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Chairman: Mr. Thanat KHOMAN (Thailand).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Božović (Yugoslavia), Vice-Chairman, took the chair.

AGENDA ITEM 35

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/3601 and Corr.1, A/3602, A/3603, A/3606/Rev.1, A/3607, A/3608, A/3609, A/3647 and Corr.1, A/C.4/360, A/C.4/L.497 and Add.1) (continued):

- (a) Information on economic conditions;
- (b) Information on other conditions;
- (c) General questions relating to the transmission and examination of information (A/C.4/357/Rev.1, A/C.4/359);
- (d) Offers of study and training facilities under resolutions 845 (IX) of 22 November 1954 and 931 (X) of 8 November 1955 (A/3618 and Add.1);
- (e) Methods of reproducing summaries of information concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/3619)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) welcomed the representatives of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya to the United Nations and said that the creation of those two independent States marked another victory in the struggle of peoples for national liberation. Although colonialism had been condemned by history it was still in operation in many Territories, hampering their economic development and constituting by its very existence a threat to international peace and security. His delegation had already observed that the support given to peoples who aspired to independence was an

indication of the degree to which nations honoured the principles of the United Nations and it was in that spirit that the situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be examined. The Committee's task was becoming ever more difficult as a result of the negative attitude adopted by the Administering Members and their flagrant violation of Article 73 of the Charter. First it had been arbitrarily decided that no information on political conditions need be submitted; now certain Administering Members were refusing to submit information of any kind. That situation prevented the United Nations from exercising its responsibility with regard to the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and should be examined by the Committee with the utmost seriousness.

2. In endorsing the suggestion made by the Mexican representative at the 672nd meeting to the effect that the future reports of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should include a list of all the Non-Self-Governing Territories and a map showing where they were situated, he said his delegation thought it was equally necessary that other steps should be taken to remedy the disturbing situation which had resulted from the incompleteness of the information submitted, the total absence of any political information and the unsatisfactory presentation of such data as were provided. The Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had rightly observed that the way in which the material was presented was such as to discourage the Press from making use of it. That situation was doubtless to the liking of the administering Powers, for widespread publicity concerning conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories would scarcely redound to their credit. In an age when science had made such progress that even inter-planetary travel was no longer beyond the bounds of possibility, the populations of many colonies continued to be 90 per cent illiterate, while racial discrimination prevailed in all aspects of economic and social life. Although the Committee had frequently condemned the application of corporal punishment to the indigenous inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, that practice persisted in many of the United Kingdom colonies in Africa and the Caribbean.

3. His delegation, while recognizing that the attitude of the Administering Members represented in the Committee on Information had made it difficult for that body to carry out its task, had serious reservations with regard to certain observations and conclusions in the Committee's report (A/3647). The report failed to present a co-ordinated picture of economic and social conditions in the Territories and did not analyse the policies applied to them in the light of the responsibilities assumed by the Administering Members under Chapter XI of the Charter. Some of the elected members of the Committee had, on the other hand, made

judicious observations which, corroborated by the data in the studies prepared by the Secretariat and the specialized agencies, made it possible to reach certain conclusions concerning economic development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories during the past three years.

4. There had been no substantial change in the economic situation of the Territories. Industrial production as a whole was negligible. The economy of the majority of the Territories was still dependent on a single agricultural or mineral product and the fact that their export trade was limited to one or a few raw materials rendered them particularly vulnerable to price fluctuations on the world market. Although the high prices of ores, rubber and timber had increased the revenues of the countries producing those raw materials there had been no corresponding increase in *per capita* income, since the sales of such products benefited only the non-indigenous companies which exploited them. The decline in the prices of agricultural exports, on the other hand, had had a markedly adverse effect on the majority of the indigenous populations of tropical Africa. That situation represented the very essence of colonialist exploitation.

5. The report on economic conditions prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC.35/L.245) showed that in view of the rate of population increase the food production increase was not sufficient to bring about an improvement in the nutrition of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Similarly, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) had noted that in many of those Territories malnutrition was a serious problem. The gist of the chapter on social conditions in the report of the Committee on Information (A/3647, part one, chapter VIII) was that no important changes had taken place in that field. In other words, there had been no improvement in the living and working conditions of the indigenous inhabitants, their wages continued to be among the lowest in the world, no progress had been recorded as far as the status of women was concerned and nothing had been done to promote social security. The level of living in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was extremely low in comparison with that of the metropolitan countries. The most disquieting aspect of the matter, however, was the great disparity between the rate of development of the industrialized countries and that of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the under-developed countries in general, a situation which imperilled economic stability throughout the world. It was therefore imperative that steps should be taken to accelerate the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, whose colonial dependence was the chief obstacle to their rapid development.

