

GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

## SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



## FOURTH COMMITTEE, 257th

MEETING

Tuesday, 28 October 1952, at 3.15 p.m.

Headquarters, New York

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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

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

[Item 33]\*

1. Mr. APUNTE (Ecuador) said that the anti-colonial position of Ecuador with regard to the complex problems affecting the Non-Self-Governing Territories and their peoples was perfectly clear and well defined. Chapter XI of the Charter imposed certain obligations on the Administering Members and the exact fulfilment of those obligations was of importance not only to the peoples concerned, but to the whole international community, because of the very definite repercussions which fundamental changes in the economic, social and political conditions of 200 million human beings must have on the rest of mankind.

2. Chapter XI of the Charter formed a coherent and logical whole and its provisions could not be taken in isolation. Sub-paragraph e of Article 73 must be considered together with sub-paragraphs a and b and the first paragraph of the same Article. The whole Chapter was inspired by the purpose of improving conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and assisting their peoples gradually to develop their institutions and ultimately to attain self-government. The Administering Members were under an obligation to assist in that development and they would continue to be responsible for it until the territories under their administration attained full self-government; they would then no longer be within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter. That was how his country understood the obligations under Chapter XI—as a single and indivisible whole.

3. Chapter XI imposed on the Administering Members not only moral obligations but also legal obligations both towards the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and towards the other Members of the United Nations. The Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter had recognized the legal nature of those obligations in its report to the

sixth session of the Assembly (A/1836 and Corr.1). Under Article 73 e of the Charter the Administering Members were required to submit information on their Non-Self-Governing Territories and they must not cease to do so until those territories had achieved full self-government.

4. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had done much important and useful work. Paragraph 76 of part one of its report on its most recent session (A/2219 and Corr.1) stated that the Indian representative had pointed out that not only did the Committee save time that would be spent on discussion in the General Assembly and the Fourth Committee, but its members had become familiar with the work and a proper atmosphere had been established and maintained. The inspiration that millions of people from Non-Self-Governing Territories had found in the Charter of the United Nations made it impossible to do away with the Committee without grave and adverse psychological repercussions. The Committee had a responsibility towards the peoples in the Non-Self-Governing Territories which no specialized agency or any other organ of the United Nations could fulfil. The Ecuadorean delegation felt that in view of the Committee's value, it should be established on a permanent basis.

5. Without prejudice to any later intervention, he wished to state that the Ecuadorean delegation considered that the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter concerned the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories exclusively; it rejected any other interpretation such as the theory that the Chapter should also cover States made up of people of varying degrees of development. It fully endorsed the statement of the Guatemalan representative (255th meeting) in connexion with the question of Indians on the American continent. The Indian population of Ecuador formed an integral part of the nation; it was the very root and origin of the nation, and enjoyed equal rights with all other citizens of Ecuador. The interpretation of Chapter XI given by the Belgian representative (253rd meeting) was dangerous in that it would convert the whole world into a vast colonial system.

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

6. If the Committee on Information was to be really efficient, it required full information from the administering Powers on measures for the advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and on the action taken on its recommendations. The Ecuadorean delegation would support any initiative to that effect in the Fourth Committee. The Committee on Information also needed the co-operation of the representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Representatives of those peoples should be allowed to participate in the discussion of vital questions directly affecting them. The Ecuadorean delegation hoped that the Fourth Committee would find a way to secure their participation in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

7. The Ecuadorean delegation also announced its support for the draft resolution on racial discrimination (A/2219 and Corr. 1, part one, annex II).

8. The world was faced with the awakening of the colonial peoples, who were demanding greater collective welfare and respect for their rights. The principles of Chapter XI of the Charter, which held out hope to those peoples for better conditions and ultimate self-government, were thus acquiring ever greater importance.

9. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) wished first to make a statement on behalf of his Government on the question of Morocco and Tunis. In the eyes of the Government of Iraq, Morocco and Tunis were sovereign countries, with inalienable rights to sovereignty. His Government reserved its entire position in respect of those countries.

10. The report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was evidence of the fruitful and constructive effort that had been made. In the three years of its existence, the Committee had vindicated its original supporters and it should now be established on a permanent basis. The Iraqi delegation would support any proposal to that effect.

