

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**

FOURTEENTH SESSION
 Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 976th
 MEETING**

Monday, 30 November 1959,
 at 10.50 a.m.

NEW YORK

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(f) *Offers of study and training facilities under resolution 845 (IX) of 22 November 1954: report of the Secretary-General (A/4196 and Add.1)*

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. MELINESCU (Romania) pointed out that Chapter XI of the Charter imposed on the administering Powers certain obligations relating to the rights which it granted them. The United Nations also had special responsibilities with regard to the colonial peoples, responsibilities which it could not ignore without betraying the principles upon which the Organization itself was founded. It was accordingly in the light of those principles, proclaimed in Chapter I of the Charter and set forth in greater detail in Chapter XI, that the Committee, not allowing itself to be outpaced by the events which marked the collapse of the colonial system, should examine conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

2. The administering Powers generally opposed the discussion of political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories on the pretext that Article 73 of the Charter did not expressly mention any obligation to provide information on political conditions. His delegation had always rejected that argument, in view of Article 10, which gave the General Assembly the right to discuss any questions within the scope of the Charter, and in view also of the provisions of Article 73 itself, whereby the administering Powers had accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to promote the political advancement of the peoples under their administration, to develop self-government, to take due account of their political aspirations and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions. It would therefore be anomalous if the Committee were to ignore that very important aspect of the question when events such as those which had recently occurred in the Belgian Congo, in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and also in Kenya, were attracting the attention of newspapers all over the world and arousing considerable anxiety.

3. In most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the situation continued to be marked by bloodthirsty repression of any movement towards independence and of any demonstration of protest against the colonial administration. According to newspaper reports, there had been more than 800 persons killed or injured in the Belgian Congo between January and November 1959; in Nyasaland, 250 persons had been reported killed in the previous spring and in the month of August there had still been some 700 political prisoners in the Federation; in Kenya, which had been in a state of siege for seven years, there were more than 2,000 political prisoners and restrictions of all kinds were reported. The administering Powers were trying to justify their use of force by references to acts of violence committed by Africans, as if there could be any comparison between the struggle of the

Chairman: Mr. L. N. PALAR (Indonesia).

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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/4081 and Add.1-4, A/4082 and Add.1-5, A/4083 and Add.1-3, A/4084 and Add.1-4, A/4085 and Add.1-4, A/4086 and Add.1-10, A/4087 and Add.1-5, A/4088 and Add.1-14, A/4089 and Add.1-5, A/4111) (continued):

- (a) Progress achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories in pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter (A/4105-4109, A/4114, A/4124, A/4128 and Corr.1, A/4129, A/4131, A/4134, A/4136, A/4137, A/4142, A/4144, A/4152, A/4162 and Corr.1, A/4165-4167, A/4175, A/4178, A/4181, A/4192-4195);
- (b) Information on educational conditions (A/4111, part one, section VI, and part two);
- (c) Information on other conditions (A/4111, part one, sections VII and VIII);
- (d) General questions relating to the transmission and examination of information (A/4096 and Add.1, A/4111, part one, section X, A/4115, A/4226, A/4227, A/C.4/405, A/C.4/406);
- (e) Report of the Secretary-General on new developments connected with the association of Non-Self-Governing Territories with the European Economic Community (A/4197 and Corr.1);

African peoples for independence and the massacres cynically perpetrated under the pretence of maintaining the colonialist order. When the people of the Belgian Congo demanded immediate independence, when the inhabitants of Nyasaland and Rhodesia rejected a federation based on "apartheid", they were not instigating a conspiracy; they were protesting against colonialist oppression. But the parties which represented the real interests of the indigenous populations were outlawed and their leaders imprisoned, while the administering Powers, loudly proclaiming their sacred trust, continued to exploit the populations in their charge and delivered them over to the brutality of their troops.

