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Chairman: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).

AGENDA ITEM 31

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2651, A/2652, A/2653, A/2654 and Add.1 to 3, A/2655, A/2656, A/2657 and Add.1 to 4, A/2658, A/2729) (*continued*):

- (a) **Information on economic conditions;**
- (b) **Information on other conditions;**
- (c) **Transmission of information;**
- (d) **Participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories**

1. Mr. JORDAN (Bolivia) said that before discussing the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2729) in detail, he felt it his duty to state emphatically that Bolivia was traditionally anti-colonial.

2. The duty of the Administering Members was to pursue the noble objectives laid down in Chapter XI of the Charter. They would do so by placing their financial resources at the disposal of the Territories to develop their industries, promoting economic development and raising the standard of living, in accordance with the nature of each Non-Self-Governing Territory. In the opinion of the Bolivian delegation section IV of part two of the report, relating to development plans, was particularly important.

3. It was interesting to note that the report referred to the opinions of certain delegations concerning the granting of equal rights to women, to the improvement of health conditions, nutrition, housing and other social problems in connexion with which progress had been made in recent years. The progress so made should be continued and accelerated with the co-operation of the World Health Organization, the Interna-

tional Labour Organisation and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

4. In connexion with section VIII of part one of the report, the Bolivian delegation felt that every effort should be made to eradicate illiteracy and to develop vocational training. That could be done by means of agreements between the Administering Members and the ILO, and the provision of technical assistance and the granting of scholarships to workers for training in industrial establishments in highly developed countries. UNESCO had already contributed greatly to basic education, the development of information media for the masses and radio broadcasting in indigenous languages. The interest of the Administering Members in encouraging studies, establishing centres of cultural interchange, circulating educational films and founding schools and colleges for the training of especially suitable persons who would subsequently be in a position to direct a cultural crusade, deserved the support and encouragement of the Fourth Committee.

5. Section VI of the report would serve as a basis in working for the improvement of standards of living, increased investment in basic industry and a balance between production and consumption, with the participation of indigenous inhabitants.

6. His delegation particularly emphasized the importance of studying systems of land tenure with a view to improving the lot of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, contributing to their economic revival, enabling them to obtain agricultural credits, improving methods of cultivation, encouraging the development of co-operatives and labour laws and conserving and protecting natural resources, so as to accelerate their advancement as far as possible.

7. He referred to General Assembly resolution 401 (V), which called upon the Economic and Social Council to prepare recommendations with a view to the improvement of the conditions of life of agricultural populations, paying special attention, *inter alia*, to the construction or development of small factories and workshops. Similarly, General Assembly resolution 625 A (VII) recommended Governments to consider making funds available for projects of agrarian reform. Though those resolutions did not refer to the Non-Self-Governing Territories, they could nevertheless be applied to them, since the measures recommended were very similar to those which should be taken in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

8. The Bolivian delegation was of the opinion that technical assistance given by the specialized agencies to the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be intensified by means of agreements with the Administering Members, in order that the Territories might achieve a more rapid rate of progress in accordance with their social and cultural aspirations and the principles of the United Nations.

9. With reference to economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, referred to in part two of the report, it was essential to raise standards of living, increase domestic and external trade and give assistance to the peoples in various other ways.

10. Progress in certain fields had been achieved by some of the Administering Members in the Territories they administered. However, the Bolivian delegation, in accordance with its traditional international policy of friendship and co-operation, urged the encouragement of progress in the political field and in the fields of health, education and agriculture. Bolivia's interest in a matter of such paramount importance was completely impartial and sincere, as was proper in an institution devoted to the furtherance of international peace and security on the basis of right and justice.

11. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said the Philippine delegation attached the greatest importance to the question of the administration of the dependent peoples, mainly for two basic reasons: first, because it involved the lives, happiness and destinies of some 200 million people; secondly, because it involved principles very dear to his delegation—the principles of the sacred trust, equal rights and the self-determination of peoples and the primacy of indigenous interests in the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

12. In view of the obviously and constantly divergent views on the nature and scope of the authority to be exercised by the United Nations under Article 73 of the Charter, it would seem appropriate to re-examine certain fundamentals of the problem before analysing the work being done in connexion with the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

13. The basic principle of Chapters XI, XII and XIII was the principle of the sacred trust. That idea had not been a new one when it was embodied in Article 73. It was expressed in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. But Article 73 of the Charter embodied three new concepts never before recognized in any international agreement: the primacy of the interests and well-being of the dependent peoples, the obligation of the Administering Members to promote that well-being to the utmost, and the obligation assumed by each Member State that administered dependent peoples.

