

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

**EIGHTH SESSION**  
**Official Records**



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 338th**

**MEETING**

**Tuesday, 20 October 1953,**  
**at 3.15 p.m.**

**New York**

**C O N T E N T S**

*Page*

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter (*continued*).... 139

**Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).**

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

[Item 32]\*

**GENERAL DEBATE (continued)**

1. Mrs. MENON (India) said that at the previous meeting the Belgian representative had repeated the claims made by all colonial Powers to justify their civilizing mission. Nevertheless, the imposition of Western civilization and of Christian humanism, which had been regarded as indispensable for the regeneration of the Indians, had suppressed India's own cultural development and had even inspired a contempt for the beauty and values enshrined in India's own religion and way of life.

2. The Belgian representative had asserted that thanks to his Government's policy two-fifths of the people of the Belgian Congo were Christians; thus three-fifths had not yet been converted. All who were interested in the educational advancement of the African should be concerned to see that the Administering Members paid heed to the objectives outlined in the Committee's report. According to the Belgian representative Africans were savages because they did not conform to the ways of Europeans. Educated people in the twentieth century should show at least as much tolerance as Africans accorded to civilized man. A people's habits and customs might be distasteful to the white man yet have value for the people themselves. The Belgian representative's speech had shown clearly that the outlook formerly characteristic of the colonial Powers still survived and was offered to justify mistaken policies. Europe had given much to the world—some good, some less good—but the main stream of human development must not be identified with European civilization. Savagery had often been replaced by other things, less savage but more dangerous in their effects on the lives of the people. What was needed was a gradual development and integration of cultures, not by imposition from without. Time and contact with other cultures usually brought about a transformation of social organization in any community by means of development from within. That was not the way civilization was being injected into primitive African life.

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

3. The Indian delegation was glad to note the Committee's feeling that insistence on the preservation of indigenous cultural and social values was necessary, and considered that a restatement of the objectives of education should be included in the operative part of draft resolution A submitted by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2465, part one, annex II).

4. The comments she had made concerning the educational policy pursued in the dependent territories had not been inspired by any spirit of criticism or denunciation. She paid a tribute to the work done by foreign missions in the fields of education, health and welfare and in raising women's status all over the world. Nevertheless, there was a disquieting reaction against foreign missions in Asia and Africa which had begun long before any anti-religious ideologies had presented themselves. The Indian delegation felt that that had happened because religion had been used as a cloak for commercial and economic domination.

5. There was no doubt that all nations were gradually being civilized because of their efforts, inadequate though they might be, to understand one another. It was with a deep and sincere desire that those efforts should not be vitiated by intolerance or chauvinism that the Indian delegation had dealt at some length with the subject in the Committee. Since the United Nations had assumed international responsibility it was the business of the Committee to see that those harmful developments were avoided. Human dignity was something more than a foreign education or Christian humanism. It was above all tolerance for others' habits and ways of life, an effort to understand differences and a desire to learn to live an honest and simple life in a complex world. Those ends could be achieved through a well-thought-out educational policy divorced from self-interest.

6. She expressed her delegation's regret at the non-participation of the Belgian delegation in the work of the Committee on Information. The experience of peoples who had emerged from colonial rule should prove valuable to that delegation's country.

7. Mr. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) said he had been greatly impressed by the Belgian representative's statement at the previous meeting on educational, economic and social progress in the Belgian Congo. His delegation appreciated the steps taken by the Belgian Government to lead the inhabitants of that territory towards a full measure of self-government and had no doubt that it would accelerate their progress in the future. He hoped that the day was not far off when the United Nations would unanimously take note with pleasure of the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter in respect of the Belgian Congo.

8. The delegation of Pakistan had been particularly impressed by the Belgian representative's statement about the activities of the missionaries in educating

and civilizing the people of the Congo and by the fact that through missionary effort the Belgian Government had been able to achieve gratifying results at comparatively little cost to the public exchequer.