11. A fact of the utmost significance in the modern world was the awakening of dependent peoples and whole continents. The course of history had changed in 1914, when, with the birth of nationalism, the end of the old era of colonialism had come. No political or religious movement which had attained the dimensions of a historical trend had ever been defeated. The successful movements for independence in Asia showed that, in the long run, colonialism must give place to self-government. That end might be delayed, but it must come. People of one language, culture and thought could not submit forever to domination and division by a different culture. The only course open to the colonial Powers was either to assist their dependent territories to achieve self-government, thus creating lasting friendships, or to attempt to suppress the force of nature, thus provoking enmity and enduring hatred.

12. A great future lay before the continents of Asia and Africa, with their vast untapped reservoirs of materials and manpower. A continent might enjoy power for a time, but currents altered and it must gradually give place to other countries and continents. It might well be that Europe had reached the zenith of its power.

13. One aim of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was to keep a friendly watch over what was done by the administering Powers

in those territories. Some administering Powers had many admirable achievements to their credit, but the continued exercise of power must corrupt, and it was well that in the end they should yield that power to the peoples themselves.

14. Turning to the point made by the Belgian representative with regard to Article 73 e of the Charter, he denied that Chapter XI was ambiguous. The real basis of the Belgian representative's argument was anger at the criticism directed against conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories by less advanced States. That was why he defended the principle of comparing such conditions with those obtaining in neighbouring sovereign States. It was true that some sovereign States might lag behind the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in educational or social advancement, but the vital point that was disregarded was that Member States had struggled for and achieved political independence. Chapter XI of the Charter was not meant for peoples who had achieved independence. The colonial Powers argued that the dependent peoples were achieving economic, educational and social advancement, but it was vain to imagine that such advancement would end painlessly in the yielding up of sovereignty by the colonial Powers. There must be a final struggle. Independence could be followed by education. Fighters for freedom were rarely the products of polite culture and the administering Powers should not be misled by outward appearances. When Member States had achieved independence by honest struggle, they had the right to criticize conditions in territories whose peoples had not as yet obtained self-government. Several of the administering Powers had expressed faith in the precepts of Chapter XI of the Charter and the non-administering Powers looked for proof of that faith.

15. While it was sometimes difficult to separate foreigners from the original inhabitants of the country, in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, there was a clear distinction between the indigenous population who owned the country and the settlers who had arrived at a later stage. It was immaterial whether that stage had been fifty years earlier or one year earlier and whether the settlers had been born in the territory or not. No interpretation of Article 73 could obliterate the fact that a country belonged to its people and that the indigenous population were the people of the country itself. Since the European inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were already independent and self-governing, it was absurd to argue that Article 73 might apply to them, and paragraph 8 of part two of the Committee's report must therefore be rejected.

16. Tunisia and Morocco were perhaps the most flagrant examples of Non-Self-Governing Territories whose indigenous populations derived little protection from Article 73. In those countries a small foreign majority had attained tremendous power and influence and ordered the life of the indigenous population to the detriment of their interests. The foreign minority reaped most of the benefits in the economic, health, educational, and social welfare fields while the indigenous population were deprived of their land and condemned to poverty, ill health and ignorance.

17. After the urge for freedom, perhaps the most explosive factor throughout Africa was racial discrimination, to every form of which he was unalterably op-

posed. If nothing were done to end such discrimination, it would eventually destroy the African continent. It was inconceivable that a small minority should be allowed to provoke such a disaster and he would subscribe to any plan to mitigate racial discrimination.

18. Land tenure was another vital question in Africa; on its solution depended the whole future of the peoples concerned, since social advancement was impossible without the means to economic advancement. In Africa, the Africans owned comparatively little land and, despite the crying needs of the indigenous population, land had in some cases been leased to foreigners for as much as ninety-nine years—too long to mortgage the future of a people even for beneficial purposes, especially when that people had no say in the matter. The Committee should review the land tenure situation and do its utmost to solve that problem. Some alienation of land was obviously necessary, but it must be left to the discretion of the administering Powers, supervised by the Committee. The guiding principle, however, should be the interests of the indigenous population.

19. Health, education and roads were the basis for advancement in all other fields. If the country had no roads it had no feeling of unity; the serious lack of means of communication in Africa might be one cause of the widespread tribal warfare of the past. Much had been accomplished in health matters and it was encouraging to note the existence of a number of dispensaries, doctors and nurses. Still more were needed. He realized that the administering Powers faced difficulties in obtaining the money necessary for more roads and for progress in the fields of health and education, but he felt that the Committee should urge them to increase their efforts and to make more use of the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme.

20. He believed that the indigenous population should participate in the work of the Committee on Information; nevertheless none of the draft resolutions put forward so far were entirely satisfactory.