14. Unfortunately, however, there appeared to be a gap in Chapter XI in comparison with Chapters XII and XIII. Under the International Trusteeship System international machinery had been set up for the implementation of the principles and objectives of that system. No such machinery had been provided in connexion with the administration of dependent peoples, except as implied in Article 73 e. For that reason it had often been contended that the only obligation arising from that article was the submission of information on economic, social and educational advancement in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. He entirely disagreed with that contention, because the basic consideration in the formulation of the article had been to prepare the peoples for self-government or independence. The very condition of the administration of dependent peoples by administering Powers was that they had not as yet attained a full measure of self-government. That was confirmed by paragraph a of Article 73, which placed the political advancement of the peoples first, and even more eloquently in paragraph b, in which the Administering Members assumed the duty to develop self-government.

15. He had therefore been disappointed to hear the arguments put forward by apologists of the old system, who had contended that the question of the political development of dependent peoples was outside the competence of the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly. The time had come to assess the reasons why the General Assembly had had to establish the counterpart of international machinery for the implementation of the principles and objectives of Article 73 by appointing various committees to consider information from the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Committee on Information had been envisaged as at least the nucleus of some sort of international machinery to ensure that the obligations imposed by Article 73 were scrupulously observed. It was therefore disappointing to hear members of the Committee themselves asserting that they had not the competence to deal with the political aspect of the administration of the Territories.

16. In establishing the Committee on Information the Members of the General Assembly had been aware that, with the exception of the United States and Denmark, none of the eight Administering Members wished to submit information on the political aspects of their administration. The Committee's terms of reference had been so drawn up as to encourage the other Administering Members to submit political information. In his previous statement on the subject (410th meeting) he had said that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 332 (IV) made it clear that the Committee on Information had every right and authority to deal with the political advancement of the peoples. For that reason paragraph 5 of that resolution invited the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to submit to the General Assembly substantive recommendations "relating to functional fields generally". He had been actively associated with those who had drawn up the resolution, some of whom had pressed for the insertion of the word "all" between "to" and "functional" to leave no doubt that the scope and competence of the Special Committee included political advancement. The resolution made it quite clear that the intention had been to include political advancement. There was no reason why the Administering Members should be willing to submit information on economic, social and educational matters and not on the political field, unless from the beginning they had had reservations concerning the attainment of self-determination, self-government or independence, which was the essence of the whole chapter.

17. It was therefore regrettable that the very members of the Committee on Information, which acted as the international machinery to help the General Assembly in the implementation of that provision of the Charter, should at the present stage state that they had no authority to deal with political information.

18. Fundamental principles must be constantly borne in mind in assessing and evaluating the Committee's report. Draft resolution A (A/2729, part one, annex II), on educational advancement, referred only to fellowships and scholarships offered by Members of the United Nations; draft resolution B merely approved the report. Neither contained the procedural or substantive recommendations called for in paragraph 5 of the Committee's terms of reference. Nor did part two of the report, concerning economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, contain anything more than an enumeration of certain economic problems and a description of the

economic policies of certain Administering Members. There was nothing to guide the Fourth Committee or the General Assembly in the formulation of such recommendations as would promote the progressive development of the peoples of the dependent territories.

19. The report was laudable as far as it went, but it did not go far enough. What was needed was an account of actual living conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories so that the Fourth Committee would be informed exactly how the policies followed by the Administering Members were being translated into practical results. The report was ominously silent on those conditions. Paragraph 12 of part two of the report mentioned the need to attain a dynamic equilibrium which would better the economic conditions of all the inhabitants. However, the Committee made no recommendations in that respect. Although he appreciated the conscientious efforts of the members of the Committee, he felt obliged to say that the report as a whole did not conform to what had been anticipated when General Assembly resolution 332 (IV) had been adopted.

20. In considering the report and the work being done in implementing Article 73, he felt that there was need for a conscientious examination of attitudes and concepts with regard to policies and methods followed in the administration of dependent territories. Only too often, as even the report showed, the interest of the indigenous inhabitants was subordinated to the interests of the administering Powers. Too often, in the field of race relations, there appeared to be a feeling of superiority on the part of the administering Power, a feeling that the people of the dependent country were nothing more than peons existing for its benefit. If all had adhered strictly to the principles of racial equality, equality of rights and the self-determination of peoples, he did not believe that the world-shaking events taking place in some parts of Africa today would ever have been the subject of discussions in the United Nations.

21. He appealed to the great Powers which were today regarded as world leaders—the United Kingdom, France, the United States and the Soviet Union—to fulfil their obligations under the Charter by the scrupulous observance of the principles set forth therein.