4. In most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories all electoral laws were designed to protect and even to strengthen white ascendancy and privileges. Even where the indigenous inhabitants were allowed to participate in representative bodies, their participation was purely formal and, moreover, was based on racial discrimination. On the evidence of documents and newspaper reports, it could justly be said that the administering Powers were doing their utmost to hamper the political advancement of the Territories for which they were responsible. In order to appreciate at its true worth the disinterestedness which their representatives proclaimed, it was necessary only to recall that the colonies continued to be important sources of profit for the metropolitan countries, which found in them raw materials to exploit, cheap labour, markets for their goods, extremely favourable conditions for capital investment, and so forth. A few figures taken from the Secretariat's report on mining (A/4105) showed how the natural resources of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were being plundered: in 1956, the output of certain materials from those Territories, expressed as a percentage of world output, had been: tin, 49 per cent; bauxite, 38 per cent; cobalt, 67 per cent; diamonds, 74 per cent. But according to the Secretariat's report on general economic developments (A/4166), the economy of those Territories, being dependent on exports of a few primary commodities, remained largely undeveloped, and the interests of their inhabitants were still entirely subordinated to the interests of the foreign monopolies. A large proportion of the income derived from investments was used for the payment of interest, the salaries of foreign employees, etc., with the result that in 1957 the proportion of the total national income which was received by the indigenous populations had been 56 per cent for the Belgian Congo, 42.3 per cent for Kenya and 30.6 per cent for Northern Rhodesia (A/4166, table 11). The impoverishment of the economy was accompanied by the pauperization of the inhabitants. All industrial and commercial activities were in the hands of aliens, while the indigenous inhabitants, driven off the best land, lived from hand to mouth on scanty harvests of customary food crops.

5. He pointed out that the idea of a collective exploitation of Africa was gaining ground in colonialist circles. But the Eurafican scheme was not a new one: joint exploitation of Africa by a sort of United States of Europe had been proposed before the First World War. Its present aim was the systematic looting of Africa and the stifling of African movements for national liberation. There was no doubt, however, that the just cause of the African peoples would pre-

vail and that the countries under colonial rule would recover their freedom and independence.

6. As far as social conditions were concerned, racial discrimination continued to be the characteristic feature. In most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories there was a marked difference between the wages of indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants. To cite only one example, in the Central African Federation the civil service was organized on racial principles and comprised four categories, of which the highest was reserved for Europeans. Forced labour and corporal punishment still survived in many Territories. Not only had the administering Powers done nothing to prepare the Non-Self-Governing Territories for independence but they were striving in all fields to perpetuate their colonial domination, using as an excuse the alleged lack of maturity of the peoples they administered. However, the growth in recent years of the liberation movement showed categorically that the peoples were capable of deciding their own destiny and were determined to do so. The first step to be taken to help them rise above their wretched lot was to release them from their subjection, since only independence could enable them to make up for lost time. The United Nations should act along those lines if it wished to make the Charter a living reality.

7. He then proceeded to analyse educational conditions, to which the General Assembly was devoting particular attention that year. The inevitable liquidation of the colonial system, a historical development which the colonialists themselves could no longer deny although they sought to retard it, made it more urgent than ever to train qualified cadres and to form an enlightened public opinion, capable of helping the Government in its efforts. The fact that the illiteracy rate was still high in most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not prevent their attainment of independence because, firstly, that deplorable situation was the result of the long colonialist domination and, secondly, as history showed, a cultural policy consistent with the interests of the people could only be conducted in conditions of freedom and independence. Over centuries of exploitation, the administering Powers had contracted a heavy debt towards the peoples they administered. In the fourteenth century, large African States like Ghana or Mali had been much more highly developed than the great States of Europe; it had been colonialist conquest, from the fifteenth century onwards, that had interrupted their remarkable cultural progress. However, the colonialist countries did not seem at all determined to repair the damage they had caused. Like Mr. Charles D. Ammoun, the author of a study published by the United Nations,^{1/} his delegation was convinced that the fiction of racial inferiority, propagated by those who were afraid of losing a privileged position, would be destroyed if the exploited group had access to education under normal conditions and was enabled to exercise fully its political rights. The only real way for the Non-Self-Governing Territories to solve the problem of education was to attain independence. However, it was the duty of the Administering Powers, meanwhile, to take vigorous steps to improve education by beginning at the beginning, i.e. by instituting universal, free and compulsory primary education, with a view to eradicating illiteracy.

^{1/} Study of Discrimination in Education (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1957.XIV.3).