6. Any development programme would, however, be valueless if it was not based on the interests of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and did not contribute to their rapid progress towards self-government and independence. The United Kingdom, for example, had a plan for the development of the Territories under its administration which it called the Colonial Development and Welfare Act; yet an examination of that plan from the point of view of the methods used and the objectives sought would show that it was not the type of programme calculated to accelerate the development of the Non-Self-Governing

Territories. The sum of £120 million allocated under that plan for distribution among all the Territories under United Kingdom administration in the period 1955-1960 was indeed minimal and the expenditure provided in the fund for industrial development was extremely small.

7. African public opinion saw in the establishment of the European Economic Community, with which the Non-Self-Governing Territories were being associated without prior consultation, a new form of colonialism designed to frustrate the evolution of those Territories towards economic and political independence. His delegation reserved the right to go into further detail on that matter, which the United Nations was in duty bound to examine with the most careful attention.

8. The economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories could be carried out successfully only if the goal of enabling those Territories to attain their independence and occupy their rightful place in the world economy were kept in view. The truth of that assertion would become the more evident if the growing interdependence of the different countries and areas of the world were taken into account. That interdependence made the development of international economic co-operation and the expansion of technical assistance increasingly necessary. His delegation welcomed the proposal for the establishment of an economic commission for Africa (A/C.2/L.334 and Add.1 and 2), which could promote the economic development of that area.

9. It should be pointed out in that connexion that the United States seemed to be inclined to consider the problem of assistance to the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa in the light of its own strategic interests. In the view of his delegation, it would be useful to reaffirm certain principles underlying the concept of assistance to the under-developed countries which were set forth in the 1954 report of the Committee on Information (A/2729, part two), particularly the following: the elimination of the obstacles to the economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, with the understanding that economic and political progress were indivisible; the achievement of fully developed economies which could take their rightful place in the world economy; and the preservation and development of the natural resources of the Non-Self-Governing Territories for the benefit of their inhabitants. His delegation would welcome any further comments on the suggestion put forward by the Indian representative at the 673rd meeting, concerning the need for an international code of conduct which would give priority to the well-being and progress of the peoples of the under-developed countries.

10. Mr. HARARI (Israel) said that his delegation endorsed the Mexican representative's suggestion that future reports of the Committee on Information should include a list of all the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

11. There was no need to restate his delegation's well-known attitude to colonialism. The important thing was to realize that the process of enabling the Non-Self-Governing Territories to attain their independence could not be completed overnight. The final goal was, of course, the elimination of every vestige of colonialism but in the meantime the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories must go through a period

of economic and social apprenticeship before they could stand on their own feet. When he heard the criticisms voiced by certain representatives he wondered whether their own countries had accomplished half as much in the way of electoral reform, economic development, industrialization and improved standards of living as they seemed to expect the Administering Members to accomplish in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was difficult to achieve progress if the inhabitants of a given Territory were not sufficiently advanced to desire it. In that connexion it was to be noted that while more and more students from the Non-Self-Governing Territories were studying abroad each year, they showed an inclination to concentrate on such subjects as law and political science rather than more practical subjects, such as engineering and mechanics, which would enable them to contribute to the industrialization of their countries.

12. Another point worth noting was that while there was much talk in the Committee about colonialism in the traditional sense, little was said about the new colonialism, a characteristic feature of which was the supplying of weapons to countries which, although politically independent, were far more urgently in need of economic assistance than they were of armaments.

13. With regard to the European Common Market, his delegation recognized the validity of the French representative's argument from the legal standpoint, but felt that any argument which tended to restrict freedom of speech in the Committee was bound to be received with disfavour. He therefore thought that free discussion of the probable effects of the European Common Market on the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be permitted. The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community had not yet been ratified by all of the contracting parties; it would not be possible to judge its impact on the Non-Self-Governing Territories until it had gone into effect and shown whether or not it operated to the benefit of the people of Europe. Yet certain delegations appeared already to have reached conclusions concerning the Treaty and to have taken a stand in opposition to it. His delegation would reserve its position in the matter until it had had an opportunity to judge whether the application of the Treaty to the Non-Self-Governing Territories would promote or jeopardize their interests. In any case, the fact that there was to be a lowering or even an elimination of customs barriers between the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the European signatories to the Treaty could not in itself be taken to mean that the Treaty would operate to the disadvantage of the indigenous inhabitants of those Territories. It seemed strange that so much interest should be shown in a treaty which had not yet been ratified, when so little was said, by contrast, concerning the boycott which certain Powers were conducting against his own country.

14. While it was true that without an influx of capital from abroad there could be no economic development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, it must be remembered that if companies set up to exploit raw materials or industries in the Territory were entirely in the hands of Europeans their prosperity would not affect the level of living of the indigenous inhabitants and the statistics on imports of capital or newly developed industries would consequently not change the

picture. An effort should therefore be made to determine what economic system was best calculated to promote the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. His own country's co-operative system had reached a high level of development and he was convinced that the institution of that system in the Non-Self-Governing Territories would be one of the surest ways of guaranteeing that capital and property would remain in the hands of the indigenous inhabitants. He therefore suggested that it might be advisable to set up a co-operative pilot project in a certain area to ascertain to what extent that system could contribute to industrial and agricultural development and could raise the level of living of the indigenous inhabitants in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. His country would be glad to offer the benefit of its experience for any such project, the effects of which would be felt not only in the economic but likewise in the social and political fields and would thus contribute to the preparation of the indigenous inhabitants for independence.