9. In that connexion he quoted the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on freedom of thought, conscience and religion and freedom of opinion and expression (articles 18 and 19), and observed that the Declaration applied equally to Non-Self-Governing Territories, Trust Territories and independent States.

10. The Belgian representative had stated that two-fifths of the total population of the Congo were Christians; the bulk of the remaining non-Christian element was presumably still in a primitive state. The task of civilizing and educating them was heavy and could not be performed quickly. He wondered, therefore, whether the Belgian Government would let other countries assist it in that task through other than Christian missions on a non-political basis. If so, he hoped that none of the representatives of different civilizations would uproot the indigenous inhabitants of the territory from their own heritage and thus bring about another Mau Mau movement, but would instead attempt to make them better men and an asset to world civilization.

11. Mr. ABOU KHADRA (Saudi Arabia) said that his delegation hoped to see the time when all dependent territories had attained the status of self-government and sovereign independence. That objective was in the interests both of the people most directly concerned and of the administering Powers. The twentieth century had witnessed the spread of a dynamic force in Asia and Africa—the force of nationalism. It was useless to try to combat that feeling, which was shared by all the peoples of the globe. Some had been able to attain that stage of national consciousness earlier than others, but the difference was only one of time. The administering Powers would only harm themselves if they tried to stem the tide of nationalism. Peoples could no longer be divided into two categories: the governing and the governed. There could be no doubt that the attainment of independence by the Non-Self-Governing Territories would remove causes of rivalry among the administering Powers, for history showed that world peace had frequently been shattered by colonial disputes.

12. Past experience should be borne in mind when considering the question of dependent areas. Article 73 of the Charter laid down that the interests of the inhabitants of those territories were paramount. Despite difficulties that might arise, the provisions of Chapter XI should be fulfilled.

13. His delegation was also interested in the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories because at least 20 million of the 200 million inhabitants of those territories were Arabs, who naturally looked to the Arab countries for help. It was the duty of the Arab countries to speak on their behalf. He associated his delegation with the remarks made by representatives of other Arab States with regard to Tunisia and Morocco. Nothing that had been said should be construed as prejudicing his delegation's attitude in that connexion. The Arabs in those two countries had an incontestable right to freedom and independence. Saudi Arabia had expressed its views on the subject in another committee.

14. Material interests carried much weight with the colonial Powers. Despite the statement in the Charter

that the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount, their interests were sacrificed to the material welfare of the ruling authorities.

15. It was a cause of regret that whereas in previous years information had been submitted with regard to seventy-five territories, the figure had been progressively reduced. He could see no reason for that fact and did not think it would be in the interest of the administering Powers. If they were proud of their achievements in the territories, they should give facts and figures rather than hide behind legal considerations. A refusal to supply such information was tantamount to opposing the principle of freedom of information. It was difficult to understand how the representatives of the administering Powers could adopt one attitude in the Third Committee and a contradictory one in the Fourth Committee. Information should continue to be furnished on any territory until it attained independence.

16. With regard to the report of the Committee on Information, education was the cornerstone of progress. It was a difficult and complex undertaking which must vary according to the social and economic pattern of each area and its needs and requirements. The administering Powers should encourage the revival of indigenous culture and endeavour to bring the benefits of education to the greatest possible number of people.

17. He had been impressed by the fact that in some cases a reasonable part of the budget had been expended on education. He hoped that example would be followed in other Non-Self-Governing Territories that were lacking in that respect. Despite the great progress made in the field of education in many territories, certain administering Powers failed to make adequate provision to extend the benefits of education to the indigenous people. The principle of equality of opportunity had not been complied with in many cases. There was discrimination against ethnic groups and against vernacular languages. Such practices should be discouraged.

18. With regard to the participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Committee's work, the trend was retrograde. General Assembly resolution 647 (VII) was weaker than resolution 566 (VI), and draft resolution B submitted by the Committee on Information (A/2465, part one, annex II) followed the same lines as the former.