8. It was deplorable that no action had been taken on the numerous General Assembly resolutions aimed precisely at the eradication of illiteracy, particularly resolutions 330 (IV), 743 (VIII) and 1049 (XI), and that in the majority of the Non-Self-Governing Territories that problem remained one of the utmost urgency, as pointed out by the Committee on Information (A/4111, part two, para. 44). The high illiteracy rates—which, according to the UNESCO report on education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4131), were 75 to 99 per cent for twenty-two Territories, 50 to 75 per cent for seven Territories and 25 to 50 per cent for nine Territories—the low primary and secondary school enrolment, the small number or even complete absence of institutions of higher education, the poor state of school premises and the unsatisfactory standard of teaching were all due to the extreme poverty of the population and to the refusal of the administering Powers to allocate the necessary funds to expand indigenous education. As he had just shown, economic conditions accounted for the poverty of the population, while the inadequacy of the funds provided by the administering Powers was attested by all the documents. According to UNESCO statistics, in 1953-1954 United Kingdom expenditure per student, which was £24.7 at home, amounted to £0.70 for Northern Rhodesia and only £0.16 for Nigeria. In Belgium, during the same school year, educational expenditure per child amounted to 1,709 francs for the metropolitan country and a mere 63 francs for the Belgian Congo.

9. If the administering Powers believed in their civilizing mission, they would not hesitate to use at least a part of the profits they had obtained from exploiting the Territories under their charge to remedy the deficiencies for which they themselves were responsible: that should be the aim of their educational policy. Prompted by the concern it felt about the educational situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Romanian delegation had prepared a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.625) which it submitted for the Committee's approval. While his delegation had not hesitated to speak in the frankest terms about the administering Powers during the present statement, convinced that that would better serve both their interests and those of the colonial peoples, it had, however, taken care to eliminate all accusations and recriminations from its draft and to confine itself to general principles and to the practical measures which should be taken to attain the desired aim, namely, to create in the Non-Self-Governing Territories educational conditions as favourable as those existing in the metropolitan countries. Having consulted several delegations and having taken their comments and suggestions into account as far as possible, his delegation hoped that the draft would meet unanimous support.

10. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) said that the able speeches made by the representatives of Mexico, Ghana, Brazil and the United Arab Republic might have made it unnecessary for her delegation to intervene in the present discussion were it not that it wished the dependent peoples of the world, and especially in Africa, to know that Liberia's interest in their problems would never cease until those peoples had attained their independence.

11. The administering Powers interpreted Chapter XI of the Charter as though the transmission of infor-

mation on Non-Self-Governing Territories depended upon their good will. That interpretation should be contested and had been contested very rightly by the representatives of Venezuela and India. No legal provision could be considered out of its context, and it was clear from Article 73 a and b of the Charter that the United Nations was empowered to receive and examine information on political conditions.

12. The Committee was tackling the question of the transmission of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories in such a cautious manner that cultural, social and economic advancement appeared as an end in itself, whereas it was only a means of achieving the aims set forth in Article 73 a and b.

13. If the General Assembly had accepted restrictions on the transmission of information under Chapter XI, how could one explain the fact that the General Assembly had agreed that populations covered by Chapter XII should be administered on the same basis as Non-Self-Governing Territories covered by Chapter XI, since that would limit the rights of those populations? That question could not be answered by reference to administrative convenience. When two categories of Territories were administered jointly, no one could doubt that the situation in one would affect the situation in the other and the administering Powers should have no objection to reporting on the development of both, because in each case the final aim was the same: self-government and independence. The most practical approach to the problem was to admit that it was difficult to consider separately any aspect of development, whether economic, educational, social or political, in the two Territories.

14. While educational advancement undoubtedly helped to awaken political consciousness, the reverse was also true: the lack of educational facilities in the Non-Self-Governing Territories also had political repercussions and prompted the masses to claim their freedom and the opportunity of enjoying the fundamental rights of man. Prison walls might enclose the bodies but could not enslave the minds of those who supported a just cause. Ghana was a vivid example of that truth.

15. The association of certain Non-Self-Governing Territories with other Territories considered as self-governing also gave rise to a problem: in most cases such an association was not a union based on the mutual consent of the parties directly concerned. However, the union existed, but the General Assembly was denied the right of examining the situation in one of the Territories whereas it could do so in the case of the other; Nyasaland and Rhodesia were striking cases in point.

