest report. Nothing could be more disastrous for the future of African agriculture than the wholesale withdrawal of such settlers. Immigrant settlers, by bringing under efficient cultivation areas of land which had previously been left idle, had brought increased prosperity and stability for the whole population, and were still doing so. True, that had led to a rise in population which had put increased pressure on the land, but the solution was to improve standards of farming as a whole.

32. In Kenya, for example, the Government had provided £3 million for an African land utilization and settlement organization, on which the Agriculture Department was represented, and which had been set up to tackle the problem of erosion in African areas. Remedial measures included contour terracing, the introduction of mixed farming, the planting of trees or grass on slopes too steep for cultivation, the encouragement of the sale of surplus livestock and the carrying out of surveys for water supplies in new areas and for land reconditioning schemes. Over fifty schemes had been started. As a result of a decision announced in December 1953, the United Kingdom Government was providing a further £5 million for the development of African agriculture in Kenya during the next few years.

33. In Uganda, the Government of the Protectorate was providing the money for a scheme to resettle people from over-populated areas on new land. Settlement in the new area had begun in 1946. Those African settlers, who numbered over 15,000, had received much help in the early stages in the form of seed and implements, and roads, schools and medical dressing stations had been built. The settlers grew their own food and enough groundnuts, sunflowers, maize and potatoes to sell in other parts of Uganda. At the same time the pattern of cultivation in the formerly over-populated area had been reorganized.

34. One of the most difficult problems in the improvement of land utilization was the combination of modern farming methods with traditional systems of land tenure. A solution in accordance with African ideals seemed to be the introduction of group farming systems, and many experimental schemes of the kind were being undertaken, the success or failure of which might do much to establish the pattern of future rural society in Africa.

35. Turning to the development of new industries in the United Kingdom Territories, he observed that the connexion with agriculture was a close one and that one of the ways in which new industries could be financed was through the proceeds of increasing agricultural production, as was being done, for instance, in Nigeria and Malaya.

36. Industrial development corporations were the most direct method by which the Government assisted programmes of industrialization. Those set up in the United Kingdom Territories followed no uniform pattern but were devised by local governments to meet local needs. Examples of such bodies were the Uganda Development Corporation, the Northern Rhodesia Industrial Loans Board and the Gold Coast Industrial Development Corporation.

37. One of the most important ways in which the Governments of United Kingdom Territories were assisting in the financing of industrial projects was the provision of the basic services upon which all development depended. In general, and especially in Africa, there was a shortage of power; neither oil nor coal were found in abundance in the United Kingdom Territories. Special attention was therefore being given to the development of hydroelectric power. At the same time constant work was being done to improve other basic facilities such as ports, roads and railways. Such work was essential if the foreign investor was to be attracted. Despite the steps being taken to encourage local investment and capital formation in the United Kingdom Territories, foreign investment was still as essential as ever, as it was in all developing countries.

In the United Kingdom Territories, investment from all sources was welcomed, but the task of attracting it was not an easy one. It had been calculated that if the money invested in the British Territories during the past fifty years had instead been invested in Government securities, the return to the investor would have been about the same. He mentioned the fact in order to dispel any belief that the main purpose or effect of economic development in United Kingdom Territories had been to fill the pockets of the overseas investor, British or otherwise. The problem and need of foreign investment were exactly the same as in all developing countries. The purpose of Governments in encouraging such investment was to broaden the basis of the economy and to benefit the whole people. It was with that object in view that concessions were granted, on the lines indicated to the Committee on Information by the United Kingdom representatives, for the establishment of new industries. As mentioned in paragraph 28, it was in Territories where investment had proved most profitable to the metropolitan investor that the standard of living of all the inhabitants had risen most.

38. With reference to the subject of external trade, the report recognized that what it described as mercantilist practices were not being pursued by the administering Powers, but the impression appeared to persist that the economies of Non-Self-Governing Territories might be unduly bound to those of the metropolitan countries, though it was recognized that the former found it advantageous for their production to be supported by an assured outlet on the metropolitan market. Some figures given by the United Kingdom representatives to the Committee on Information would put that matter in its true perspective. In 1953, only 36 per cent of the value of the exports from the British Territories went to the United Kingdom, which in turn provided 34 per cent of the imports. With regard to the statement in paragraph 105 of the report that policies were followed in respect of customs duties which favoured the metropolitan country, it should be noted that in cases where the metropolitan country enjoyed some preference for its exports, reciprocal preferences were normally afforded to the exports of the Territory. That pattern was one which the United Kingdom Territories were anxious to maintain.