19. The proposal made a few days previously (334th meeting) by the representative of Pakistan concerning the recruitment by the Secretariat of personnel from among inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories should be given favourable consideration. His delegation would support any resolution to that effect.

20. Although there had been advances in social and economic conditions in some territories, there were numerous cases of discrimination and social dislocation. Economic policy in most dependent areas was not directed primarily towards benefiting the indigenous inhabitants. He hoped that measures aimed at social and economic improvement would be taken in all dependent areas.

21. He paid a tribute to the work done by the Committee on Information and said he would express his opinion on the resolutions it had submitted at the appropriate time.

22. Mr. CAMPOS CATELIN (Argentina) said that his delegation had no intention of criticizing the work

carried out in the dependent territories; it respected the traditions and rights of the administering Powers and in return asked that its own rights should be respected. He would reiterate once again, however, that Chapter XI of the Charter was not a unilateral declaration but an integral part of the Charter laying legal obligations upon its signatories. The transmission of information was one of those obligations, and such information was naturally transmitted for consideration and analysis by the General Assembly.

23. According to the Preamble of the Charter, it was the people of the United Nations who had established the Organization to ensure international peace and to abolish exploitation of man by man or of weaker States by stronger ones. The colonial system was doomed to disappear. The Argentine delegation had no intention of criticizing any particular colonial Power; it was merely trying to comply with the Charter and to do its duty.

24. One of the principal objectives of the Charter was to lead the people of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government and independence. An indefinite prolongation of the *status quo* would be repugnant to human and national dignity. Moreover, international peace and security would always be menaced so long as there were peoples who were not entirely masters of their own destinies; some form of association could be established as an intermediate stage if it was freely accepted and on a basis of full equality, but as long as the final decision on important questions rested with a foreign Power the rights of the people could always be reduced to a shadow. The solution lay in the implementation of the Charter and in co-operation and the right of criticism between the administering and the non-administering Powers.

25. He associated himself with the remarks of the Egyptian representative (336th meeting), who, speaking of the fears entertained by certain representatives with regard to the possible disappearance of the colonial régime, had said that such an eventuality would merely mean that instead of subject peoples there would be free peoples.

26. He congratulated the Committee on Information on its report and hoped that its future work would be equally fruitful. He also hoped that the Belgian Government would reconsider its decision not to be represented on the Committee.

27. With regard to the question of education his delegation had been glad to note the progress made, as shown in the special report on the subject (A/2465, part two). It had heard with interest the statements on the matter made by the United Kingdom and Belgian representatives and realized that much had been done; at the same time much still remained to be done. The very magnitude of the problems that existed in that field called for reflection on the responsibility of the international community towards the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

28. He reserved the right to express his views concerning the draft resolutions and amendments at the appropriate time.

29. Mr. ARAOZ (Bolivia) said that his delegation was particularly interested in the reports and discussions on educational development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories because a programme of educational reform was being planned in Bolivia. He paid a tribute to those Administering Members which had fulfilled their obligation to transmit information without reservations; to

the specialized agencies, in particular to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO), for their invaluable contribution to the work of the Committee on Information; and to the Secretariat for its objective and systematic analyses of the information transmitted. The Committee itself had produced an admirable report and the Sub-Committee on Education deserved special praise for its unprejudiced and constructive approach.

30. The problem of education was immense throughout the world; it had been estimated, for example, that half of the world's people were still unable to read and write (A/AC.35/L.136, annex 1). It had been generally agreed in the Committee on Information that most of the technical problems of education were common to all countries, although certain aspects had particular application to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Education normally advanced with a country's general evolution, being influenced by circumstances and political developments at home and events in the world outside. The need for reform in education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories had become apparent with the growing difficulties encountered by the colonial system in the post-war period. Thus, an outstanding present trend was a great increase in the funds spent on education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The territories administered by the United Kingdom were a case in point.