16. However, what was even graver was the interpretation given to Article 2, paragraph 7, read in the light of Chapter XI of the Charter. Whatever labels were attached to certain colonial possessions—whether they were called provinces or overseas territories—the fact remained that they were Non-Self-Governing Territories to which Article 2, paragraph 7, did not apply. Moreover, the status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory could not be changed by the unilateral adoption of statutes in connexion with such territories. In that regard the list of factors drawn up by the General Assembly did not appear to be complete, because it did not take account either of territories where forced labour existed, or of territories whose

inhabitants were regarded not as citizens but as wards of the administering Powers, or, again, of those where the rate of illiteracy was so high that the United Nations could not ignore it. Those territories should not be allowed to escape international control on the misleading pretext that they were not colonies but self-governing entities. She appealed to Portugal, and to all other States which held territories in Africa, to revise their attitude with regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories which they administered, and to agree to transmit information in connexion with those territories. They owed it not only to the peoples for whom they were responsible, but also to their prestige as Members of the United Nations, pledged to respect the obligations of the Charter. In return, they would gain the friendship and respect of the peoples of Africa and of the world.

17. As other aspects of the situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories had been very fully discussed, she would confine herself to deploring discrimination in all its forms—wherever it was practised, in a Mandated Territory like South West Africa, or in Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories. In that connexion she referred to the joint communiqué issued at the end of a private conference held in July 1959 at Saniquelli, where the Heads of State of Ghana, Guinea, and Liberia had reaffirmed their resolve to do all in their power to implement the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

18. With regard to the question of the cessation of communication of information, she agreed with the remarks made by the Brazilian representative at the 970th meeting.

19. She would vote in favour of the draft resolution on the Secretariat report on progress achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/C.4/L.622), and she congratulated the Committee on Information for its excellent report (A/4111).

20. She thanked the Administering Powers for all they had accomplished and asked them to encourage the greatest participation of the indigenous peoples in the conduct of their own affairs. The persons deprived of their liberty still included many teachers, doctors, technicians and farmers which the Territories needed in order to speed up progress in every field. A gesture towards them would be a credit to the administering Powers. The peoples of Africa nursed no grudge: all they wanted was to live in freedom and dignity like the other peoples of the world.

21. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) said that the definition of the responsibilities of the administering Powers appearing in Article 73 of the Charter showed that the United Nations adhered unreservedly to the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. The recognition of the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount provided a sound basis permitting the United Nations to co-operate in the peaceful solution of the colonial problem. Nevertheless, it was clear that the principles set forth in the Charter would help the dependent peoples only if the Administering Powers and the United Nations as a whole ensured that they were faithfully applied. For a study of information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to be worth while, it was necessary to take into account the general development of those Territories. The restrictive interpretation of Article 73 limiting the

information merely to documents of a technical nature "relating to economic, social, and educational conditions" would accordingly make such a study pointless and would deprive the United Nations of an effective means of supervision. Under Article 73, the Administering Powers had the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security, the well-being of the Non-Self-Governing Territories which they administered. The United Nations had, therefore, the same responsibilities towards those Territories as towards the Trust Territories, and there could be no question of limiting those responsibilities to a mere academic study of technical information.

22. The economic and social situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was characterized by under-development which was a consequence of colonial rule. The economic life of those Territories was completely dominated by the demands of the colonial Powers' economies. The law of necessity worked in favour of the industries and trade of the mother countries by turning the Non-Self-Governing Territories into reservoirs of raw materials, and into markets for their industrial products. That situation had serious disadvantages for the Territories' economic development: on the one hand, the exploitation of resources which were not processed locally drained the Territories of their substance, with no profit to the inhabitants; on the other, the competition from industrial products manufactured in the mother country with raw material extorted at a low price from the colonies was a danger to the young industries of the under-developed countries. As the technical and industrial development of the mother countries accelerated, the lack of economic balance in the colonies was aggravated to the same extent. There was no example of an economic system which had developed satisfactorily under foreign domination. The problem of economic under-development in the world, largely due to the colonial system, was growing worse every day. It was clear that the colonial system offered no prospect, even in the long run, of solving that problem. In fact, as Mr. Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, had said at the 837th meeting of the General Assembly, "the failure of the colonialist concept is due precisely to the fact that the colonial Powers, while possessing the means for the development of this wealth, did not use them in the colonized countries to eliminate the gap between the level of living of the colonized peoples and that of the sovereign peoples, but, on the contrary, widened that gap by systematically exploiting resources and raw materials and keeping those peoples in abject poverty and dependence." The economic level of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was tragically insufficient to meet the needs of their peoples, who were living in misery despite the enormous resources available. The administering Powers were careful not to recognize, objectively, their responsibilities in that regard. All the information they supplied was intended to give the impression that their exploitation of those Territories was a humanitarian undertaking. The Administering Powers furnished no information—because such information would be too self-revealing—concerning the division of land and working resources between colonizers and colonized, the annual income of the European minority compared with that of the enormous indigenous majority, the profits of the colonial companies compared with social expenditure

on the indigenous peoples, and the wages and salaries, for equal proficiency, of local employees compared with those of employees from the mother country.