39. In paragraph 106 of the report it was stated that exchange control policies were combined with customs policies mainly with a view to improving the balance of payments, but with the ultimate effect that the Territories' purchases were channelled in directions primarily benefiting the currency area to which they belonged. Exchange control policies in the United Kingdom Territories, as in the United Kingdom itself, were pursued with the sole object of improving the balance of payments position of the sterling area. The sterling area was the largest single currency group in international trade, and membership of that system was of immense benefit to the United Kingdom Territories.

40. He referred to the suggestion made in paragraph 40 of the report that the possibility of obtaining funds from public lending institutions, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, should be examined further. For a number of years the United Kingdom Government had been in close contact with the International Bank, and every endeavour had been made to interest the Bank in investment in the United Kingdom Territories. Those endeavours had met with a ready response and the only

reason why more loans for suitable projects in those Territories had not been made available was that in recent years shortage of capital finance had not on the whole been the main limiting factor in the prosecution of development projects in the Government sector. That consultation continued both in the field of loan finance and in that of technical assistance. International Bank missions to give expert advice on economic development had been sent, at the request of the Governments of the Territories, to Jamaica, British Guiana, Nigeria and Malaya.

41. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) said that the most powerful movement which characterized the twentieth century was that for liberation and independence. He could not but be surprised by the fact that Europeans, who had invented nationalism, should wish to deny it to the peoples of Asia and Africa. Such a double standard had never appeared either logical or justifiable to Asians and Africans and had given rise to the belief in European hypocrisy. The matter was, however, no longer entirely in the hands of Europe. The fire of independence was sweeping over Asia and Africa; the debates in the United Nations on colonial affairs were a measure of the force of that great movement.

42. The existence and achievements of the Committee on Information were yet other measures of that force. The Government of Iraq was a firm believer in the value of the work of that Committee in assisting the General Assembly. Hence during the two years of its membership of the Committee the Government of Iraq had consistently accepted a conservative view of its terms of reference and had endeavoured to seek agreement with the Administering Members on the lines laid down in General Assembly resolution 333 (IV).

43. Members would remember that Belgium had not been represented on the Committee on Information for the past two years. The thesis maintained by the Belgian Government with reference to the obligations contained in Chapter XI of the Charter was well known. He pointed out that the communication addressed to the Chairman of the Committee the previous year (A/AC.35/L.142) had given as a specific reason for the absence of Belgium the General Assembly resolution 637 (VII) concerning self-determination and the Assembly's decision to place that resolution on the agenda of the Committee on Information. That resolution had not, however, been discussed by the Committee either in 1953 or in 1954. The continued absence of Belgium might therefore be described as extraordinary. Its consequence had been that the information on conditions in the Belgian Congo (A/2652) had had to be interpreted without the assistance of a Belgian representative. That situation was all the more regrettable since the information had reached the Secretary-General at a late date. In view of the stubborn absenteeism of a European country of 8 million responsible to the United Nations for the progress of 12 million Africans a declaration of economic independence for Non-Self-Governing Territories might not be inappropriate.

44. The Iraqi delegation had viewed with alarm a tendency to use the Committee on Information in a restrictive way. It was not the function of the Committee to stifle justified criticism of colonial administration.

45. The Iraqi delegation had supported the adoption of the special report on economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and would vote for its approval by the General Assembly.

46. There was another provision of resolution 332 (IV), however, to which insufficient attention was sometimes paid: the invitation to the Committee to examine "in the spirit of paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 1 and of Article 55 of the Charter, the summaries and analyses of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter on the economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories." In his delegation's view the Committee should draw attention to any particular points of difficulty suggested by the examination of the information on particular Territories. At the Committee's 1954 session some action of that nature had been taken. Questions had been asked of the Administering Members relating to the information furnished on a number of Territories, and most of the points raised had been elucidated. If difficulties still remained, at least an exchange of information had taken place which had thrown light on certain situations. He thanked the delegations of the administering Powers which had given that assistance. In the meantime he strongly urged that that function of the Committee on Information should receive greater attention.