Mr. Khoman (Thailand) took the Chair.

15. Mr. KADRY (Iraq), speaking on a point of order, expressed his regret that a subject which was not on the Committee's agenda had been brought into the discussion. He would, however, have no objection to a discussion of the boycott mentioned by the previous speaker if the background of aggressive actions and violations of the United Nations Charter which had led to the establishment of that boycott were also explored.

16. Mr. EL HAMID (Egypt), speaking on a point of order, pointed out that the Committee was examining conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and protested against the introduction into the debate of an unrelated topic.

17. Mr. HARARI (Israel) said that he had merely been exercising the right of free speech and would have no objection if other delegations wished to expound their views on the matter to which he had referred.

18. Mr. CHERNUSHCHENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) considered that the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/3647, part two) gave a very incomplete picture of economic conditions in those Territories. The Committee failed to state the reasons for the backwardness of the Territories and for the slow pace of economic development. The figures and facts quoted in the report did not always reflect the true state of affairs; for instance in chapter IV, on external trade, the figures indicating an increase in the value of exports and imports had no significance since the balance of payments was not shown. The report only briefly mentioned the decline in export prices with reference to the Territories under French administration and merely stated that the Territories could obtain most of their supplies from the Administering Members provided that prices in effect in the metropolitan country were not too high. Yet the unfavourable terms of trade were such that the people of the Non-Self-Governing Territories at present received 40 per cent less imports for the amount of goods exported than they had received at the beginning of the century.

19. The pursuit of such colonialist policies spelt ruin for the dependent peoples while greatly profiting the metropolitan countries. The facts showed that the latter

continued to regard the Territories under their administration as sources of raw material and markets for their own manufactured goods and took no interest in their economic development. The Secretariat's report on economic conditions (A/AC.35/L.245) indicated that in Africa industrialization was restricted to the production of primary materials and goods for local consumption. Much had been made of the industrialization programmes but, as the report showed, those were entirely in the hands of private enterprises, which were more concerned with making a profit for themselves than with promoting the general development of the Territories.

20. It was regrettable that the report had not touched on levels of living in the Territories, a question which was directly connected with economic development. The documents prepared by the Secretariat merely alluded to the conclusion of FAO that nutrition was a major problem in many Territories. The Report on the World Social Situation^{1/} testified even more eloquently to the poor housing, malnutrition and unsanitary conditions in Africa. The responsibility lay squarely with the administering Powers, whose policies ignored the interests of the indigenous populations; for instance, the FAO report (A/AC.35/L.243) frankly stated that food production was suffering from over-insistence on the development of export crops.

21. In view of the meagre salaries paid to indigenous workers it was hardly surprising that levels of living were so low. The Administering Members claimed that the situation was due to the backwardness of the inhabitants and the shortage of skilled labour, but that was scarcely a justification since they themselves had deliberately kept the Territories in a state of backwardness and poverty.

22. A number of delegations had drawn attention to the dangers the European Common Market represented for the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The proposed agreement was clearly intended to stifle movements for national emancipation. The United Nations could not disregard that danger but should do its utmost to help the Non-Self-Governing Territories to assert their right to independent development and to economic and political freedom.

23. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) objected to the references the representative of Israel had made to colonialism. The representative of a country which was a direct reflection of the colonialist system was, in his view, hardly the best qualified to speak on that subject.

24. Turning to the item under consideration, he recalled that Syria had always shown deep concern for the well-being of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and had great hopes that the United Nations would guide them towards independence. The principles of Chapter XI of the Charter marked a turning point in the conception of colonial policies, which had contributed to two world wars. The new concern for the fate of dependent peoples not only ensured peaceful change in the Non-Self-Governing Territories but also safeguarded future generations from the evil effects of colonialism. Worthy as they were, however, the guiding principles of the United Nations could engender more harm than good if they were not faithfully applied.

^{1/} United Nations publication, Sales No.:1957.IV.3.

25. During the period that had elapsed since Chapter XI of the Charter had become operative there has been some progress in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but it had not been the same in all areas, nor had all the Administering Members applied those principles to the same degree. It was a pleasure to see the delegations of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya participating as free nations in the work of the United Nations, but apart from that development there was little cause for satisfaction and much for concern. One particular cause for concern was that the obligations assumed by the Administering Members under the Charter were not being fulfilled in certain dependent areas. The situation in Oman and other areas of the Arabian peninsula which were denied the protection of the Charter, and the fate of the peoples of Irian and Algeria illustrated that fact.

26. His delegation proposed to give its views on sub-items (a) and (b) of the agenda item under discussion, reserving its right to speak later on the other sub-items and in particular on sub-item (c). With regard to economic and general conditions, it felt that the task of the Fourth Committee would have been greatly facilitated if the Administering Members had provided some supplementary information and explanations. They might, for example, have provided their own analysis of the report on economic conditions prepared by the Committee on Information and given their views on how certain general principles enumerated in the report might be applicable to the economic conditions of the Territories under their administration.