22. Mr. VEJVODA (Yugoslavia) said that, despite certain omissions, the report of the Committee on Information gave further proof of the need for that Committee. The report was the result of a co-operative effort to find solutions, sometimes unfortunately by compromises reached at the expense of the interests of the dependent peoples, and to determine objectives likely to hasten the advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in all spheres. It was regrettable that the Belgian delegation had once again deprived the Committee of its co-operation. It was to be hoped that the Belgian Government would reconsider its decision in the interests of all concerned.

23. By referring to certain omissions in the Committee's report, he did not intend to criticize the Committee as such. The omissions were very often the result of the inadequate information transmitted by the Administering Members. He therefore shared the opinion of some members of the Committee on Information, as expressed in part two, paragraph 4, of the report, that it would be desirable to make certain additions to the revised Standard Form and invite the Administering Members to submit more detailed information. That would give a more complete picture of

conditions in general and of the participation of the various sectors of the population in economic activities in particular.

24. The contention that the discussion should be limited to the purely technical aspects of economic, social and educational advancement could not be accepted. The obligations of the Administering Members under Chapter XI of the Charter could not be considered in isolation or in the abstract; they formed a whole, and explicitly included political advancement. Indeed, recognition of the obligation to lead the dependent peoples towards a full measure of self-government and the status of equal members of the international community was the crux of that chapter.

25. The situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be assessed in the light of the following criteria: first, the extent to which existing conditions and the measures taken by the Administering Members were in conformity with the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories; secondly, whether the policies of the Administering Members were aimed at establishing a solid economic, social and educational basis for the achievement of political independence; and thirdly, whether those policies were in keeping with general efforts to strengthen international peace and security. Viewed in the light of those criteria, paragraph 17 of part two of the Committee's report was incomplete and insufficiently explicit; independence was the ultimate objective of the non-self-governing peoples and economic policy must be based on and subordinated to that objective.

26. While relative progress had been made in certain fields, the general picture given in previous reports of the Committee on Information remained much the same. A subsistence economy was still predominant and production for export was limited to two or three agricultural commodities which were very sensitive to major fluctuations on the world market, or to minerals, the mining industry being generally in the hands of the non-indigenous population. Broadly speaking, trade between the metropolitan country and the Non-Self-Governing Territories still took the form of exporting raw materials to the metropolitan countries and importing manufactured products from it.

27. The indigenous peoples were making an effort to increase production for sale on both the local and foreign markets, but the difficulties confronting them were legion. The productivity of labour was very low, mainly owing to inadequate education and the prevalence of various diseases. Modern agricultural techniques and equipment were almost unknown. The *Report of a Survey of Problems in the Mechanization of Native Agriculture in Tropical African Colonies*,¹ published in London in 1950, stated that the hoe in various sizes, the cutlass and the simple knife constituted almost the whole range of African farming equipment. Transport facilities were inadequate or non-existent and the difficulty of reaching markets was one of the major obstacles to putting the indigenous economy on an exchange basis. The *Annual Report for the Year 1950* produced by the Northern Rhodesia Department of African Affairs² commented that the extent to which the indigenous

¹ Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture, Animal Health and Forestry, Publication No. 1, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1950.

² Government Printer, Lusaka, 1951.

farmer was prepared to produce cash crops was often influenced by his confidence, or lack of it, in his ability to market his produce. Given the poor communications and elementary marketing facilities, the primary producers ran the risk that if their crops were not sold the surplus would rot. In many cases they were unwilling to take that risk. It was understandable therefore that the administering Powers should be spending such enormous sums on improving transport facilities. In some cases—for example, in the Belgian Congo, French West Africa and the Gold Coast—50 per cent or more of the total funds invested in development had been allocated to transport. Despite their efforts, however, agricultural advancement was still unsatisfactory, primarily because transport and various other improvements had not been integrated in the framework of a general development plan. The United Nations report *Enlargement of the Exchange Economy in Tropical Africa* (E/2557) commented that the provision of transport facilities had not been primarily intended for the development of indigenous agricultural economies; railway expansion in particular had been associated chiefly with the export of minerals and in some cases, for example in East Africa, with strategic and administrative considerations (p. 40).

28. Another major obstacle to agricultural development was the shortage of capital. Private investors were not interested in the expansion of indigenous agriculture, a type of investment which did not yield direct and rapid profits. They preferred non-indigenous agricultural, mining and industrial enterprises. Their investments led to an increased demand for labour and foodstuffs. Unless indigenous agricultural production could be correspondingly increased, it would be unable to satisfy that demand. The various programmes must therefore be considered in the light of the need for over-all economic development, and greater confidence should be placed in the capabilities of the indigenous populations.