31. The various documents and summaries studied by the Committee on Information showed that education was a social phenomenon which could not be treated abstractly and theoretically. The information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter related to economic, social and educational developments in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and was statistical and technical in character. However, in examining that information, the Fourth Committee should remember the general principles of the Declaration on the Non-Self-Governing Territories contained in Chapter XI of the Charter, and in particular the fundamental aim; a full measure of self-government. He recalled among those general principles the competence of the General Assembly to discuss conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the right of peoples to self-determination, the concept of the indivisibility of independence, and the necessity for the continued transmission of information.

32. The special report on education in Non-Self-Governing Territories showed that there had been an increase in the expenditure on education, in the number of children enrolled in schools, and in higher education. Nevertheless, discrimination in education persisted and European residents of Non-Self-Governing Territories were still privileged in that respect. In certain territories the money spent on education seemed to be in inverse ratio to the size of the group concerned.

33. In connexion with the concern expressed by the representatives of Pakistan, India and Brazil in the Committee on Information regarding the effects which the fall in the world prices of raw materials might have on economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he agreed with the representative of Venezuela that the fall in prices had mainly affected those independent countries which were primarily producers of raw materials and sought to maintain higher social standards than some of the Non-Self-Governing Territories which relied on cheap labour to keep their prices down. Bolivia, for example, had suffered more than

Malaya from the fall in the price of tin on the world market.

34. In dealing with problems of educational development it was essential to take account of the particular circumstances in each territory. At the same time it was necessary to have a basic philosophy of education. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories must be encouraged to participate in their own development and not wait to have civilization forced upon them by outside agencies. In that connexion the Secretariat had prepared a most interesting memorandum on community development and the general co-ordination of educational and social policy (A/AC.35/L.131).

35. He agreed with the point made by the representatives of Iraq and India that education must not cause any conflict between school and the home. The basic unit of society was the family, and educational policy should seek the co-ordinated advancement of children and adults. There were many other points, such as equality of opportunity in education, the eradication of illiteracy, the use of the vernacular languages in education and higher education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, which were worthy of detailed consideration in the Fourth Committee. To save time his delegation intended to circulate an analysis of its views on the material submitted. He felt that special attention might be paid in future reports on education to the disequilibrium caused by the drift of the rural population to the towns and the problems to which it gave rise from the educational point of view. It was gratifying to note that a number of universities and training colleges had been set up in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but care should be taken not to lay too much stress on academic teaching, which might produce another privileged class of professional people. Opportunities should be provided for technical training so that the evils of a single-product economy could be avoided through the diversification of industry and agriculture. He was also pleased to note the conclusions of UNESCO with regard to the use of vernacular languages in education (A/2465, part two, para. 18). It had been Bolivia's experience in dealing with fundamental education for large groups of indigenous peoples that any language could be used as a language of instruction.

36. In connexion with the resolutions submitted by the Committee on Information and the amendments that had been proposed, he regretted that draft resolution B had gone less far than the terms of General Assembly resolution 647 (VII) in the matter of the participation of representatives from Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee. The proposal of the Pakistan and other delegations that a proportion of the members of the Secretariat should be recruited from the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/C.4/L.283) was worthy of support, as was the amendment (A/C.4/L.280) to draft resolution A proposed by the Guatemalan delegation in the report of the Committee on Information. The amendment proposed by Egypt (A/C.4/L.281) was also acceptable to the Bolivian delegation.

37. In conclusion he paid a tribute to the statement of the Indian representative regarding the need to give special attention to the education of women and girls. In both India and Bolivia women were playing a vital part in the development of a new order.

38. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) said that the United Nations was based on the principle that an interchange of views was essential to any constructive collaboration. Unfortunately, the Committee had too often been led astray

and split into two camps by narrow and immediate interests. It was often said that the differences in the Committee concerned not the objectives sought but only the means used to attain them; but he could not agree with such a view. The Committee had often listened to varied and bewildering interpretations of those objectives and had lost precious time on legal and procedural arguments. While certain ambiguities in the Charter were partly to blame, the blame must rest mainly with the Committee, which had failed to approach the problems confronting it with consistency and a sense of reality. There was a tendency to vacillate between an excessively restrictive interpretation of the law and a desire so to emasculate the law that it was no longer capable of ensuring order and discipline. It was the more regrettable that some representatives were guilty of both extremes at once.