27. The Committee wisely restated in paragraph 10 of its report, the objectives of economic policy defined by the Committee on Information in 1954. Those objectives still had the full support of the Syrian delegation. Moreover, the report correctly stressed the importance of developing moral and civic consciousness and responsibility among the dependent peoples. That objective, however, could not be pursued so long as the General Assembly and the Committee on Information were restricted in their consideration of the political evolution of the Territories. His delegation had been pleased to note that, in the Chairman's opinion, the Administering Members were beginning to recognize that if the reports of the Committee on Information were to be valid they must accept the political purposes inherent in Chapter XI of the Charter. It had, of course, examined the report on economic conditions in the light of those overriding political considerations.

28. His delegation attached special importance to the proposal, referred to in paragraph 34 of the Committee's report, for the establishment of territorial central banks in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Those Territories could benefit from association in certain currency groups only if payments were effectively controlled by an autonomous banking system. The action taken in that respect in certain African Territories under French administration was most praiseworthy and the announcement that the United Kingdom proposed to establish or extend local money markets in the Territories under its administration was also welcome.

29. The question of financial relations was closely connected with that of external trade. The Non-Self-Governing Territories were still over-reliant on the metropolitan countries in the matter of trade, an arrangement that was not always to the advantage of the

Non-Self-Governing Territories. It would be useful if the Administering Members supplied further information on measures taken to expand the field of trade of their dependent territories and to provide them with markets offering satisfactory prices. There was no doubt that the trading conditions of the Non-Self-Governing Territories would be seriously affected by new economic arrangements between European countries. The Syrian delegation was therefore grateful to the Committee on Information for drawing attention to those provisions of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community which affected the Non-Self-Governing Territories and it could not but deplore the intransigent attitude of the French delegation in preventing the Committee from making a thorough study of the impact of that Treaty on the Non-Self-Governing Territories. That objection was particularly surprising since the French delegation had raised no voice against any reference to the Treaty in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly and in the Second Committee. The Treaty was of concern to various organs of the United Nations dealing with economic and social development and the Fourth Committee had an inescapable responsibility in that regard. While the proposed measures could be freely debated in the Parliaments of European countries, the Non-Self-Governing Territories had no such guarantees. The Syrian delegation would therefore support any measures designed to enable those Territories to examine and decide freely on their participation in any economic community established by the metropolitan Powers. As it was essential that the consequences of the proposed Common Market should be studied in time to prevent any prejudice to the interest of the dependent peoples, the Syrian delegation would also support any draft resolution that would ensure a realistic assessment of the impact of the Treaty on the economies of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

30. A more promising form of international economic co-operation was afforded by the proposal to establish an economic commission for Africa, which should, in his delegation's opinion, be composed of the independent States of Africa. With regard to the dependent peoples of Africa, their exclusive representation through the metropolitan countries would mean that the commission would not represent the African region as a whole. In that connexion, it would be well to draw upon the experience of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in associating local Governments of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of any commission established for Africa. It would be useful to hear the views of the delegations representing the independent countries of Africa on the subject.

31. While his delegation had a number of reservations to make on the report, it was ready to vote in favour of the draft resolution providing for its approval by the General Assembly and its communication to the Administering Members (A/3647, p. 11). It would like to know what practical steps were being taken by the Administering Members to provide for proper publicity of the reports in the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which they were responsible.

32. Mr. LEVISTE (Philippines) stated that the granting of independence to Ghana and the Federation of Malaya by the United Kingdom marked the path that the administering Powers of Non-Self-Governing Territories should follow in accordance with Article 73 of

the Charter. His Government regretted, however, that although the Administering Members had made some efforts to fulfil the obligations they had assumed, they had not done enough to speed the progress of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government.

33. There had admittedly been an increase in the production of raw materials and some industrial expansion in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, with a resultant increase in exports and investments. Nevertheless it was doubtful whether there had been any appreciable rise in the level of living of the indigenous inhabitants, who continued to live in poverty. On the important question of land ownership his Government would like to know how much of the land was in the hands of the indigenous population and how much in the hands of foreigners. The indigenous inhabitants were the rightful owners of the land they worked.

34. All would agree that political independence should precede economic independence, for a people could not make any rapid economic progress unless it had its own Government, the administering Powers being more concerned with their own interests in the Non-Self-Governing Territories than with those of the indigenous population.

35. It was deplorable that illiteracy still reigned in many Non-Self-Governing Territories, forming a serious obstacle to the attainment of self-government.

36. The Administering Members should be asked to do more to improve economic, social and political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in order to hasten the liberation of their 150 million indigenous inhabitants.

37. The Philippine delegation would support the two draft resolutions submitted by the Committee on Information (A/3647, p. 11).