29. His delegation endorsed the Committee's conclusions in paragraphs 9, 24, 25 and 43 of part two of its report. If the concept of an integrated development plan was put into effect, the uniform development of the Territories would be possible and the indigenous peoples would soon achieve a greater measure of self-government. The Committee had rightly stressed the importance of associating the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the planning and execution of economic development programmes.

30. There had been few changes with regard to industrialization except in the mining industry. A striking picture of the almost complete lack of industrial development and particularly of processing industries was given in paragraph 85 of part two of the report. The administering Powers must take much more energetic action to establish industries, beginning with industries for processing local raw materials. Every source of capital must be mobilized, including the capital acquired by various agencies from forced savings deducted from the prices paid to primary producers. Since investments in industrial development of that type would not yield rapid profits, much of the expense would have to be met from public finances. It was generally agreed that the public financing of development gave much more positive results than the older forms of financing in the under-developed countries. It was now recognized that development plans

should not be based on the idea of immediate profits but on an assessment of the real development needs of the countries concerned and of the world economy as a whole. The United Nations report *Measures for the Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries* (E/1986) contained a quantity of useful information and principles in that respect. His delegation agreed with the Committee that the main aim of industrialization in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was to raise the standard of living of the inhabitants and diversify production, thus reducing the Territories' dependence on the world price for a specific product and increasing international political and economic stability.

31. It was to be hoped that the Administering Members would transmit additional information on the business turnover of mining and other private companies and the effects of their activities on the general economy of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The profits of various companies were known but only from semi-official sources. They were often phenomenally high and it was legitimate to wonder to what extent they benefited the general economy of the dependent territories. A certain proportion of the profits might be applied to the development of other sectors of the economy. The Administering Members should therefore reconsider the total contribution made by private companies to the territorial budgets. The Gold Coast Government's action in raising the total royalties paid by mining companies from £800,000 to £2 million set a very good example. It showed that indigenous participation and a higher degree of self-government were essential if the economic development of the dependent territories was to be speeded up.

32. When the General Assembly had appealed in resolution 743 (VIII) to all Member States to offer scholarships to students from Non-Self-Governing Territories it had recognized that the international community must contribute jointly and separately to the efforts to raise the standard of education in the dependent territories. By responding to that appeal, the Members of the United Nations would promote educational advancement and make possible the international exchange of students. The nine-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.343), co-sponsored by Yugoslavia, were intended to simplify the procedure for using the scholarship offers made by various countries.

33. He hoped that it would be possible to re-examine the procedure of the Committee on Information in a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding and to reach agreed solutions and recommendations based on more complete reports. Particular attention should be paid to any procedure for ensuring the participation of various international organizations, including the non-governmental organizations with consultative status. The attention of the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies should be drawn to the Committee's report and to any recommendations that the General Assembly might adopt on the basis of it. That would ensure the maximum co-operation and give the specialized agencies an opportunity to give due attention to the problems raised. His delegation was in general agreement with the suggestions made by previous speakers concerning the Committee's methods of work. The Committee on Information itself might consider those matters and submit its recommendations to the General Assembly.

34. Mr. KHADRA (Saudi Arabia) paid a tribute to the excellent and useful work of the Committee on Information. By receiving, collating and discussing the information received from the Administering Members, the Committee had greatly facilitated the work of the Fourth Committee. The Fourth Committee should therefore ensure that the Committee on Information could continue its excellent work without interruption.

35. His delegation attached great importance to the work of the Committee on Information. It was firmly convinced that at some future date the Non-Self-Governing Territories would achieve the degree of self-government and independence necessary for them to join the community of nations with other sovereign States on an equal and respected footing. The nineteenth century concept of colonialism was gradually giving way to the ideas of liberation and respect for the inalienable right of peoples to organize and rule themselves. It was heartening to see that the principle of national self-determination first enunciated by President Wilson was rapidly being applied throughout the world. No obstacles save the threat of utter extinction would ever deflect the national movements from asserting their collective individuality. He agreed with the view expressed by the French representative at the 415th meeting, that while nationalism was not a concept to be exalted as an ideal, it was a fact to be reckoned with. The administering Powers should promote rather than curb nationalism so that the world could pass through that stage of its development as rapidly as possible.

