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Palais de Chaillot, Paris

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Chairman: Mr. MAX HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA (Dominican Republic).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories
(continued)

[Item 36]*

1. Mr. MAVROS (Greece) said that the ultimate aim of the United Nations in respect of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was to lead the peoples of those territories towards self-government or independence. The Greek delegation had therefore been disappointed to note the conspicuous absence of information on the degree of political advancement achieved by those peoples. He congratulated those Powers which had in fact submitted such information. The political development of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was not a matter which affected the Administering Members only; it was of concern to all the Members of the United Nations. The transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter did not constitute the sole obligation of the administering Powers. Any other interpretation would put the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories at a disadvantage as compared with those of the Trust Territories. That was not the real intention of the Charter, and the apparent discrepancy between Chapters XI and XII should be smoothed out. The Charter did not constitute an inflexible system. The United Nations, which must remain a living organism, would become a dead institution if it were to be considered as an agglomeration of immutable forms.

2. The Greek delegation had been considerably disappointed by the lack of political information regarding Cyprus. In a popular referendum in January 1950, the people of Cyprus had expressed by an overwhelming majority their political aspirations. The United Kingdom had chosen to withhold that information from the United Nations. He hoped that the Government of the United Kingdom would satisfy the aspirations of the people of Cyprus, in conformity with the principles expressed by all representatives in the course of the general debate.

3. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) thought the report on economic conditions and problems of development submitted by the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/1836, part three) revealed a more favourable attitude on the part of the Administering Members towards industrial development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. He hoped that the new attitude would be translated into action and thus lead to a higher standard of living for the people of those territories.

4. Attention might be drawn to the very marked lack of participation by the indigenous population in mining operations. It was important that the local inhabitants should be trained in the skilled work involved, and that opportunities should be provided for the participation of local capital. The same absence of participation by the indigenous inhabitants at the higher level could be observed in such industrial development as actually existed. Small industries and home crafts should be encouraged so as to enable the local inhabitants to be trained gradually in business methods and thus to prepare themselves to take their place in larger enterprises. In that connexion, he mentioned Puerto Rico as an example of planned industrialization designed to provide full employment, and suggested that other less advanced Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Caribbean area should profit from the lessons it offered.

5. Those Non-Self-Governing Territories which depended largely on the export of primary commodities were particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in world prices. The temporary improvement noted in their terms of trade had vanished with the recent drop in the price of raw materials and the rise in the price of the manufactured goods they had to import. Close attention should be paid to the Economic and Social Council's recommendations in resolution 341 A (XII) regarding the equitable regulation of prices of essential goods moving in international trade. Some of the problems of raw-material producing countries were common to the under-developed countries and the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It should be remembered, however, that the chief responsibility for the improvement of conditions

* Indicates the item number on the General Assembly agenda.

in the latter lay with the administering Powers. The Haitian delegation was in agreement with the points made in the Special Committee's report and would vote for the draft resolution on economic conditions and problems of economic development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/1836, p. 9) submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly.

6. At its next session, the Special Committee was to consider more particularly social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Several delegations had suggested that any such examination should include the questions of respect for human rights and racial relationship. Social advancement was impossible if race relations were unsatisfactory and human rights not respected. The 1952 session would therefore require a great deal of documentation. He hoped that the Administering Members would be mindful of their obligations under Article 73 e of the Charter and would also bear in mind the preamble to General Assembly resolution 446 (V), in connexion with information on the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; he hoped that they would send to the Secretary-General full and specific information on racial relations, so that an objective and balanced picture would be obtained of conditions in that respect in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

7. In connexion with the question of educational advancement, he said that appendix VII of the revised version of the Standard Form (A/1836, part two) should enable a clearer idea to be obtained of educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

8. In conclusion, he regretted the general absence of political information and congratulated the Governments of the United States and Australia on having supplied information on political advancement in the territories which they administered.

9. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) said that his country's approach to the problem of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was based on its belief in the principle of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples. His delegation also believed in the principle that all Non-Self-Governing Territories should one day attain independence. He therefore felt that the extent of the progress achieved in training the indigenous population for self-government was the most important point on which information should be transmitted. Observance in the Non-Self-Governing Territories of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was also of great interest to the Pakistani delegation and he regretted that, in spite of General Assembly resolution 446 (V), most of the Administering Members had not provided the Special Committee with any information on that subject.