39. The best way to eliminate inconsistency and misunderstanding in the Committee's work was to re-examine its objectives. The Committee's task was to assist the millions of peoples in the dependent territories to move peacefully towards their desired goal. Its work was regulated by Chapter XI of the Charter, and he felt that everyone would agree that the ultimate objective of that Chapter was "a full measure of self-government" for all peoples. That term, however, was interpreted in varying ways, with an inevitable divergence of views in the Committee. In his delegation's opinion, "a full measure of self-government" could mean only independence; any form of association must necessarily come after independence, since only a free and sovereign people could morally and legally bind its future to that of another people. He was therefore unable to agree that a full measure of self-government could be achieved—as some argued—by some sort of constitutional formula associating a certain territory to the metropolitan area. To subscribe to that interpretation of Chapter XI would be to betray the hopes which the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco and millions of other people throughout the world had placed in the United Nations.

40. Another point on which there was disagreement was the competence of the Committee to discuss political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. He quoted Article 73, paragraphs a and b, of the Charter, to show that the development of self-government was essentially one of the objectives of that Article. A number of non-administering Members had consistently maintained that, in view of that fact, the transmission of information on political conditions was implied in Article 73 e. The Administering Members, on the other hand, argued that Article 73 e was limitative and that the obligation to transmit information extended only to economic, social and educational conditions. The General Assembly had expressed itself clearly on the subject in resolution 327 (IV), which called for the voluntary inclusion in the information submitted of details on the government of Non-Self-Governing Territories. A number of Administering Members did in fact provide such information, but Belgium, France and the United Kingdom rigidly continued to exclude it. Their position was indefensible on legal, moral or political grounds, since it was quite clear that the examination of economic, social and educational conditions would be incomplete and even misleading unless the basic constitutional rights of the people and the changes affecting the political structure of the territories concerned were taken into account.

41. The Committee on Information had not studied that problem and indeed any such action by it might

have been challenged. The Fourth Committee's terms of reference, however, were wider, and it should obviously examine the report of the Committee on Information and the reports prepared by the Secretary-General<sup>1</sup> in the light of the broad political connotations of Chapter XI, which embodied the political commitments of the Administering Members, and the outstanding political events that were occurring in the dependent territories. The whole nature of Chapter XI and the trend of events, particularly in the Union of South Africa, made it increasingly clear that the Administering Members could no longer ignore the legitimate interest of the world community in the political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

42. The differences in the Committee could not all be attributed to the legal concepts he had just examined. The different treatment accorded to Somaliland under Italian administration and the Pacific Islands, on the one hand, and to Tunisia and Morocco, on the other, forced him to suspect the aims of the metropolitan countries with regard to their dependent territories. His delegation hoped that the defects of Chapter XI would receive due attention at the forthcoming conference to revise the Charter, and that Chapters XI and XII would be brought into harmony and into conformity with the spirit of the age. At San Francisco, even the colonial Powers had found it imperative to accept undertakings which they would unhesitatingly have rejected a decade earlier. It was impossible to remain static in a dynamic universe. He quoted a statement by Sir Alan Burns that the United Kingdom had, in its colonial history, too often waited until concessions had been forced from it, and that the risk of giving a people responsibility too soon was less than the risk of doing so too late. A people could not become fit for responsibility until it had exercised it and learnt from its own experience and mistakes.