23. It was ridiculous to speak of the development of the indigenous peoples when the essence of colonialism was a denial of their personality. The Portuguese Government had given the most striking example of social discrimination, embodied in a constitutional act, by dividing the population of the Territory of Angola into five categories according to birth and the colour of the skin: Portuguese born in Portugal, Portuguese born in Angola or elsewhere in Africa, half-castes, assimilated "blacks" who formed a very small minority, and other "blacks" who formed the great majority of the indigenous population. How could any improvement whatever in the social level of peoples be imagined in a system which aimed at the servitude and brutal exploitation of the indigenous population? France had introduced a similar system of social discrimination in its colonies by dividing the population into French citizens, assimilated persons, native citizens, and French subjects. Fortunately, the awakening national consciousness of the indigenous population had already destroyed that discriminatory and backward social structure. With regard to employment, if the indigenous inhabitants had secured improvements in the matter of wages and social conditions, it was due solely to the campaign they had conducted within the trade unions of "black" Africa. In 1946, the abolition of forced labour in West Africa under French domination had marked the beginning of the African liberation movement. Today, forced labour still existed in Angola. Statistics for 1957 showed that there were, at that time, 700,000 people condemned to forced labour in the Territory. As a former Portuguese deputy had said, the condition of those workers was worse than the condition of slaves, because their masters, who could easily have them replaced by approaching the Government, were not even concerned to keep them alive. On the other hand, the Portuguese settlers enjoyed every care at the hands of the State. In the "colonatos" of Cela, Matala and Libollo, those settlers had the right to 100 hectares of fertile land and to the modern equipment and implements which they required. They could also obtain a long-term loan repayable over a period of twenty years.

24. It was likewise in Angola that the colonial companies made the most exorbitant profits. The profits of the Diamang diamond company had risen from 211 million escudos in 1951 to 340 million in 1955. In general, the great colonial companies held sway throughout Africa, and particularly in Africa south of the Sahara.

25. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories suffered greatly from malnutrition. Furthermore, hygienic services were tragically inadequate. In most of the Territories, there was less than one doctor for every 100,000 inhabitants. When his own country had attained its independence, it had had only one doctor for every 30,000 persons. In the Belgian Congo, with a population of 11 million inhabitants, and after eighty years of Belgian administration, there was not yet a single Congolese doctor.

26. With respect to education, it was superfluous to repeat that ignorance was still the lot of the non-self-governing peoples. His delegation endorsed the recommendations of the Committee on Information to

the effect that qualified indigenous persons should take part in the formulation of educational programmes. The quantitative lack of educational facilities was not the only fault. The administering Powers had not respected the cultural traditions of the populations, except in so far as they enabled them to divide the peoples and so strengthen their own domination, as shown by the recent incidents in Ruanda-Urundi. It was for the same purpose of strengthening their domination, and preventing the formation of a national consciousness, that the administering Powers had prohibited in the Territories the teaching of languages other than that of the mother country. As a result of that policy, the young independent African States were at present confronted by the serious problem of developing or creating national languages. Colonial influence had also served to impoverish indigenous art. In order for education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories to be commensurate with the goals assigned to it in the Charter, it must undergo a decisive process of decolonization whereby the culture and languages of the peoples concerned would take the place which they deserved. Unfortunately, in some cases it was useless to hope that the colonial Powers, which had turned education into an instrument for domination and discrimination, would agree to make that change.

27. When the non-self-governing peoples came to govern themselves freely, they would provide for their own development at a pace which would have been impossible under the colonial system. That fact received daily confirmation in recently liberated States like Guinea. Only the independent States were making headway towards the eradication of illiteracy; in the Non-Self-Governing Territories the average rate of illiteracy was 90 per cent.

28. In those circumstances, his delegation could not agree with those delegations which wanted the information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to be divorced from all political considerations. Indeed, the information had no meaning unless it was drawn up and examined in close relation to the living conditions and aspirations of the peoples concerned. The colonial Powers were averse from submitting political information because they did not wish to have the real facts of the colonial system brought into discussion, as those facts would hardly redound to their credit.