47. Of particular significance were the questions of principle that arose in Territories where immigration from the metropolitan States had taken place. The report on economic conditions paid some attention to those problems, but, as was inevitable in an agreed report, some of the more serious issues were not treated with the earnestness they demanded. In that connexion the special report on economic conditions showed an obvious desire to avoid any particular emphasis on the interests of the indigenous inhabitants. It had been repeatedly explained that the Administering Members were responsible for the welfare of all the inhabitants, whatever their origin, and suggested that for the United Nations to speak of the paramount interests of the indigenous inhabitants showed disregard for the legitimate interests of the immigrants who were contributing to the development of the Territories. He had not thought it appropriate in the Committee on Information to voice his doubts on the validity of such arguments. In the Fourth Committee, however, he could not help pointing out that there were still cases in some parts of the world in which the interests of non-indigenous inhabitants were regarded as paramount. In that connexion he quoted from a speech made by the Minister of Economic Affairs of the Union of South Africa, as reported in the *London Times* of 21 September 1954, declaring that the interests of white inhabitants should be the paramount consideration. When such statements could be made, it was time for the General Assembly to return to the principles of the Charter and emphasize the paramount importance in Africa of the African inhabitants.

48. Reference to that matter was made in the Committee's report on economic conditions, specifically in connexion with land problems. The information before the United Nations suggested that in Territories such as Kenya, Morocco and Tunisia, much of the more valuable land was in the possession of immigrant communities and that the economic policies applied gave special advantages to those communities.

49. The Secretariat's report on land distribution in Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/AC.35/L.158) contained an interesting description of activities undertaken by the administering Powers in connexion with the use, development and settlement of land, but little

information on measures taken to relieve the land hunger in Territories where large areas of land had been alienated to immigrant settlers. The report on economic conditions and problems of development (A/1836, part three) approved by General Assembly resolution 564 (VI) in 1951 had attempted to deal with the question in a very general form. It contended that where estates were not efficiently operated the authorities should redeem them or take steps to improve matters. The report also stated that where the local agricultural populations had a need for land which could not otherwise be satisfied, or where the establishment of a healthy rural population depended on the acquisition of estate lands, suitable and equitable steps to purchase and make available the necessary land should be taken. The Committee had also drawn attention to cases where large areas of land were still held by non-indigenous interests and were not being exploited to any beneficial degree, and cases of estate cultivation the extent of which might create social tension between classes or races. The information on which the 1951 report had been based was provided in a special study by the Secretariat (A/AC.35/L.50) which gave figures showing the distribution of land among the different ethnic groups in Africa. The figures indicated some situations which, as history had proved, had created social tensions.

50. Attention had frequently been drawn to the contribution of immigrant communities to the economic progress of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Figures could be produced showing that the production on land owned by the immigrants was higher than that on African-owned land, and that external trade had expanded with the expansion of production by the immigrants. Those figures were in no way conclusive. They begged the question of the extent to which the best land had been acquired by the immigrants and the agricultural and economic policy of the Territories operated in their favour.

51. In keeping with its attitude in the past the Iraqi delegation would support the adoption of the latest report on economic conditions contained in part two of document A/2729. Nevertheless he felt obliged to observe that the future of immigrant communities in Africa was bound up with the recognition that those communities could not retain a place of privilege in the newly expanding nations. Unless situations of privilege and discrimination were remedied, the immigrant communities would find themselves opposed by irresistible national forces. Paragraph 69 of the report had been drafted with that idea in mind.

52. But besides those problems, the Committee had debated other and almost equally important problems in the economic field: the problems of the standard of living, public finance, and development plans. A quick review would reveal a series of deficiencies and shortcomings that were not always consonant with the claims of progress made by the colonial Powers. That state of affairs was the result of a long process of development, beginning with the opening up of many parts of the world by Western European enterprise. That had been a considerable achievement. Capital and skill had been brought to a number of Territories and many of the basic conditions for economic development had been created through the construction of roads, railways and ports, the introduction of power and modern methods of cultivation. At the same time, that economic development had in many cases disturbed the social pattern in the Territories and could only be justified in so far as