43. The Syrian delegation viewed with satisfaction the report on educational conditions prepared by the Committee on Information and associated itself with the Committee's findings. It would support draft resolution A. Educational policy in the Non-Self-Governing Territories must be framed with the sole purpose of creating a homogeneous society capable of withstanding the vicissitudes of the modern world. In the past, colonialism had only too often left behind it a divided society. Missions of various religious denominations, from different corners of the globe, with differing languages and customs, had been mainly responsible for educating the peoples in the dependent areas and they had rarely been subjected by the administering Power to the supervision necessary to preserve some unity of culture. Some diversity was desirable in any culture, but certain educational policies or the lack of them had wittingly or unwittingly militated against the unity and cohesion of a national entity or territory preparing for statehood.

44. It was gratifying to note that some of the administering Powers were devoting great energy to the problem of education in the territories for which they were responsible. He had listened with particular interest to the United Kingdom representative's statement at the 324th meeting. The extent to which the administering Powers were genuinely devoted to the interests of the dependent peoples could best be seen in educational matters.

45. Turning to the question of the participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information, he reminded the Committee that resolution 566 (VI), in which that question had its source, had been adopted by a large majority. It was odd that, since then, a number of Administering Members should have found in it sinister implications and the germs of a situation contrary to the principle of international representation. Resolution 647 (VII) had represented a compromise between the two divergent tendencies that had become apparent in 1952, and draft resolution B proposed by the Committee of Information followed the conservative course suggested in the first part of that resolution. He questioned whether it was desirable for the General Assembly to limit itself to such a restrictive resolution simply in order to obtain the support of the Administering Members. The opposition to allowing representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to participate in the work of the Committee on Information was the more surprising since exactly the opposite trend was apparent in the specialized agencies and regional economic commissions. He could not agree with the argument that those bodies were technical bodies while the United Nations was a political body, and he therefore saw no need for any difference of approach. Draft resolution B was not an adequate solution to the problem and he would support any amendments designed to bring it more into line with his delegation's views.

46. The Pakistani representative's suggestion that the Secretariat should make an effort to recruit staff members from the Non-Self-Governing Territories was in full conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter and would enhance the prestige of the United Nations in those territories. To deny people from the dependent territories the right to work in the Secretariat would be tantamount to discriminating against them. He had been happy to learn at an earlier meeting that a few Secretariat members came from such areas; a more concerted effort should be made in that direction. A draft resolution would be more forceful than a mere suggestion, and he would support any resolution to that effect.

47. In conclusion, he wished again to place on record his Government's reservations with regard to the international status of Tunisia and Morocco. Those territories were clearly sovereign States bound to France by treaty only.

48. Mr. PIGNON (France) considered that the Committee on Information had done conscientious, objective and useful work. His Government intended to transmit the report to all the authorities concerned and might comment on it in due course, if it considered it necessary to do so. Generally speaking, his delegation supported the Committee's conclusions and wished to express its great satisfaction at the spirit of understanding and co-operation that had prevailed there. The Administering Members had shown their good will by sending educational experts to participate in the Committee's work and by being ready to discuss in the fullest detail the information called for under Article 73 e, and all the members of the Committee had respected its terms of reference and the compromise that had been reached at the previous session of the General Assembly. He paid a tribute to the officers of the Committee and the assistance received from the Secretariat. It was to be hoped that the General Assembly would make it possible for the Committee to go on making a useful contribution to its work by respecting its tech-

<sup>1</sup> See A/2407, A/2408, A/2409, A/2410 and Add.1, A/2411 and Add.1, A/2413 and Add.1 to 6, A/2414 and Add.1 and 2.

nical character and not attempting to give it tasks which would change its nature and make it impossible for his Government to participate in its work.

49. He wondered whether it would be possible for the Secretary-General to arrange for the Committee on Information to meet at an earlier date. The date set in resolution 332 (IV) left delegations little time between the end of the Committee's session and the opening of the Assembly to prepare themselves for the Assembly and to report to their governments and obtain instructions.

50. Every year he had an increasing sense of the futility of trying to make the Fourth Committee understand his Government's achievements, difficulties, hopes and disappointments in the territories for which it was responsible. Only too often, the criticisms directed at the administering Powers seemed to be based solely on the desire to criticize them whether their actions were good or bad. Many of the questions addressed to his delegation were purely polemical. If the representatives in question wanted a true answer, they had only to refer to the documents submitted by the French Government and the statements of the French delegation to the Committee on Information.