21. In conclusion he said that the Administering Members must be requested to submit information on the way in which they had implemented General Assembly resolutions. Only thus could the United Nations assess progress in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

22. Mr. BAZHAN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled the obligations assumed by the Administering Members under Article 73 of the Charter. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were increasingly demanding that a beginning, at least, should be made in granting them their legitimate rights under the Charter, but far from helping to further such legitimate aspirations, the Administering Powers were persecuting and even killing the people because of their demands.

23. A tendency still persisted, as was evident from the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report (A/2141/Add.1), to consider the national liberation movements of the oppressed colonial peoples as a threat to modern civilization. On the contrary, they were a positive and progressive symptom of the age and they must sooner or later achieve their goal.

24. The Secretary-General had further contended that the dangerously low standards of living in the underdeveloped countries were due to the pressures of rising

populations. Such Malthusian theories had long ago been proved fallacious. Nevertheless, they had been endorsed by the Danish representative. It was difficult to reconcile his arguments with the horrifying figures of infant mortality in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In French West Africa, for example, infant mortality had risen from 104 per thousand in 1949 to 113 per thousand in 1951; in Gambia, the death rate among indigenous children was six times higher than among European children.

25. Turning to the question of economic and technical assistance, he stressed that there were many types of assistance. The principle underlying the Point Four programme, for example, was not the over-all economic advancement of the colonies but the desire of United States monopolists to find new markets and openings for investment and to extort excessive profits. The economic and financial policy of the colonial Powers was, as always, directed at driving the indigenous population from their land. The colonies were regarded solely as a source of profits and strategic raw materials. As examples he cited the alienation by French companies of large areas of land in Tunisia and the ever-increasing profits obtained by British rubber companies in Malaya, despite the general deterioration of that country's economy. The Malayan economy was one-sided, and the production of strategic war materials was being pushed at the expense of rice production, for instance. The colonizers, fearful of losing their profits, were tramping ruthlessly on the legitimate aspirations of the people, whom they termed "bandits". The other administering Powers did not even mention the national liberation movements in the territories under their control in the information submitted under Article 73 e.

26. That information was quite inadequate and intended, at all costs, to conceal the truth. Nevertheless, after careful study it was possible to get a glimpse of the true and sad state of affairs through the veiled figures and idealistic phraseology. An example of the extent to which the reports of the administering Powers concealed the real truth was the happy picture of inter-race relations in Kenya painted in the United Kingdom report—a picture that was shattered when one read in the newspapers of recent events in that colony. In Puerto Rico, too, according to the United States authorities, perfect contentment prevailed as a result of the new Constitution granted by the United States Congress—a Constitution, however, that could be amended or withdrawn by Congress at any time; that in no way changed the political, social and economic relations of Puerto Rico and the United States; a Constitution from which all progressive clauses on elementary education, labour relations, etc., had been deleted at the request of Congress, and under which United States laws still remained in force. The fact that the people of Puerto Rico were not rejoicing was clear from the petitions submitted to the United Nations and the fact that over 1,000 Puerto Ricans had been gaoled during recent elections for having demanded a great measure of self-government. In Puerto Rico, 15.5 per cent of the workers were unemployed; official United States sources admitted that the majority of the people were chronically under-nourished or even starving, and the number of schools had decreased since 1950. In the light of such facts, he questioned whether Mr. Acheson's statement, at the 380th plenary meeting,

with regard to the rapid progress being made towards self-government, could be applied to Puerto Rico. Mr. Acheson's progress seemed to consist of marking time or even putting the clock back. The action of the French authorities in Morocco and Tunisia were prize examples of the latter.

27. It was clear from the documents before the Committee that the administering Powers had taken no steps to abolish racial discrimination or bring about a change in the legal status of indigenous workers, who were clearly discriminated against in the labour laws of such territories as the Federation of Malaya, Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. In Northern Rhodesia there were separate trade unions for Europeans and Africans. In wages, too, indigenous workers were discriminated against; in French West Africa, for example, a European worker earned approximately seven times more than an African worker. Lastly, all responsible posts in the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were reserved for Europeans.