it tended to raise the standards of living of the indigenous population and to create conditions in which their legitimate social and national aspirations could be attained. The situations which arose differed widely. In some rare instances enterprise in the ports or in mines might be introduced by the metropolitan country with metropolitan or foreign capital, staff and labour. Such entirely non-indigenous production was of service to the Territories only if a substantial part of the profits earned were received in the local treasury for the benefit of the indigenous population. In a much larger number of cases economic development used indigenous labour but remained under the direction of immigrants from the metropolitan country or from similar countries, and operated chiefly for the advantage of groups in the metropolitan countries. Such economic development created so much social tension and, in multiracial societies, so many race and class conflicts that the contribution it made to the local budgets might be totally inadequate to meet the corresponding costs of economic strain and social resentment. Thirdly, there were cases in which the economic enterprise was non-indigenous, the main direction was in the hands of foreigners, the main profits left the country, but a few of the indigenous inhabitants took part with some small profits to themselves. It was then asserted that conditions of progress and equal opportunity existed, but in reality the situation was often far less satisfactory. The emergence of an indigenous so-called élite geared to the needs of the encroaching Western economy was not an application of the principle of the paramountcy of the interests of the indigenous inhabitants. The administering Powers should provide not merely figures of increased exports, the increased production of goods handled by European firms and the extension of a monetary economy, but a description of the extent to which the native economy was being developed so that the inhabitants would profit from the vastly increased means of production now available.

53. The Iraqi delegation felt with concern that, while the Committee on Information had proved its value in producing general reports on economic, social and educational problems, it had not yet found a way to examine the Secretary-General's summaries of information on individual Territories in the same spirit of constructive inquiry.

54. The question of the continuation of the Committee would be considered by the General Assembly in 1955. The Iraqi delegation considered that it should be continued but felt that the Fourth Committee might have to consider the adoption of complementary procedures which would enable it to pay more attention to the particular problems of the different Non-Self-Governing Territories.

55. The development within the United Nations of co-operation in giving effect to Chapter XI of the Charter was one of the most important features of the work of the Fourth Committee. Its purpose, however, must become clearer as progress took place in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Fourth Committee would increasingly have to take account of separate situations. The non-colonial members offered their help and co-operation; they had the right to expect co-operation from the colonial members, and an acknowledgment of the spirit of the age. With that, much could be done to solve one of the most serious problems in the world; without it, the vast and dynamic subject territories

would be plunged into an era of anarchy and violence such as had not been seen for several centuries.

56. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) said that economic and social questions and questions concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories constituted the two fields in which United Nations action was recognized to be most effective. In both, that action took the form of long-term measures designed to secure gradual progress and continuing evolution.

57. It was pertinently stated in the Secretary-General's report to the ninth session of the General Assembly (A/2663) that the complex problems of the areas inhabited by non-self-governing peoples called for a balance between vision and restraint; while on the one hand the fundamental right to self-determination was recognized, it was also a fact that the exercise of self-determination might be self-defeating if not wisely and carefully prepared. The Secretary-General had added that the manner in which the issues involved were dealt with would have a serious bearing upon the future course of world events. At the 487th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, held on 4 October 1954, the Chairman of the Venezuelan delegation had said that the Charter offered a means of securing the legitimate development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, through their economic, social and educational advancement, which was bound in due course to lead to political advancement. For the time being, it might be more effective for Member States to concentrate on strengthening those bases for political well-being. The views of the Secretary-General and of the Chairman of the Venezuelan delegation thus coincided in substance and purport. Both recognized, in fact, that it was useless to deny or to conceal that any analysis of economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories inevitably had a political purpose, inasmuch as such conditions might on occasion constitute a threat to peace, or at least a flaw in that universal well-being which, according to Article 55 of the Charter, was necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The interest of the United Nations in economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories lay precisely in the influence which such conditions might have upon the progress of the peoples of those Territories towards their rightful political destiny.