10. In connexion with the Special Committee's report on the Standard Form, he felt that it was sufficiently comprehensive, but reserved his right to make comments on the subject at a later stage. With regard to that part of the report which dealt with economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he said that, in all schemes of development, respect for the rights of

the people and their advancement should be the paramount consideration. All investments and improvements to be made in those territories should be of a nature to benefit the indigenous inhabitants.

11. The Non-Self-Governing Territories were, in general, producers of primary commodities and thus exposed to wide fluctuations in the prices of their exports and of the goods they imported. Steps should be taken to establish and maintain appropriate relations between the prices of raw materials, on the one hand, and of essential manufactured goods, on the other, in order to ensure greater economic stability. Most Non-Self-Governing Territories were tied economically to the metropolitan countries, and their interests were to a certain extent common. In all such cases, however, the interests of the inhabitants of the dependent community should be paramount, and any arrangement disadvantageous to them but advantageous to the metropolitan Power must be regarded as objectionable.

12. In a majority of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, land was the main source of livelihood of the indigenous inhabitants and the basis of their society. The administering Powers should deal with land questions in the economic and also the social interests of the inhabitants. Large landed estates should gradually be broken up and handed over to the peoples of the territories, particularly when the owners were not natives of those areas, even if that meant a sacrifice of efficiency.

13. Political advancement in some territories had been commendable, and the Governments of the United States and Denmark were to be congratulated on their achievements. Other governments had not supplied information on that subject and there was reason to believe that, on the African continent, the advance towards self-government was extremely slow.

14. The Administering Members had undertaken to respect the culture of the indigenous inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. He understood that in the territory of Fiji, administered by the United Kingdom, the Muslim part of the population were not being permitted to follow their personal laws. He requested the United Kingdom Government to look into the matter and reconsider its policy in that respect.

15. Although resolution 446 (V) of the General Assembly invited the Administering Members to include in the information to be submitted a summary of the extent to which human rights were being observed in the territories under their administration, very few had done so. There was reason to believe that racial discrimination existed in some territories. Domination by a foreign Power, however benevolent, was a heavy burden, and the addition of racial discrimination meant real oppression.

16. In connexion with the question of the factors by which it could be determined whether a territory had ceased to be non-self-governing, he said that the Pakistani delegation would regard as a full measure of self-government only complete freedom from any form of domination.

17. In conclusion, he said that a system of visits by representatives to the territories concerned would be of the greatest advantage to the Special Committee and to the Fourth Committee. Such visits could, of course, only take place with the concurrence of the Administering Members. The Pakistani delegation was considering the possibility of making proposals to the Committee on that subject in due course.
18. Mr. MIKAOUI (Lebanon) pointed out that, as he had already mentioned the previous year, a number of territories which had been termed non-self-governing should not properly be regarded as such. As an example, he quoted the case of Morocco, which was considered by a number of governments to be a sovereign State. He hoped shortly to see Morocco and other countries which were in a similar position take their places as Members of the United Nations.
19. He thanked the Administering Members for the information they had transmitted to the Secretary-General, and appealed to them to invite a visiting mission to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It seemed paradoxical and unjust that those territories should be less favoured in that respect than the Trust Territories.
20. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) paid a tribute to the members of the Special Committee and to the Secretariat for their work during the Committee's recent session at Geneva. He reserved his right to comment at a later stage on the question of cessation of information.
21. Turning to the report on economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he suggested that it might be well for the Special Committee to deal with only a few aspects of the total problem of the economic development of Non-Self-Governing Territories at each of its sessions, since the total problem was too vast and intricate to be dealt with in one short session. The Committee had, however, acted in accordance with its terms of reference, as laid down by the General Assembly. That was one of the reasons why his delegation advocated the setting up of a permanent committee on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.
22. He welcomed, as a serious attempt to promote co-operation between the Administering and the non-administering Members, the appeal made by the United Kingdom representative at the 206th meeting for toleration and restraint in dealing with matters on which there was no divergence of principle. It was true that the interest and well-being of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was the collective responsibility of all Members of the United Nations, and it therefore followed that the economic development of those territories was not the exclusive concern of the Administering Members, although the latter naturally had a more direct responsibility.
23. One of the main features which the Non-Self-Governing Territories shared with all under-developed countries was an unbalanced economy which, being principally agrarian and based chiefly on a few export commodities, was excessively vulnerable.
24. Another such feature was the abject poverty of the indigenous populations, which constituted a permanent danger not only to the people themselves but also to world peace and security. The presence in those communities of foreign residents with a far higher standard of living created a potentially explosive situation. The Special Committee had suggested certain measures to remedy that situation, the importance of which could not be exaggerated. His delegation wholeheartedly supported those proposals. Nevertheless, very few such programmes could be realized without substantial aid from outside, which would have to be furnished by highly developed countries capable of supplying goods and technical skill.
25. According to the Special Committee's report, there had been a marked improvement in the terms of trade of the raw-material producing countries, but recent declines in the price of raw materials might invalidate those gains. There were other factors which would have a similar effect, such as the creation of artificial market conditions, which had an important bearing on world market prices of raw materials. Apparently that was a concomitant of the defence effort. He hoped that it would be possible shortly to review all such measures so as to ensure that the economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not depend on the defence programme.
26. Most of the tension prevailing in the Non-Self-Governing Territories would be removed if the Administering Members would transform administration into a joint undertaking between the indigenous populations and themselves.
27. His delegation would vote in favour of draft resolution B, on page 9 of the Special Committee's report (A/1836).
28. He regretted that the Administering Members had applied the colonial clause to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
29. His delegation was in general agreement with the draft resolution proposed by the Special Committee on the subject of the revision of the Standard Form (A/1836, part two), and would probably vote for that text.
30. He welcomed the initiative taken by the United Kingdom in connexion with technical assistance to Non-Self-Governing Territories, and hoped that that example would be followed by other Administering Members.
31. He agreed that a number of factors had to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory was non-self-governing or not. The crux of the matter was whether the status of a territory was the result of the freely expressed will of the indigenous population.