36. While his Government sought to further the well-being of all Non-Self-Governing Territories it was particularly concerned with those areas inhabited by people whose aspirations, history, language and religion identified them with the rest of the Arab world. On several occasions his delegation had argued that it was the duty of all Administering Members to transmit information in conformity with the provisions of Article 73 e. An Administering Member could be relieved of that responsibility only if a given Territory attained independence in accordance with the list of factors annexed to General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII). That did not imply, however, that the United Kingdom Government should be allowed to transmit information on areas lying to the east of Yemen and forcibly detached from that independent Kingdom. A disturbing and dangerous situation was developing in those areas and it was to be hoped that a pacific settlement would be reached in the near future between the parties directly concerned, in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter. His delegation therefore welcomed the statements made at the 410th meeting by the representatives of Yemen and the United Kingdom on the possibility of a meeting between high officials of the two Governments.

37. Two other Non-Self-Governing Territories were of particular interest to his delegation as part of the Arab world. The questions of Tunisia and Morocco were on the agenda of another Committee and he reserved his delegation's attitude with regard to those Territories.

38. The report of the Committee on Information was a concise statement of the purposes and principles which should govern the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but it seemed in many instances to avoid the concrete and fundamental issues facing each of the Territories. It represented a variety

of opinion and a conglomeration of different national positions.

39. Paragraph 17 of part two constituted the crucial part of the report. Nevertheless, although economic development was desirable in itself, it could be considered as truly satisfactory only in so far as it improved the standard of living and well-being of the indigenous population. It was of the utmost importance that due attention should be paid to securing the equitable distribution amongst the people of the material benefits of the economy as expressed in the national income. To that end the administering Powers should adopt an unbiased policy with regard to the *per capita* income and the distribution of the national income among the different sections of the population, the proportionate increase in the standard of living of different sections of the population, and the general level of savings and their distribution among the different sections of the population. In any undertaking, whether related to industrial development, rural economy, fiscal and customs policies, general trade or co-operative societies and community development, the interests and welfare of the indigenous population should be paramount. Public and private foreign capital investment must be encouraged. On the other hand, the cardinal objective of indigenous participation must be kept constantly in mind. It was of the utmost importance that the indigenous population should be trained in matters of capital formation and financial as well as administrative participation in industrial and rural development programmes. Such a policy would ultimately lead them to identify themselves with the general welfare and interests of the country and train them in modern methods of government.

40. It was regrettable that although some reforms and progress had been achieved, racial discrimination in wages, employment, etc. was still widespread. In most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, land, for example, was largely owned by people resident in the dependent area but citizens of another country. All reforms and development must be in the interests of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory rather than in the interests of an alien people resident in the area. Discriminatory policies would lead to social tension and insecurity and in the long run endanger the peace and stability of the whole area. In that connexion he endorsed the Committee's observations on land ownership in paragraph 69. He was pleased to note, however, from paragraph 68 that some land was being redeemed by the Governments concerned and put to better use in the interests of the indigenous population. It was regrettable, however, that none of the various reports transmitted by the Administering Members contained any information on the exact amount of land affected. The information available showed that in many instances in Territories such as Kenya, Morocco and Tunisia, the valuable land was in the hands of immigrant communities and economic policies favoured those communities. In Kenya, for example, 4,000 white settlers occupied 12,000 square miles in the restricted highlands, while the Kikuyu tribe numbering 1,250,000 owned only 2,000 square miles of land in the same category.

41. The key to the advancement of any underdeveloped area lay in education, and more emphasis should be placed on that aspect of development. The theory that a community lagged in the exploitation of its natural resources because of the scarcity of skilled

labour and technicians was neither convincing nor tenable. Mental development was never contingent on material advancement. On the other hand, if the mental faculties of the individual and the community were not developed, no lasting progress could be achieved. The United Nations and the Administering Members should take steps to develop the minds of the populations of the Territories before thinking in terms of agricultural and industrial development. It would be dangerous, however, to consider that it was enough to eliminate illiteracy. The aim of education must always be to inculcate in the individual the values that formed the basis of modern civilization and culture. Too much should not be expected immediately of Territories that had passed through centuries of ignorance. Such static communities followed their own social and economic patterns and might well be impervious at first to what they considered unwarranted innovations. Their unwillingness to accept change could be overcome only by education. International organizations, such as UNESCO, and private and public institutions should be encouraged to open new centers of learning in Asia and Africa. Such centers should pay due attention to the traditions, history and cultural interests of the people in the area. The vernacular language should be used as the medium of instruction, in accordance with UNESCO's findings.

42. While a number of changes for the better had taken place in educational matters, educational facilities for the indigenous populations were expanding very slowly. The number of boys and girls fortunate enough to be admitted to schools was very limited and steps should be taken to remedy that situation. Greater emphasis should be paid to the culture and history of the indigenous peoples in the school curricula.