28. It had been claimed that the development of education was the first step to self-government and the United Kingdom representative had praised his Government's efforts in that connexion. The information contained in the United Kingdom reports, however, did not bear out that claim. In British Somaliland, for example, only 0.3 per cent of the population was attending school and there was not a single government elementary school in Nyasaland, although there were some private schools. The position was no better in the territories administered by other Powers. In French West Africa only 1 per cent of the population was attending school and the vast majority of children were condemned to illiteracy. In the Belgian Congo, 63 per cent of the population were illiterate and more than 50 per cent of the children were not being educated, added to which, the number of schools had declined. The Polish and Pakistani representatives had rightly stressed the importance of teaching in the vernacular. Nevertheless, the indigenous languages were usually discriminated against. For example, in French Somaliland, trade-union workers must be able to speak French. Textbooks in the vernacular should be prepared and a written language composed for those peoples who still lacked one. It was impossible, in face of such a sad state of affairs, to talk of developing the culture, art and literature of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but he emphasized that the creative strength of their peoples must be given scope.

29. The administering Powers had nothing to be proud of while they continued to ignore their obligations under Article 73 of the Charter, and while their colonies remained at the Kipling stage. The true facts concerning the systematic denial of human rights, unfettered racial discrimination and the imperialist exploitation of the masses could not be concealed, and attempts to gag the members of the Committee would not stifle the truth.

30. At an earlier meeting, the Belgian representative had indulged in a series of paradoxes designed to prove that the real discrimination was directed, not against the colonial peoples, but against the administering Powers. He had asked the USSR to submit information on the "Non-Self-Governing Territories" within its frontiers. The Soviet Union had no such territories and could never have them. Obviously the Belgian repre-

sentative's views, as a colonizer, prevented him from seeing that international relations could be based on equality, friendship and mutual assistance.

31. On the basis of the facts, the Ukrainian delegation considered that there was no justification whatsoever for speaking of the implementation, by the Administering Members, of their obligations; on the contrary, it was clear that the true picture was one of complete non-implementation.

32. While the information submitted under Article 73 e did not reflect the true state of affairs, his delegation would support the continuation of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and the participation in its work of representatives of the indigenous populations of those territories. Such a step was in accordance with the principles of the Charter and would promote the development of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government.

33. Mr. TRIANTAPHYLAKOS (Greece) stated that it was clear from the wealth of information contained in the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories that, even within the limited scope of Article 73 e, the Committee was serving a useful purpose. At the proper time, therefore, his delegation would gladly support its renewal.

34. There appeared to be a consensus of opinion in the Fourth Committee on the desirability of rendering the information required under Article 73 e as complete and up-to-date as possible. The Administering Members had contributed to that liberal tendency by taking a broader view of Article 73 and assuring the Committee that the achievement of the objectives stated in paragraph b of that Article remained the ultimate goal of their respective governments. Historic forces were at work, and realism and moderation should be enlisted on all sides. The administering Powers were promoting the development of the dependent areas under their control and should be encouraged in their efforts. He cited the instance of Cyprus, which had attained full maturity after having been thrust, by historic circumstances, into the political orbit of a friendly but alien people and government and said that, in such cases, it was the General Assembly's duty to promote realistic solutions even at the expense of vested interests.

35. If the Committee on Information renewed its regular cycle of study, educational questions would claim its undivided attention in 1953. The Greek delegation attached great importance to those questions. The obligations of the administering Powers could not be better met than by organizing educational systems on a basis destined to preserve and develop the ethnic, social and cultural physiognomy of the dependent people and special care should be devoted to school programmes and the training of those responsible for carrying them out. The natural growth of the dependent peoples could be secure only if they were permitted to draw unhampered inspiration from their time-honoured customs and traditions and, in the last analysis, that would appear to be in the enlightened interest of the administering Powers themselves. That was why he considered that they should be urged to repeal any law or regulation pursuing a different end.

36. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia) said that the Committee's report, the reports of the metropolitan

Powers and the spokesmen of metropolitan and other States during the general discussion, including the United States and United Kingdom representatives, had all admitted that the living standards of the non-self-governing peoples was very low.

37. It had already been said in the Committee that social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories could be improved only if there was a constant general improvement in the economic situation of those territories. In order to improve economic conditions, more was needed than to express views and beliefs, as the Committee on Information had done in its report, or to train a number of social welfare workers and take a series of philanthropic measures; the past and present policies of the metropolitan Powers in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be carefully examined and revised. The reports before the Committee showed that the policies of those Powers in no way contributed to the fulfilment of the objectives set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter.