38. Mr. QUIROS (El Salvador) expressed his Government's satisfaction that two former Non-Self-Governing Territories, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, had become Members of the United Nations, and its appreciation of the United Kingdom's policy towards the Territories under its administration.

39. His delegation agreed with many of the views expressed in the admirable report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/3647) and was confident that the Administering Members would put into effect the measures it recommended.

40. With regard to economic conditions, it agreed that the objective of economic policy in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be to raise the level of living of the indigenous people. Despite the undeniable progress achieved in many Territories, as reflected in the increase in production, consumption, and foreign trade, economic development was still a slow process and there was a great discrepancy between the level of living in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and that in the metropolitan countries. It was not clear to what extent the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories were benefiting from the economic progress made. The question of land tenure, too, was of particular importance and he hoped that the Committee on Information would make an exhaustive study of the matter at its next session when it would be concentrating its attention on social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

41. His delegation agreed with the suggestions made by the Mexican representative at the 672nd meeting regarding the form of presentation of the extensive information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

42. With regard to the proposed European Market, it felt that more information was needed before the matter could be studied thoroughly, though it did not agree with the French delegation that the Fourth Committee was not competent to discuss the matter.

43. In conclusion, he stated that his delegation had welcomed the statement made by the Spanish representative at the 670th meeting with regard to his country's obligations under Article 73 of the Charter and was confident that Spain would comply with those obligations.

44. Mr. MERSINI (Albania) congratulated Ghana and the Federation of Malaya on their admission to the United Nations. His delegation hoped that other Non-Self-Governing Territories would shortly achieve self-government. Unfortunately, the colonial Powers had in most cases failed to fulfil their obligations under Article 73 of the Charter and were even planning new forms of domination that would keep the Non-Self-Governing Territories in a position of dependency.

45. Some delegations had claimed that the United Nations should deal only with economic and social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and should not discuss political conditions. It was, however, impossible for the United Nations to appraise the progress of those Territories towards self-government if it had no information on political advancement there. It was the right and the duty of the Fourth Committee to study the political situation in those Territories in order to protect the interests of the indigenous inhabitants.

46. The information provided in the report of the Committee on Information did not give a clear or adequate picture of the economic situation; that was because the Administering Members failed to transmit adequate information or, as in the case of Belgium and others, did not transmit any information whatever. It was clear, however, from the information available that economic conditions in the Territories had not improved; the indigenous inhabitants were still oppressed and exploited, while the profits of foreign companies in the Territories had increased considerably. The Territories were rich in resources and a proper economic policy would benefit the indigenous inhabitants and help to accelerate their progress towards independence.

47. The situation was equally bad in other respects: racial discrimination was recognized as legal and the administering Powers cared nothing for the health and education of the indigenous inhabitants.

48. A number of representatives had spoken of the possible adverse effects of the European Common Market on the Non-Self-Governing Territories. There was no doubt that the incorporation of those Territories in the Common Market would be contrary to the spirit of the Charter. The Common Market was the result of a plan devised in the interests of a limited group of the capitalist countries of Europe and would seriously hamper the economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Albanian delegation rejected the French representative's claim that

the United Nations could not discuss the question because the Treaty had not yet come into effect; it was the duty of the United Nations to examine any change in the political and economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

49. Albania, which had itself experienced foreign domination, had always supported the dependent peoples in their struggle for liberation. It considered that conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories were not in accord with the obligations of the Administering Members under the Charter and that the General Assembly should do all in its power to help the people of those Territories to achieve self-government.

50. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom), referring to a point raised by the representative of Burma at the 674th meeting, assured that representative that, in accordance with its usual practice, the United Kingdom Government would transmit the report of the Committee on Information on economic conditions to the Governments of the Territories for which it was responsible.

51. It was the conviction of most delegations that the vital thing in the progress of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was their advance towards nationhood. The United Kingdom was in the fullest possible sympathy with that view and had indeed done much to help the people of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards the objectives of the Charter, a fact to which the presence of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya in the United Nations bore eloquent witness.

52. The United Kingdom was in full sympathy with the aims of the newly independent nations and was confident that they in turn would appreciate the sincere efforts the United Kingdom was making to solve the many practical problems that had to be solved before non-self-governing peoples could emerge as nations. He paid a tribute to the great services being performed for those peoples by devoted men and women from the United Kingdom and other parts of the Commonwealth.

53. He had less sympathy with those few delegations whose practice it was to use the debate for propaganda purposes to further their Marxist interpretation of economic problems. His delegation was not impressed by selective statistical exercises; the practical record of the United Kingdom in Africa and other parts of the world spoke for itself and was plain for all to see.