43. His delegation would be happy to support any resolution that would assist the indigenous populations in any kind of intellectual pursuit. It welcomed the granting of fellowships to students from Non-Self-Governing Territories and would therefore support draft resolution A, together with the nine-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.343), and draft resolution B (A/2729, part one, annex II).

44. Mr. TRIANTAPHYLLAKOS (Greece) said that his previous opinion that the Committee on Information served a very useful purpose had been confirmed during the three years he had himself taken part in the work of the Fourth Committee. When the question of the Committee's renewal came up again, the Greek delegation would gladly support it, with those modifications in its terms of reference which might be advisable. It was impossible that the Committee's report, dealing as it did with such controversial issues, should be completely satisfactory to all parties. The membership of the Committee was equally divided between administering and non-administering Powers, and in such difficult circumstances, its achievement was indeed remarkable.

45. Part two of the report, the report of the Subcommittee on Economic Conditions, was a useful supplement to the previous report of 1951 (A/1836, part three). In some cases, it was able to note satisfactory advances; in others, none. The economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories naturally varied from one Territory to another and the suggestion of the Danish delegation that some division might be made along geographical lines deserved careful study by the Committee on Information at its next session.

46. Among the many aspects of economic development, land ownership was one of the most important. Adequate distribution of land among the population was at once an important economic factor and a factor in social stability. It was widely accepted that land-ownership, especially among peoples not enjoying self-determination, brought a sense of responsibility and independence. The Greek delegation therefore agreed with those delegations which had suggested that the question of land distribution should be given special study when the Committee on Information again studied economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

47. The economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not be confined to development based solely on their present situation as dependencies. It should never be forgotten that the fundamental aim in regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories was self-government and self-determination. Therefore, each Territory should develop its own economy in a way which would not impair its freedom to exercise its right to self-determination when the time came.

48. In principle, the Greek delegation would support the two draft resolutions in annex II of part one of the report. In company with eight other delegations, Greece had proposed a number of amendments (A/C.4/L.343) to draft resolution A. Those amendments would restore paragraphs 4 and 5 of the original joint draft resolution of India and Burma (A/2729, part one, para. 33), together with certain additions which would have the advantage of simplifying the procedure to be adopted and bringing it into harmony with the existing machinery of the United Nations and specialized agencies. The Greek delegation would support draft resolution B approving the special report on economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories on the grounds that it was a useful supplement to the report approved in 1951 and the best obtainable in the circumstances. That should not be taken to mean that it was in complete agreement with all parts of the report and endorsed it in its entirety.

49. Many members of the Fourth Committee had felt that the information transmitted by the Administering Members should include information on political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, on the grounds that educational, social and cultural developments were interwoven with political development. Chapter XI of the Charter mentioned advancement in all four fields as well as self-government and the development of political institutions. General Assembly resolutions 144 (II) and 637 B (VII) specifically asked for political information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It would therefore seem reasonable for those Administering Members which had not so far transmitted any political information to include it in future information transmitted to the Committee.

50. Many representatives, of administering and non-administering Powers, had emphasized the need for moderation and co-operation in the Fourth Committee and in the Committee on Information. The Greek delegation had always shared that view and believed, moreover, that the Fourth Committee as a whole had always practised moderation and co-operation. Unfortunately it was argued by some delegations that unless moderation, as they understood it, prevailed, some administering Powers might refuse to take part in the Committee on Information, might even withdraw from the Fourth

Committee or some other committee, and might refuse to recognize any resolution which they considered to be contrary to their interpretation of their obligations under the Charter. In that connexion, he wished to point out that United Nations decisions were adopted in accordance with three different systems. In the Security Council, the five permanent members of the Council enjoyed a right of veto. Committee decisions were taken by a simple majority of the members present and voting. The decisions of the General Assembly as a whole were taken either by simple majority or in some cases by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. The argument that any Member could refuse to recognize a specific resolution because it disagreed with it or questioned the competence of the United Nations to adopt such a resolution was tantamount to a form of veto. It was generally accepted that the right of veto in the Security Council should not be abused. It was hardly conceivable that any Member State represented in the Fourth Committee should propose that what would in effect amount to a hidden veto should be used in a Committee.