38. The metropolitan Powers could not escape the responsibilities and duties which they had assumed as a sacred trust in accordance with Chapter XI of the Charter, but that did not mean that everything they did in connexion with those duties was exclusively an internal matter. The catastrophic conditions under which millions of people were living in the Non-Self-Governing Territories imposed upon the United Nations the moral obligation to make such recommendations to the metropolitan Powers as would effectively contribute to the improvement of those conditions. It was equally the duty of the metropolitan Powers to put those recommendations into effect. The metropolitan Powers maintained that they were responsible to no one but themselves for the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and they attempted to hide the consequences of that thesis behind neo-Malthusian theories which were fundamentally contrary to humane principles as well as to the Charter.

39. Many speakers had already referred to the question of wage policies. There was another aspect of that problem which was also characteristic of the social conditions prevailing in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. For example, the table concerning Mauritius, in document A/2134 (p. 87), showed that the lowest income groups had been most affected by the general price increase. The report also stated that overcrowding was prevalent in urban areas and that rents were high. Those phenomena were not of course confined to Mauritius.

40. The USSR and Polish representatives had already referred to the discrimination with respect to wages practised against the indigenous populations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The facts adduced, taken from official documents, showed that the wage of an indigenous worker was insufficient for the barest minimum needs. The data just quoted supplemented that picture of the progressive pauperization of the indigenous populations and proved that the rift between the living standards of the indigenous and white inhabitants, far from being eliminated, was actually widening. Further evidence of that fact was to be found in the statistics for Uganda and Zanzibar.

41. The consequences of the policy of pauperizing the indigenous populations were reflected in economic,

health and social conditions. In the Seychelles, for instance, crime was greatly on the increase. As a result of the deplorable living conditions prevailing in the Non-Self-Governing Territories large numbers of workers were emigrating to other countries.

42. In a number of Non-Self-Governing Territories, a poll-tax was imposed on each male member of the population, contrary to the normal fiscal usage in civilized countries, where taxes were on a basis of income. The poll-tax was levied even on those who had no income whatsoever. The use of that system demonstrated the attitude of the metropolitan Powers towards the indigenous inhabitants. It was an expression of their conception of racial superiority and their conviction that the indigenous inhabitant was not a human being but a mere object.

43. The facts presented during the general discussion showed that the social situation of the indigenous populations was by no means satisfactory. The question therefore arose whether the territories were so lacking in material resources that their populations could achieve higher living standards only at the price of great sacrifices by the metropolitan Powers. From the debate and from the reports of those Powers it was evident that the Non-Self-Governing Territories produced a considerable part of the world's raw materials. Those territories would thus have the means to improve the living conditions of their peoples were it not for the fact that their resources were exploited for the benefit of European and Asian settlers, as could be seen from document A/2134. According to another United Nations document, *National Income and its Distribution in Under-Developed Countries*,<sup>1</sup> only 2.6 per cent of the total world revenue went to the inhabitants of Africa, who made up 8.3 per cent of the world's population. According to the same document, the distribution of revenue in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and in Kenya was such that in 1946 the average annual income of a European had been £292 whereas that of an indigenous worker had been only £5. Yet between 1938 and 1948 British returns from investments in British East Africa, Central Africa and Ceylon had risen considerably.

44. Those facts inevitably led to the conclusion that the situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was not caused by a disproportionate growth of population, as the defenders of Malthusian theories would have it, but by the deliberate policy of the metropolitan Powers, which hampered the development of industrialization and maintained agriculture at a primitive level so as to enable the European settlers to expropriate the land and transform the indigenous inhabitants into cheap labour for the European-owned plantations.

45. From the reports submitted by the metropolitan Powers it was evident that the Non-Self-Governing Territories were being ever more closely integrated into the systems of those Powers, both economically and politically. Only those industries which produced the raw materials necessary for their own industries, and in particular the armaments industry, were being encouraged. Such a development, however, offered the Non-Self-Governing Territories no prospect of future independence.

<sup>1</sup> Statistical Papers, Series E, No. 3, United Nations Publication, Sales No.: 1951.XVII.3.

46. The dragging of the Non-Self-Governing Territories into the preparation of a new war, already referred to by the USSR representative, in no way served the interests of the indigenous populations, which were being used by the metropolitan Powers not only as sources of raw materials but also as military and strategic bases. Document A/2134/Add.2 (p. 4) mentioned the delay in the completion of orders for capital goods occasioned by the Korean war and the necessary rearmament programme of the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The *New York Times* of 24 May 1952 said that the pressure of world armaments had obliged the United Kingdom, France and Belgium to change, and in certain cases to curtail, the plans of economic development of their African territories.

47. The observations of the Czechoslovak delegation applied equally to the other administering Powers and also to the United States, which, through companies and corporations, maintained similar conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration.