54. The United Kingdom regarded economic development as a means rather than an end in the advance of non-self-governing peoples towards nationhood. Its principal aim was to help those peoples to raise their standard of living and to broaden and enrich their lives by ensuring that the national income was spread as widely as possible and the natural resources of the Territories developed for the benefit of the people. To that end it considered health and education to play a vitally important part in economic and general development. Health programmes, including the training of indigenous personnel as medical workers, were accordingly being vigorously pursued in the Territories for which it was responsible. In the last few years, special attention had been devoted to educational progress; a great educational drive was in progress and very large sums of money and human resources had been devoted to that purpose. The number of boys and girls receiving secondary and university education had greatly increased and the quality of schooling had im-

proved. Special attention had been given to teacher-training colleges as the key to educational advancement, and great importance was attached to the education of women. Several new university colleges and technical colleges and schools had been established, and vocational and agricultural education had been expanded. The peoples of the Territories were enthusiastic about education and were receiving the best advice and experience available.

55. He had spoken at some length about education, firstly because it was of vital importance and secondly because educational expansion was expensive and if it were to go steadily forward the natural resources of the countries concerned must be developed by all appropriate means. No task was more important in economic development than the provision of basic economic services. In under-developed countries that task must necessarily fall largely on the Government. In recent years the Territories for which the United Kingdom was responsible had, with substantial assistance from the United Kingdom itself, invested large sums of money in the expansion of those services, especially in power, road and rail communications and water supplies. Notable port, railway and road improvement and expansion had taken place in East, West and Central Africa and elsewhere. He had been surprised to hear it suggested during the debate that the improvement of communications was primarily for the benefit of immigrant rather than indigenous sections of the community or of interests outside the Territories. He wondered whether that remark was intended to apply also to water supplies and power. In his belief the improvement of water supplies was as great a benefit as could be conferred on an under-developed country in the economic field. Electric power was being increasingly used by the people of the Territories for both domestic and economic purposes. Good communications were necessary for the balanced development of a country as a whole and were of the utmost value to individuals in their work and daily lives.

56. Much had been said about industrial development and the suggestion had been made that in the interests of metropolitan countries the administering Powers were discouraging the development of industry in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. That was an old Marxist theory but it was not borne out by the facts. The United Kingdom Government attached the utmost importance to the development of suitable industries and was doing everything it could, in co-operation with the Territories themselves and their people, to encourage industrial development. Considerable success had been achieved in certain fields and if progress had been slower in other fields that had been due not to any lack of enthusiasm but to the enormous practical difficulties encountered in under-developed countries. It was useless to start industries which were likely to be uneconomic in the long run; it must be recognized that progress was bound to be gradual. Some delegations appeared to feel that new industries in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not be run by outside companies. If, as was generally agreed, industrial development was important, it must be pursued by all appropriate means, including private companies which could contribute the capital and technical knowledge so vitally needed by the under-developed countries. Governments could participate through development corporations and could help in many ways, but their appro-

priate task was to provide the basic economic services and it was for private enterprise to start new industries. Wherever possible it should be local enterprise, and where outside enterprises came in the people of the Territories should be associated with the new projects. That process was going forward in a number of ways. New enterprises must of course be operated in accordance with the laws of the Territories concerned and for the benefit of their people; that was the basis on which such enterprises operated in the Territories with which the United Kingdom was concerned. Anyone who doubted the value of outside capital in the progress of Territories needing further development should consult the delegations of some of the countries which had achieved independence during the past fifteen years.

57. He agreed with the representative of India and others that as a general rule diversification of the economy of an under-developed country must be an important aim of policy. For that reason his Government encouraged industrial and mining development wherever possible. Nevertheless, in the under-developed countries of Africa and elsewhere, agriculture must in the foreseeable future be the main industry and source of wealth. He had been glad to hear the representatives of Burma and Venezuela speak of the importance of rural development. It was the United Kingdom's aim to encourage peasant agriculture by modern methods and at the same time to help the African peasant farmers to develop cash crops for sale and export and to develop their livestock industry and fishery resources. Peasant agriculture had the great advantage of spreading wealth widely among the people and it provided the foundation for ordered and steady progress, not only in Africa but in many other parts of the world. It was the Government's task to help those peasant producers to improve their methods and increase production and income. A number of first-class research institutes had been set up, with highly qualified scientists from overseas and usually with large financial assistance from the United Kingdom. Agricultural and veterinary extension services were working in the field to advise and guide peasant farmers; they were increasingly staffed by African personnel trained in local schools, institutes and universities. Agricultural education was being developed. Mechanization was being introduced where suitable conditions existed. A start had been made in certain areas with the consolidation of holdings in the interests of efficiency, but that raised the delicate issue of land tenure and could be successfully handled only in full co-operation with the people. Land alienation to people other than indigenous inhabitants was certainly not on the increase; it was confined to relatively limited areas and was permitted only under the strictest control. The United Kingdom Government regarded it as one of its first and most important duties to protect the land rights of the indigenous inhabitants.

58. The growth of co-operative societies was another important part of his Government's rural development policy. Successful co-operative marketing in particular could greatly add to the economic strength of an agricultural community and during the last fifteen years there had been a remarkable growth of co-operative societies. A number of schemes for the assistance of individual African traders and business men were also in effect in different Territories. Help could be given by credit facilities, by guidance and instruction

in the practical techniques of trading, by wholesale facilities, by assistance over transport and by help in obtaining suitable trading premises in central areas at reasonable but economic rentals.