29. Under the terms of Article 73 of the Charter, the administering Powers accepted the sacred trust of bringing the Territories under their administration to self-government. Comparing that provision with Article 76 b, which referred to the progressive development of Trust Territories towards self-government or independence, it became evident that no clearer statement could possibly be made of the identical right of all the peoples, whether from Trust or from Non-Self-Governing Territories, to independence. The responsibility which devolved upon the administering Powers in that respect was therefore clearly a political responsibility—a fact which, furthermore, was confirmed by the provisions of Article 73 regarding the "political aspirations" and the "political institutions" of non-self-governing peoples. How then could the Administering Powers assert that they were not obliged to submit political information? Without such information, no understanding of the situation in a Non-Self-Governing Territory could be

gained, particularly if its people were struggling for their freedom. His delegation was convinced that the Fourth Committee would not conform to the wishes of those who wanted it to disinterest itself in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

30. The refusal of certain Powers to supply information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration constituted a violation of one of the essential provisions of the Charter. Portugal had consistently refused to submit information, on the grounds that it did not administer such Territories and that its African possessions formed an integral part of Portuguese territory. Before examining the situation in the territories of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, he wished to recall the list of factors, appearing in the annex to resolution 742 (VIII), which were used by the United Nations to determine whether a Territory did or did not come under the heading of a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Those factors could be summarized as follows: first, political advancement of the people sufficient to enable them to decide upon their future destiny by democratic means; secondly, the existence of a representative and democratically constituted system of government; thirdly, the enjoyment of individual rights, particularly in the political fields; fourthly, the absence of pressure or coercion which might prevent the population from freely expressing its views as to the national or international status it desired; and lastly, the assurance that the views of the population would be respected.

31. He was concerned to show that the conditions prevailing in Portugal's African territories made it reasonable to classify them among the territories covered by Article 73 of the Charter. In the first place, the inhabitants of those territories were graded as "civilized" or as "not civilized"—the latter being the "black" indigenous peoples, who were not entitled to take part in elections to local or metropolitan legislative assemblies and who, from the economic and social standpoints, were under the complete control of the local administrator. The new status of indigenous inhabitants doubtless enabled individuals to become citizens under certain conditions, notably if they could provide for the needs of their family, if they had the education and habits fitting them to exert fully the public and private rights of Portuguese citizens, and if they had completed their military service; however, it was only by examining the way in which that status was granted that the real significance of the distinction between "civilized" and "not civilized" could be understood. Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea had a total population of 11.5 million inhabitants, 99 per cent of whom were "black" and had indigenous status; only 37,000 of them, or about 0.3 per cent, had the status of "civilized".

32. Similarly, in education, the children of "civilized" persons received their schooling in a system directed by the Ministry of Education, whereas the very rudimentary education given to the indigenous children was left to the religious missions. In Mozambique, in 1955, out of 2,041 schools only twelve had been State schools, and the six secondary schools had had 858 white pupils and 13 African pupils; the situation had been approximately the same in the commercial, technical and industrial schools; it had also been similar in Angola and Portuguese Guinea. Africans were also excluded from their territory's eco-

nomie life, and all important posts in administrative departments were reserved for Europeans.

33. Hence it was clear that current conditions in the African territories under Portuguese domination set the legal status of self-government at naught: in fact, more than 99 per cent of the inhabitants of those territories possessed none of the attributes which the General Assembly regarded as an indication of genuine self-government, in accordance with the principles defined in the Charter. Those were clearly Non-Self-Governing Territories, and in no case should the United Nations evade its responsibilities towards such colonial peoples. Accordingly, it should demand that Portugal submit a report on the territories in question, in accordance with Article 73 of the Charter, and that it carry out the other obligations set forth in Chapter XI. The recent events in Portuguese Guinea, where more than thirty persons had been brutally slaughtered as the result of a strike, demonstrated the urgent need for United Nations supervision.