51. There were further ominous signs that some of the Administering Members were not seeking to fulfil their obligations under the Charter to help the advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government and self-determination. On the contrary, they would appear to be using all their influence to prevent it. He drew attention to the categorical statement made by the British Minister of State for Colonial Affairs on 28 July 1954, who had gone so far as to state that it had always been understood and agreed that there were certain territories in the Commonwealth, which, owing to their particular circumstances, could never expect to be fully independent. A further example of that unfortunate attitude were the anti-secession laws recently enacted in Cyprus in a vain attempt to put an end to the demands of the people of Cyprus for self-determination. He would not dwell on that point, since the question of Cyprus was to be discussed by the First Committee. He would merely point out, in answer to the complaints of some administering Powers over the questioning of their policy in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, that they should blame themselves for the serious doubts which such declarations or action cast on their intentions.

52. He had been pleased to note that the Indian delegation was in agreement with the argument already put forward by the delegations of Ecuador and others that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter could not be invoked in support of the argument that the facts relating to the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories were a matter within the national jurisdiction of the Administering Members. He added that so weak and discredited was the argument that Article 2, paragraph 7, barred from United Nations scrutiny questions pertaining to Non-Self-Governing Territories that in his speech of 24 September 1954, before the 477th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, in which he had sought to have the Cyprus question excluded from the current Assembly agenda, the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, no doubt wishing to avoid the unfavourable effect that a British invocation of the domestic jurisdiction argument might have on many of the delegations, had specifically said that he would not base his objections, and would not ask for a vote against the inclusion of the item, on the principle of Article 2, paragraph 7.

53. He also noted with pleasure that the United States representative had stated that the policy of his Government was and would continue to be in favour of the orderly transition of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to a status of self-government and independence. The United States representative had also stated that the international community was right to insist that the need for sound foundations should not be used as an excuse to delay political progress. It would appear, therefore, that the United States Government did not feel that considerations of a political, economic or strategic nature, as advanced by the Administering Members, should be allowed to block the way of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination.

54. It could be argued that some Non-Self-Governing Territories, including Cyprus, should never have been included in the category of Non-Self-Governing Territories because they were already ripe for self-determination at the time of the San Francisco Conference. They should, since then, have been given a chance to exercise that right. Nevertheless, it had been argued time and again by some Members of the United Nations that the right to self-determination did not exist, or at the most existed as a very remote possibility at the convenience or pleasure of the administering Powers. Efforts had been made to confuse the issue by drawing parallels between Non-Self-Governing Territories and the under-developed territories of certain Member States or by arguing that the use by a certain territory of its right to self-determination would mean the revision of existing treaties or the revision of national boundaries or again that self-determination must bow to political expediency disguised as wisdom. The time had come, therefore, for the Committee to state once more, clearly and unequivocally, that the Non-Self-Governing Territories were entitled to self-determination as soon as feasible, and that no parallel whatsoever existed between Non-Self-Governing Territories and the metropolitan territories of any Member State.

55. He asked the members of the Committee if they had ever stopped to think how many of the sixty countries represented at the meeting would be present if the various attempts made from the time of the Holy Alliance to the present day to prevent nations and peoples from obtaining independence and self-determination had prevailed. According to his calculation, had those attempts prevailed, no more than a mere dozen would have been present in the Committee. As a matter of fact, neither Greece nor the Latin-American countries nor even the United States would have been present. Historic forces were at work, and while it might be dangerous to precipitate evolution, experience had shown that it was much more dangerous to try to arrest it.

56. Mr. APUNTE (Ecuador) said that in some respects the report of the Sub-Committee on Economic Conditions went further than the similar report of 1951. However, since the Committee on Information was empowered to make only general recommendations and not to suggest concrete solutions to specific problems, the report necessarily suffered from the same limitations. To make the work of the Committee more effective, it should be given better instruments, new sources of information, and more concrete tasks, which would enable it to reach objective conclusions of a more specific character than it was able to do at present.

57. In the discussions in the Committee on Information, the Ecuadorian delegation had laid particular emphasis on two general concepts: first, the administrative nature of the task of the States responsible for Non-Self-Governing Territories; and secondly, the paramount interests of the inhabitants of those Territories. Ecuador had always held that the States responsible for the Non-Self-Governing Territories only exercised the attributes of administrators, while sovereignty over the Territories remained in the hands of their peoples. The territory and its resources belonged to the population and the benefits of those resources should go chiefly to them. The head of the Ecuadorian delegation had restated that fundamental point of view during the general debate in the General Assembly, at the 485th plenary meeting. It followed from that position in regard to sovereignty that the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were to be regarded as paramount. That point should be borne in mind in considering economic, social, cultural and political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

58. The Committee on Information had been successful in agreeing on a list of generally accepted fundamental objectives of economic policy, both for administering and non-administering Powers, which was set forth in sub-paragraphs (a) to (i) of paragraph 17 of part two of the report. The Ecuadorian delegation had concentrated its interests on those measures which would benefit the indigenous population most directly: the financing of economic development, the improvement of the standard of living of the inhabitants by means of a fairer balance between the prices received for their export goods and the prices of imported manufactured goods, the question of wages and the increase of purchasing power, problems of land distribution and of industry and mineral resources. In the field of education, it had paid special attention to literacy campaigns and had stressed in particular the value of the fundamental education programmes started by UNESCO.