59. Another aspect of rural development policy was community development, sometimes called mass or fundamental education. That movement was designed to stimulate people, particularly in the rural areas, to plan and carry out development schemes for their own benefit and that of their local communities through their own efforts and on their own initiative. Such programmes, besides spreading adult literacy, could produce improved housing and water supplies, better markets, improved school and dispensary buildings, new and improved roads and even better farming and cattle-breeding. His Government followed rural development programmes everywhere with the utmost interest and was pushing forward its own programmes in a number of Territories.

60. The United Kingdom Government attached great importance to securing the closest possible participation of the representatives of the people of each Territory in the planning of economic and other forms of development. It worked through territorial development plans covering the whole field of development, which were subject to constant revision in the light of changing circumstances. In some cases, too, district and provincial plans were in force. Through committees of the territorial legislatures and through those legislatures themselves, as well as boards and committees dealing with particular subjects, representatives of the people were associated in working out the plans. The representatives of the people were also brought into close consultation in the provinces and districts. In that way an effort was made to ensure that planning was not from the top downwards but as far as possible from the ground upwards. He would not enlarge on that aspect of economic development, but had wished to stress the great importance which the United Kingdom attached to the association of the people of the Territories for which it was responsible in all aspects of public life.

61. Mr. KOSCIUSKI-MORIZET (France) said that he had no intention of withdrawing the reservations he had expressed in the name of five delegations at the outset of the debate (672nd meeting). Nor did he intend to embark upon a procedural argument concerning the applicability of various Articles of the Charter. He wished to make his delegation's position quite clear: it had no objection whatsoever to the international discussion of the European Common Market; in fact article 229 of the Treaty signed in Rome on 25 March 1957 provided for co-operation with the United Nations. His delegation merely considered that no good purpose would be served by discussing the possible consequences of a treaty which had not yet come into force and whose full effects would not be felt for fifteen years. That view was shared by the Economic and Social Council, as could be seen from its recent report.^{2/} Moreover, the Indian representative on the Second Committee had expressed the view that the whole question should be dealt with by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.^{3/}

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 3.

^{3/} Ibid., Second Committee, 459th meeting.

62. The representatives of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other countries of Eastern Europe had shown a concern for the liberation of peoples which would no doubt be of great interest to public opinion in their countries if reports of United Nations debates were published there. Incidentally, the representative of Czechoslovakia had referred to article 214 of the Rome Treaty, which in fact dealt with professional secrecy on the part of officials and members of the staff of the European Community and had no connexion with a refusal to give information on the part of responsible organs of that Community. He would recommend the representative of Czechoslovakia to read the article more carefully.

63. As for that representative's remarks concerning the presence of the Federal Republic of Germany, which was not yet a Member of the United Nations, in the European Economic Community, the logical conclusion was that that country should be admitted to the United Nations and he was ready to support any draft resolution to that effect.

64. The representative of the USSR had treated the Committee to a propaganda tirade, in the course of which he had criticized the *loi-cadre* of 1956, which was not, as he seemed to believe, a promise but a fact. In each of the overseas territories a government council consisting of ministers elected by the assembly was at the head of the administration as the executive power. The elected assemblies, whose functions had been extended to the management of all internal affairs, could adopt any measures they thought proper. The entire political structure was based on universal adult suffrage, which had been introduced early in 1957, when tens of millions of voters had re-elected all the local representative organs. The USSR representative had objected that there had been abstentions amounting to 80 per cent. Such a generalization was inaccurate; the percentages had varied greatly, as in all democratic countries, and the elections had been marked by the large-scale participation of Africans in public life. The USSR representative was obviously unfamiliar with the practices of genuine democracy.

65. His delegation was in full agreement with all those, and especially the Indian delegation, who had alluded to the sacred trust as defined in Article 73 of the Charter. All who had visited Africa had been able to see for themselves that France was scrupulously complying with a principle that was not only laid down in the Charter but constituted a moral imperative in accordance with France's ancient traditions. Similar provisions were laid down in the preamble and other articles of the Rome Treaty. It would be well if all the treaties concluded in the world were equally consistent in the spirit and the letter with the Articles of the Charter.

66. Two considerations in particular seemed to have given rise to reservations or apprehensions on the part of certain delegations: the first related to the industrialization of the African Territories, the other to the consultation of the peoples concerned. The fear had been expressed that the European Common Market was a kind of new colonial pact and that the African countries would be reduced to the role of producers of raw materials and outlets for European manufactured goods. There were no grounds for such apprehensions, since the problem of the industrialization of the overseas territories had not been pushed into the back-

ground. The Treaty included clear provisions for the protection of local industries, as could be seen in article 133. Furthermore, a development fund for the overseas territories had been established. The signatories to the Rome Treaty intended to develop those regions in every field. The investment fund would be an addition to existing finance programmes, not a substitute for them. In other words France would continue its efforts but they would be supplemented by the efforts of other European countries. Moreover France, which had done more than any other country to help the under-developed countries by way of investment, had informed the General Assembly that it would not reduce its contribution to the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.