34. The General Assembly was under no obligation to confine itself to noting the French Government's decision not to submit further information on its Territories in West Africa and Equatorial Africa and on Madagascar. If the General Assembly considered that those Territories did not meet the conditions required for self-government, it should take necessary steps to ensure respect for the Charter. Even though the French Constitution left the way open for the new States members of the Community to accede to independence, the Community was not a multinational association of equal States but merely a reorganized version of the old French Empire. By accepting the Constitution, Madagascar and the French Territories in Africa had for one reason or another simply put off the date on which they would attain independence. Their present status was thus provisional only and could not in any event be confused with self-government as defined in the Charter. Senegal and the French Sudan had already declared that they were anxious to attain independence in 1960, and Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, the Prime Minister of the Ivory Coast and a champion of the French Community, had recently recognized that Madagascar and the eleven States of Africa which were members of the Community might one day come to the United Nations as independent nations. The Community was an internal French organization, and there was no difference between a State that was a member of the Community and a colony. In addition, any option for independence had to be by way of a referendum in each Territory and had to be ratified by the French Government. The General Assembly must accordingly give careful consideration to the French Government's decision, and that decision must on no account be accepted as having freed France of all responsibility as the administering Power under Article 73 of the Charter.

35. The Fourth Committee should redouble its vigilance during the period of the decline of colonialism, a process that could not be held back by bloody repression and brutal counter-measures by the colonial authorities, as had been attempted in Portuguese Guinea, Nyasaland, Rhodesia, Kenya and the Belgian Congo. Article 73 of the Charter had been drawn up with the same intention as had Article 76, and that was evidence that the future of the Trust Territories

and of the Non-Self-Governing Territories must be in the same direction. Those Articles should not be interpreted by the United Nations in such a way as to give an excuse for the continuance in a modified form of the system of domination which they condemned. At all events, the peoples of Africa were confident that the United Nations would take such action as was necessary to promote the complete emancipation of the dependent peoples and to ensure international peace and co-operation.

36. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal), speaking on a point of order, said that the courtesy, calm and moderation shown by his delegation would certainly be recognized by the Committee. His delegation could not, however, pass over the Guinean representative's statement in silence. Although Mr. Touré was undoubtedly sincere, he was unfortunately blinded by propaganda of a particular kind and animated by violent sentiments which made him lose his sense of perspective. The Guinean delegation had every right to interpret Article 73 of the Charter in a different way from the Portuguese delegation and to give its reasons for that interpretation. Several other delegations had already done so, but they had all spoken in moderate and courteous terms. The Guinean representative had unfortunately gone much too far. The claim that there were five different categories of persons in the Portuguese Territories was pure invention, and he urged the Guinean representative to cite any act, decree or regulation supporting that allegation. The Guinean representative's allusions to the Portuguese army's recruiting methods were unwarranted; there were in fact numerous African officers in the Portuguese Army. As to the problems of health and hygiene, which had also been mentioned by the Guinean representative, the World Health Organization's latest reports proved that the truth was very far from what Mr. Touré had asserted. In that connexion, he pointed out that large numbers of lepers from Guinea received treatment in the neighbouring Portuguese Territories. He also wished to deny categorically the allegations by the Guinean representative concerning the existence of forced labour. As would be remembered, the Portuguese Government had ratified the 1930 Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour and the 1957 Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour, both of which had been concluded under the auspices of the International

Labour Organisation. The Guinean representative had sought to show that the "colonatos" were a form of discrimination against the indigenous population, but they were in reality a means and system for internal development and were intended for the advantage and benefit of the whole population without exception. Lastly, the incidents which had occurred in Portuguese Guinea and which, according to Mr. Touré, had caused the death of more than thirty persons, did not amount to a revelation inasmuch as the Press everywhere had spoken of them. Furthermore, the actual number of victims had been only six. Such incidents were unfortunately liable to occur in any country, even Guinea.

37. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) was pleased to note that the Portuguese representative had confirmed that health services in the Non-Self-Governing Territories were inadequate. The fact that lepers from Guinea had to go to the neighbouring Portuguese Territories for treatment was proof that in sixty years the French Administration had been unable to provide Guinea with adequate medical services. The Guinean delegation's reason for revealing the inadequacy of health services in the Non-Self-Governing Territories sprang from its desire that social progress throughout Africa should proceed with the greatest possible speed. He was, furthermore, in a position to prove all his allegations, and he reaffirmed that the most ingenious type of discrimination existed in the Portuguese Territories in Africa.

38. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal), speaking on a point of order, said that he regretted the insistence by the Guinean representative that the Portuguese Territories were Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Guinean delegation was free to express its views on the interpretation of Article 73, but there was no General Assembly decision authorizing the Committee to consider the Portuguese Territories in Africa as Non-Self-Governing Territories.

39. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) said that he wished to reserve his delegation's right to reply at a later stage to the Guinean representative's comments regarding the former French Territories in Africa and the former French Territory of Madagascar.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.