51. The Mexican representative's appeal to the administering Powers at the 335th meeting had been marked by sincerity. Nevertheless, the Mexican representative had been too hasty in his judgment of the information supplied. While that information was undoubtedly dry and difficult reading, it was objective and accurate and fully in conformity with the requirements of the General Assembly.

52. There was absolutely no foundation for the assertion that the overseas territories were being exploited only in the interests of the metropolitan Powers and to the detriment of the interests of the local populations and of other producing countries. The USSR representative might be interested to learn that every one of France's overseas territories had a deficit balance of trade, owing to the enormous sums that were being spent on capital equipment. In connexion with the Iraqi representative's reference at the 336th meeting, to the phosphate mines in Morocco, it should be pointed out that all the profits from those mines went to the Moroccan budget, which also benefited from the other mining undertakings in the territory.

53. In the past year, the basic social organizations had been established in all the territories and theories had given way to practice. Special attention had been paid to fundamental education, which had been extended to all the territories and all geographical areas. Some of the projects were entirely under the control of indigenous inhabitants. A high official of the Ministry of Overseas France had been appointed to study the whole question of fundamental education in close co-operation with the local authorities in the various territories. Considerable time had also been devoted to the question by the Fourth Conference of Educational Directors in September 1953. The Rapporteur of the Conference had shown how certain problems of fundamental education—for example, the development of measures to ensure the rapid spread of literacy, the language of instruction, the use of audio-visual equipment adapted to the African psychology and the problem of women's education in areas where tradition was opposed to it—overlapped the problems encountered in connexion with education in the more ordinary sense of the word.

54. The most outstanding achievement in the social field was the putting into effect of the Labour Code

for French Overseas Territories, which applied to all workers without distinction as to race, sex or religion. The Code provided heavy penalties for forced labour, guaranteed trade union rights, regulated labour contracts and conditions of work and laid down the principle of family allowances. He hoped to be able to make a copy of the Code available to each member of the Committee.

55. The discussion of educational conditions in the Committee on Information had shown that statistics did not give a full picture of the situation. For example, the percentage of children of school-age attending school for the whole of French Equatorial Africa was 18.6, but in the component territories it varied from 3.8 per cent in the Chad to 53 per cent in the Middle Congo. In some regions in the latter area, it was even as high as 88.8 per cent. Throughout the Gaboon and the Middle Congo, 75 per cent of the boys of school age attended school. Thus, the figure for French Equatorial Africa as a whole was most misleading. The French Government had had to overcome great material and psychological difficulties, and education had been brought to the most accessible regions and peoples first, to the towns before the rural areas and to the sedentary before the nomadic populations. Perhaps the most striking phenomenon in all the French territories was the great surge of interest in education on the part of the indigenous inhabitants after years of apathy and hostility. A particularly keen interest in education had become apparent in Morocco after 1945.

56. His Government's educational objectives were those advocated by the Committee on Information. Compulsory education had been embodied in the law in principle, but its enforcement was left to the discretion of the local authorities. The use of force could serve no useful purpose if a majority of the people were not ready to accept education.

57. He agreed with the United Kingdom representative that there should be a division of effort between primary and secondary education. The latter, which had to provide the teachers so essential to any educational development and train an élite in the territories, could not be neglected at the expense of the former. Secondary education should be developed at the same rate as primary education. In French Equatorial Africa, for example, there were thirteen secondary educational establishments of various types. In the field of higher education, a good start had been made and the institutes of higher education at such places as Tunis and Dakar would soon have a status comparable to that of the French universities.