58. It would appear, however, that the Secretary-General's warning in regard to "vision" applied most to the political side. It was perhaps visionary to devote more energy to drawing attention to problems than to solving them, to recrimination rather than to co-operation. It must be admitted that in the early years, debates on the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Fourth Committee had had such a visionary tone. Their results had been largely negative, but certain benefits had also been produced. First among those negative results had been the lengthy debates which had arisen out of divergent interpretations of the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. One effect of that approach had been that opinions became irreconcilably divided over abstract points, with unfortunate consequences for all, and particularly for those most directly affected. Nevertheless, the spirit of the age had also had its effect. Thus, the Administering Members had paid some heed to world opinion and accelerated the rate of progress in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, while the non-administering Powers had gradually grown less visionary and more

methodical. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had exerted a healthy influence towards a greater maturity of attitude among the non-administering Powers.

59. The Committee on Information had also been responsible for the formation of a new and tacitly accepted understanding of the "sacred trust" upon which Chapter XI was based. That sacred trust was not restricted to the Administering Members alone. Thus, the visionary enthusiasm of the non-administering Powers was gradually yielding to a sense of responsibility. The restraint of maturity had tempered their previously purely idealistic tone. Much of the change was due to the methods adopted by the Committee on Information, which each year gave the Fourth Committee a new specific direction for its debates, thus diverting its idealism into useful and practical channels. It would be well for the Fourth Committee to follow the Committee on Information's example and to concentrate each year on one specific aspect of the general problem of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, though not, of course, to the exclusion of all other aspects. There had even been proposals that the Committee on Information should specialize still further. For example, the United States had proposed in the Committee on Information that in 1955 the Committee should pay special attention to housing, Guatemala had proposed that it should consider the question of technical assistance in public health, and the United Kingdom that it should study the social effects of urbanization and industrialization.

60. The task of analysing economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories could by no means be termed a secondary one. According to Article 55 of the Charter, the United Nations undertook to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development, as well as to secure the self-determination of peoples.

61. The Latin-American countries which had won their freedom in the nineteenth century had mortgaged a great part of their wealth to do so, and had been subject for many decades to foreign monopolists. It was to be hoped that the twentieth century colonies still awaiting their freedom would not have to go through such hard times after they had won it as the countries of Latin America. If they were suddenly to find themselves independent, the United Nations would have to see that they were provided with an immediate market for the raw materials which they produced, if the low standard of living of their inhabitants was not to decline still further. That was one of the factors which demanded the restraint spoken of by the Secretary-General.

62. In general the economic situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was marked by labour shortages and inadequacies, a low volume of capital, inadequate transportation systems, a small domestic market, a limited availability of capital goods and limited bargaining power (A/2729, part two, para. 24). Paragraph 112 of part two of the report said that the question of the exports of Non-Self-Governing Territories raised the problem of the preference given on the markets of the administering Powers to certain products of the Territories. The latter clearly found it advantageous for their production to be supported by an assured outlet on the metropolitan market. Such a policy might, however, have certain drawbacks. It was for the Non-Self-Governing Territories to judge



whether those drawbacks were adequately offset by the advantage of a stable metropolitan market and the financial assistance given in certain cases by the administering Powers during periods of falling prices. Such preferences not only tended to force the Non-Self-Governing Territories to retain the *status quo*, for fear that they might lose the advantage of preferential treatment on the metropolitan market, but also subjected the other so-called under-developed countries, most of which were also exporters of primary commodities, to unfair competition from the dependent peoples. Paragraph 109 of part two noted that the general instability in the prices of primary commodities tended to make Governments hesitate to undertake new economic and social expenditure lest they should be unable to keep up the rate of such expenditure during subsequent years. Paragraph 113 of part two also referred to policies of preference, but in regard to imports. It said that there was no fundamental objection to the Non-Self-Governing Territories obtaining most of their supplies from the administering Powers or from the same currency area, provided that the trend was not forced and that the prices in effect in the metropolitan country were not too high. The import policy of the Non-Self-Governing Territories ought to be based on world prices, in order to benefit from international competition.

63. The Venezuelan delegation did not believe that the import preference given by the Non-Self-Governing Territories to goods manufactured in the metropolitan countries was used by the metropolitan Governments to perpetuate the colonial system, but it was afraid that insufficient action had as yet been taken to eliminate what was an error both from the fiscal and from the administrative points of view. The Non-Self-Governing Territories received the same treatment as other countries in regard to the prices which they had to pay for goods produced in the metropolitan country. Yet they had to observe customs regulations laid down by the metropolitan country which were based on preferential treatment for metropolitan goods. Such practices were quite different from the normal protectionist measures adopted by countries in the early stage of industrialization. In protecting its infant industries, an under-developed country tried to maintain the level of wages and to create employment for its own workers. On the other hand, the preference given to metropolitan goods in the Non-Self-Governing Territories operated, not to the advantage of the peoples of those Territories, but of the metropolitan country.