59. Paragraph 17 of part two of the report stated that the fundamental aim of the economic policy in the Non-Self-Governing Territories must be to develop those Territories in the interests of all sectors of the population. The Ecuadorian delegation agreed with that general precept but felt that of all those sectors, that which most needed the assistance and co-operation of the administering Powers was the indigenous population. It recognized that the immigrant settlers often contributed greatly to the progress of the Territories, but it was convinced that the interests of the population should not be taken to mean exclusively or in particular the interests of immigrant minorities.

60. It was impossible to consider economic development without at the same time considering social, cultural and political development. Plans for economic advancement must necessarily be formulated in relation to those other factors and form part of wider projects affecting the life of the population as a whole. The Ecuadorian delegation considered economic planning to be of the utmost importance to the Non-Self-Governing Territories and felt that the participation of the indigenous population in the execution of such plans would help them greatly in their advance towards self-government. Direct participation by the inhabitants of the Territories in responsibility for the execution and achievement of development programmes would be the best means of educating them to shoulder the greater responsibility of governing themselves.

61. The Non-Self-Governing Territories depended largely on exports and were therefore very sensitive to excessive fluctuations in prices and in the volume of trade. The problem of just and equitable prices therefore demanded a prompt and satisfactory solution. In many Territories there had been improvements in export figures in relation to import figures, but such improvements should be directly related to the prices which the populations of those Territories received for their products. The metropolitan countries had offered a safe market for the goods produced by the Territories and, in general, they had also been their best suppliers, which might, to a certain extent, be advantageous. However, irrespective of any special relationship which might exist, there should be nothing to prevent the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories from receiving the fair prices for their primary products to which they were entitled. An improvement in the terms of trade, or a fairer and more equitable relation between the price of export goods and those of capital goods and manufactured products, besides offering a fairer return for labour, would be one of the best means of forming local savings and of reducing the enormous disproportion between the standard of living in the industrial and metropolitan countries, and in the Territories producing primary products.

62. Paragraph 84 of the report stressed the links between agriculture and industry and noted that industrialization in the broad sense was impossible unless agriculture was modernized. In the Committee on Information, attention had been drawn to the many obstacles to industrialization, in particular the shortage of capital and of skilled labour and the limited local market. It had been said that industrial development could not be speeded up too much because of the dislocation which too precipitate action might cause in the social structure. However, the general feeling in the Committee on Information had been that to oppose industrial development where it was possible and desirable was tantamount to conspiring against the development and stability of the world economy. The Ecuadorian delegation agreed that special emphasis should be placed on those industries in which the Territories were best fitted to engage, having regard to the balance of the economies and the advantages of external trade. At the same time, it would frequently be necessary to depart from such generally accepted economic principles as "perfect competition", since infant industries must inevitably require a certain amount of protection.

63. In connexion with mining, the Ecuadorian delegation had expressed its concern in the Committee on Information with regard to the statement in the 1951 report on economic conditions that the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the profits from mining was limited to the wages paid to indigenous workers, since most of those profits, apart from taxes and royalties, left the Territories. The 1954 report confirmed the 1951 recommendation that Governments should seek to encourage the reinvestment of profits in the Territories and the use by the mines of local supplies.

64. The Ecuadorian delegation was also concerned over wages. No plan for economic development, whether industrial or agricultural, should be based on the maintenance of low wages or should consider that the Non-Self-Governing Territories formed a reservoir of cheap labour. Any programme for the promotion

of economic advancement and the increase of production should concentrate on raising individual productivity and thus securing an increase in real wages, rather than on perpetuating a system of low wages.

65. In conclusion, he stated that the Ecuadorian delegation recognized the achievements of the Administering Members. It was opposed to the maintenance of the colonial system on the grounds that it was incompatible with the present stage of world evolution, but

it was not in favour of rash or hasty action. On the other hand, it could not sanction the postponement of the realization of the Non-Self-Governing Territories' aspirations and hoped that the Administering Members, conscious of their grave responsibilities, would carry out the sacred trust of civilization laid upon them in the Charter by finding a prompt and peaceful solution to the problems of the non-self-governing peoples.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.