58. In connexion with the criticisms of French educational policy in Tunisia and Morocco, he referred the representatives concerned to his Government's reports. It might be added that at the beginning of the current school year in Tunisia, educational facilities had been available to all who wanted them and 50 per cent of the boys of school age were attending school in that country. In Morocco, 19.2 per cent of the ordinary budget was spent on education and 10.25 per cent of the extraordinary budget on educational equipment. In October 1953, 544 new classes had been opened with accommodation for 25,000 additional pupils, of whom 21,000 were Moroccans. The number of Moroccans attending all types of educational establishments in Morocco was 219,000. An additional 438 Moroccan students were at universities in France, and a further 326 attended the *Centre d'études supérieures* at Rabat. He drew attention, in passing, to the terminal education



courses that had been initiated in Madagascar to overcome the problem of wastage to which so many representatives had referred.

59. His Government attached great importance to the problems of technical education and women's education. The latter problem in particular had been studied at length by the Conference to which he had already referred. In French Equatorial Africa the girls represented only 15.2 per cent of the school population. In Madagascar the situation was somewhat better; they represented 40 per cent. Much remained to be done but great strides had already been made. While girls should certainly have the same access to higher education as boys, at the present stage of development in Africa the first step was to overcome the prejudice of the parents against sending their daughters to any type of school at all.

60. He agreed with those representatives who had stressed the importance of the vernacular for fundamental education. It was difficult at that juncture to convince African students to study linguistic methodology. The problem would be much nearer a solution once that initial difficulty had been overcome. With regard to the teaching of Arabic in Morocco and Tunisia, he pointed out that a great deal of information was contained in his Government's reports and statements to the Committee on Information. Literary Arabic was being seriously studied and there was an ever increasing number of highly qualified Arabic teachers, including fifteen *agrégés*. France had always respected the culture of the peoples with whom it had come in contact and in some instances, as for example in Cambodia, it had even been responsible for reviving a dying culture. His Government believed that Arabic literature and history should be widely accessible to the Tunisians and Moroccans, but it did not see any use in attempting to provide instruction at all levels in Arabic when more important educational objectives had still to be attained. By tradition and principle, his Government was in favour of cultural exchanges between its North African territories and the other Moslem countries. In due time, when a proper spirit of understanding prevailed, it would be prepared to go halfway in that connexion.

61. In conclusion, he stressed that his Government's main objective in educational matters had been to make the metropolitan type of education available to all the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Perhaps quantity had been sacrificed to quality, but in the

long run it was fitting and in keeping with their human dignity that the Africans should receive the same education and diplomas as the inhabitants of the metropolitan country.

62. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) thanked the French representative for his courteous replies to the objections some representatives had raised to French policy in Tunisia and Morocco.

63. The representatives who criticized colonial policies did not claim that the indigenous population derived no profits whatsoever from the development of their country, but that the comparatively small profits they derived were purely incidental to the much larger profits derived by the French settlers. The French Government's policy was primarily aimed at meeting the demands, sometimes the apparently insatiable demands, of those settlers.

64. It was true that the phosphate mines in Morocco were owned by the State and that the revenue from them went to the Moroccan budget. Since, however, all the phosphate produced was sold at a low price to French companies, who subsequently resold it at a much higher price on the world markets, the net result was that the mines were being worked in the interests of French capitalists and to improve France's balance of payments situation.

65. The French representative had referred to the increased interest in education in Morocco in 1945. Did that imply that the French Government had done nothing about education in the previous thirty-seven years of its rule and that its educational reforms were due entirely to the awakened demands of the Moroccans? It was true that 19 per cent of the Moroccan budget was spent on education, but that percentage was very unevenly divided between Moroccan and French schools, the latter receiving markedly preferential treatment.

66. In any event, the problem of Morocco and Tunisia was not a statistical problem but the question of a people's right to independence. Morocco and Tunisia were far more advanced than Somaliland under Italian administration, which would become independent in six years' time, and yet they still had to endure the tyranny of French military repression. The Moroccan and Tunisian people were entitled to independence and they would attain it one day. He hoped that it would be with the agreement of the French Government, and not by force.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.