67. The progressive abolition of customs barriers between the countries of the European Economic Community would redound to the benefit of the overseas territories. Additional outlets would be opened to them and competition would be stimulated, with beneficial results for their economies. In that connexion, he quoted some extracts from an economic report submitted by a well-known African, Mr. Gabriel Lisette, Deputy and Vice-President of the Government of Chad, to the Congrès du rassemblement démocratique africain at Bamako. Mr. Lisette had observed that the European Common Market had both advantages and disadvantages and that as a precaution the Government of Chad had insisted that the overseas territories should be entitled to continue to levy customs duties in accordance with their needs. He had added that, subject to that reservation, the European Common Market offered great advantages: it would open to African producers a market of 180 million consumers; overseas consumers on the other hand would be enabled by the Common Market to obtain goods which would contribute to reducing the cost of living. Mr. Lisette had also stated that the text of the Treaty laid down the principle that the special economic and social conditions of the overseas territories should be taken into consideration with a view to promoting the progress and development of their peoples, and for that purpose a development fund had been set up, contributions to which had been pledged by the Member States.

68. A recent statement by Mr. Modibo Keita, a Deputy from the Sudan, who had been Secretary of State for Overseas France, was evidence both of the determination of the French Government to safeguard Africa's industrial future and of the political maturity of the African leaders. Mr. Keita had described how a number of countries had invested 90,000 million francs in French Guinea for the construction of a modern plant for the manufacture of aluminum, while at the same time the French Government was taking steps to facilitate an additional investment by Governments of 120,000 million francs to develop electric power from the Konkouré and establish an aluminum industry in Guinea with a capacity equal to that which already existed in France. Mr. Keita had said that the result of that experiment would be test of the industrial future of French West Africa.

69. The testimony of those two Africans refuted the claim that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had not been consulted. He would, however, be still more specific.

70. When the question of establishing the European Economic Community had arisen, France could not, for

technical, political and moral reasons, have considered excluding the overseas territories. France and its overseas territories already constituted a kind of common market and France could not have belonged to two separate common markets. Furthermore, it would have been unthinkable to confine the advantages of the European Common Market to the metropolitan country and to exclude the overseas territories. It had been necessary to find a formula which would take into consideration the different economic structures of the European countries and the overseas territories and would enable the latter to share in the advantages of the Common Market. France had therefore requested its European partners to include the overseas territories in the Treaty and it was grateful to them for having agreed to do so. If France had left the overseas territories to fend for themselves, it would have betrayed the sacred trust and might justly have been accused of colonialism.

71. Some delegations appeared to overlook the fact that the inhabitants of the overseas territories participated on an equal footing in the functioning of the highest organs of the French Government. They had been consulted with regard to their association in the Common Market on two occasions through their representatives in the French Parliament. A debate had taken place in the National Assembly in January 1957, as a result of which the Rome Treaty had been approved in principle. The African members of Parliament had played a considerable part in that preliminary consultation.

72. Again, after the signature of the Rome Treaty on 25 March, the French overseas territories had had another opportunity to express their views during the final debate before ratification of the Treaty. Almost all the overseas deputies, to whatever party they belonged, had voted in favour of ratification, which had been approved by the National Assembly on 9 July. The fact that some ten overseas deputies had cast a negative vote or had abstained did not necessarily mean that they were fundamentally opposed to the idea of the European Economic Community or considered it would be detrimental to the interests of their constituents; in a number of cases it was because they wished to maintain the spirit on which the French Union was based and were reluctant to see the end of French influence.

73. The Treaty provided for an initial period of five years. The Africans would be vitally interested in the success of the experiment and the ministers of economic affairs of each Territory would be able to study any measures they considered might improve the programme. France would continue the task it was performing in complete agreement with the Africans, who were best able to judge of the realities of the situation. Prosperity, like peace, was indivisible and any improvement in one part of the world must necessarily benefit other parts. The European Common Market would not be a closed market and the admission of new partners would always be given favourable consideration.

74. Two great peaceful revolutions were under way: the first was the unification of a reconstituted Europe, the second was the economic, political and social emancipation of Africa and its admission to the international community. It was a happy circumstance that, in the spirit of the Charter and with the support of all

the free peoples of the world, the new Europe was extending the hand of friendship to young Africa in order to accelerate its attainment of well-being, justice and freedom.

75. Mr. SULTANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking on a point of order, said that the representatives of the United Kingdom and France had not disproved the facts presented by the Soviet delegation but had merely used the old device of accusing him of

Marxist propaganda. The French representative had seen fit to make various insinuations regarding the democracy of the Soviet State and the freedom of the countries of Eastern Europe. The Soviet delegation emphatically rejected those insinuations against the most progressive socialist States, which offered freedom to all members of the community and not only to the ruling minority as in capitalist countries.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.