64. In passing, he urged the representative of the United Kingdom, as a matter of principle, not to press for comparisons between conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and those in independent countries. No fruitful conclusions could be drawn from a study of the comparative efficiency of a Non-Self-Governing Territory linked with a metropolitan country and a small but sovereign under-developed country.

65. If the Non-Self-Governing Territories lost their preference in the metropolitan countries, their standard of living would decline still further, at least for long enough to cause grave crises. An administering Power might perhaps grant a Territory self-government and at the same time retain the existing system of preferences. In that case, the Territory would have to look after its source of income, at the expense of a full exercise of its self-government. As paragraph 112 of part two of the report pointed out, it was for the Non-Self-Governing Territories themselves to judge whether

the drawbacks of a preferential system were adequately offset by other advantages. However, they could only express that judgment by means of legislation, and unfortunately the Non-Self-Governing Territories whose peoples really possessed the power to legislate were few. The right to legislate according to its own convictions, the right to determine the cause of and remedy for its own ills were among the basic elements of a country's sovereignty.

66. It was almost inevitable that peoples whose legislation was imposed from outside should regard as privilege even the most elementary rights granted to the nationals of the country in which the legislation was enacted. Such legislation might well be a source of the dangers referred to in paragraph 26 of part two, which stated that rapid economic development, unless very carefully controlled, might lead to social upheavals and class conflicts. In some of the Non-Self-Governing Territories where various economic classes tended to follow racial lines, those conflicts were aggravated when members of different racial units tended to monopolize particular economic functions. The difficulties did not end there. It was not always easy to determine which inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were entitled, in the circumstances, to judge the situation and propose remedies. Some felt that it was the indigenous inhabitants exclusively. That view was hardly in conformity with the Charter or with modern principles of international law. There were very few modern States which did not lay down, as a principle, equality of civil rights for nationals and aliens. In Venezuela that was a normal constitutional principle always applied in practice. The reason was obvious: every country needed to attract foreign capital. A similar point was brought out, *inter alia*, in paragraph 27 of part two of the report, which stated that immigration had brought capital and skills to many Non-Self-Governing Territories. The presence of immigrants trained in modern techniques and dedicated to the advancement of the Territories as their future home might be of the highest value in solving economic problems. Whereas, however, sovereign States recognized the civil rights of aliens through legislation enacted by their nationals or through negotiations, conducted on terms of equality, with foreign Governments, colonial peoples had such legislation imposed upon them by the metropolitan country. Moreover, when an alien entered a sovereign State, he knew that even if he did not exercise so-called political rights in the country in which he had chosen to reside, he could exercise them in his homeland. The position was very different for the indigenous inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

67. The extracts he had quoted from part two of the report were sufficient to show the complexity of the problem and to prove that the restraint mentioned by the Secretary-General was indeed necessary. Nevertheless, vision was still the best spur to activity. Theoretical discussions might afford an opportunity for clarifying objectives and for finding a field of agreement where, without sacrificing the principles on either side, some progress could be made towards the accepted goal, the elimination of colonialism.

68. The visionary side of the Fourth Committee's discussions had had beneficial effects in the past. The advances already made called for a new, more positive and pragmatic approach, for which the Committee on Information was an excellent instrument. The Administering Members might be said to have done as much

as they could for the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. More funds would be required for further development, and also greater international co-operation. The time had come for the United Nations and the specialized agencies to help effectively in making the aspirations of the non-self-governing peoples a reality. The Venezuelan delegation therefore proposed, at the appropriate juncture, to make certain suggestions, or submit draft resolutions, with a view to the gradual solution of the difficulties of which he had spoken.

69. In conclusion, he paid a tribute to the members of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, and in particular to its Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur. In introducing the report, the Committee's officers had stressed the exceptional harmony and co-operation which had characterized its work. He hoped that such harmony would continue in the Fourth Committee.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.