48. The United Kingdom Minister of State for Colonial Affairs had expressed the opinion in the course of the debate that certain countries did not yield sufficient food for a growing population, and had added that a man was no more hungry because he was non-self-governing than if he enjoyed some other political status. The Czechoslovak delegation did not agree with that opinion. It believed that there would be sufficient for all if it were more fairly distributed.

49. Under Chapter XI of the Charter the metropolitan Powers were called upon not only to develop self-government, but also to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to practical achievement of the social, economic and scientific purposes set forth in Article 73. The question of the attainment of self-government was one aspect of the question of the right of peoples to self-determination, which would remain a dead letter if it did not include the right of peoples to dispose of their own natural resources. Without the exercise of that right no great changes could be expected in the economic, social, educational and cultural conditions of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

50. The people of Czechoslovakia followed with the warmest sympathy the struggles of the colonial peoples, and were convinced that they would succeed in overcoming all obstacles and attain the fulfilment of their national, economic and political aspirations.

51. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) said that the Fourth Committee had for many years been receiving reports from committees set up to study conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and had passed many resolutions designed to improve those conditions; it now had before it yet other draft resolutions. After listening to the speeches of the representatives of the colonial Powers, he wondered whether all those resolutions were not becoming mere dead-letters. He would not single out any particular Power; that had already been done by other representatives. He paid a tribute to the enlightened statement made by the United Kingdom representative and to the genuine endeavours of the United Kingdom Government.

52. If the Committee had achieved nothing else, it had become a forum to expose the injustices and hardships suffered by the colonial peoples and was welding into a single unit those countries that were determined to see the letter and the spirit of the Charter fulfilled. All nations would stand or fall together, but the truth of that doctrine had been brought home to the colonial Powers only at the cost of much suffering and destruction. Race theories had been one of the principal causes of the last war; in that war the colonial Powers had undergone occupation, devastation and loss of life. As a result they had subscribed to the Charter of the United Nations, which affirmed the equal rights of all peoples to self-determination. But the war was over and pledges were easily forgotten. For the atrocities committed in Africa by the German Empire the German people had paid the penalty, a penalty inflicted not by Africans but by their own race. Similarly in the last war many colonial Powers had not only sacrificed their sons and daughters but had themselves experienced a foreign yoke, and most of the wealth they had extracted from foreign territories had been taken from them. There could be no peace as long as one people felt it had the right to exploit another.

53. The people of the Non-Self-Governing Territories must read with scepticism that Article of the Charter which referred to a "sacred trust". In the language of colonialism "sacred trust" meant "sacred heritage", and the colonial Powers would never relinquish that heritage voluntarily.

54. It was often asserted that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were unprepared for self-government. For many centuries before the coming of the colonial Powers, however, there had been great kingdoms in Africa which had managed their own affairs, and their decline had been due not, as was sometimes stated, to corruption, but to foreign invasion. It was not true that those peoples were unprepared for self-government or independence. Many years had elapsed since the removal of the colonial yoke from India, Pakistan, Burma and other Asian countries, and those countries had not disintegrated or fallen into chaos; on the contrary, they had made remarkable progress. It was impossible to establish any rigid qualification for self-government.

55. Improvements in health conditions, a high standard of education and social and economic progress, while commendable, were no compensation for the absence of political freedom. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories would not long be content to live in their own countries as dependent peoples. Freedom was the desire of the human soul and could not forever be denied.

56. His delegation would support any resolution that would bring hope to the people in dependent areas.

57. Mr. SUAREZ-BORRERO (Colombia) did not agree with those delegations which, for purposes of political propaganda, accused all the administering Powers of doing nothing to promote the welfare of the indigenous inhabitants and of exploiting the Non-Self-Governing Territories for their own ends. Nevertheless, Colombia felt that every country should enjoy self-government, but it believed that full self-government should not be attained until the peoples were prepared for it.

58. The Colombian Constitution granted the Indian population the same rights and privileges as any other nationals. There was no prejudice or discrimination against them; on the contrary, they were regarded with affection.

59. He reserved the right to speak again later in the debate.

#### **Requests for oral hearings**

60. Mr. BENSON (Secretariat) read out two cable-

grams requesting oral hearings, one from the Somali Youth League<sup>2</sup> and one from the Togoland Congress.<sup>3</sup>

61. Mr. EL-PHARAONY (Egypt) asked that the texts might be circulated as documents.

62. The CHAIRMAN said that that would be done.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

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<sup>2</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/210.

<sup>3</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/211.