32. Mr. MATTOS (Uruguay) said that his delegation would vote in favour of the report of the Special Committee. Although much remained to be done before the goal of universal self-government would be reached, important progress had been made during the past few years, as witness the presence of the representatives of a number of new States at the Committee table.

33. A great step forward had been taken in the matter of education and the use of vernacular languages in the schools.

34. Referring to section IX of the report and to technical assistance to the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he said that Uruguay had offered scholarships for training, especially in the technical field.

35. In conclusion, he expressed the view that there could be no peace in the world as long as man was exploited by man and was deprived of material and cultural benefits, the right of self-determination, spiritual freedom and the fair distribution of land.

36. Mrs. COELHO LISBOA DE LARRAGOITI (Brazil), referring to the statement made at the 207th meeting by the representative of the United Kingdom, said that, if she were not mistaken, that representative had stated that he had revelations to make with reference to the internal policy of various Members of the United Nations. Though such revelations would not be in accordance with the terms of reference of the Fourth Committee, she was prepared to receive any objections and she invited the representative of the United Kingdom to say what he wanted regarding her country's domestic policies.

37. Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom) explained that it had not been his intention to make any reference to the internal affairs of Brazil or of any other Member nation. He had rather appealed to the Chair to prevent other representatives from speaking about the internal affairs of Member States.

38. Mr. ZARUBIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) stated that it was the Committee's duty, in examining the report of the Special Committee, to determine whether the Administering Members were taking the requisite steps to fulfil their obligations towards the peoples concerned and at the same time to meet their responsibilities to the United Nations.

39. Attention should again be directed to the fact that the information submitted was scanty and incomplete. The tendency in that direction was more clearly discernible every year and was apparently designed to conceal the true situation existing in the various Non-Self-Governing Territories, together with the unscrupulous exploitation of their peoples. No information whatsoever had been given on the development of local government and the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in local government bodies, and little or none on the peoples' standards of living. As the Cuban representative had pointed out, the Special Committee had consequently been unable to reach any conclusion on the latter point. Moreover, the data

relating to conditions of work and employment and unemployment figures were woefully inadequate, as were those relating to racial discrimination, the national incomes of the various territories and the distribution of those incomes among the different population groups. As to the replies respecting economic conditions, they were marked by an absence of information on the industrial and commercial companies operating in the territories, no data being given on their profits or the taxation levied upon them.

40. Thus, the Administering Members had flagrantly omitted to supply the required information on a whole series of important matters. Nevertheless, the meagre information available served to show that they were not fulfilling their obligations under Article 73 of the Charter, but continued to pursue their previous policy of ruthless exploitation of the territories for the benefit of the metropolitan countries.

41. The report showed that the indigenous populations enjoyed no political rights and took no part in local government, and that no legislative, juridical or executive bodies had been developed on democratic lines. The economies of the territories were being seriously undermined, and were taking on a purely colonial aspect as a result of their exploitation as sources of raw materials and cheap labour. Industries were either non-existent or formed a very insignificant part of local life. The majority of the indigenous populations remained illiterate, the health situation in the territories was very poor, and the indigenous population suffered from open racial discrimination. There were no safeguards for civil rights and the existence of those peoples was miserable in the extreme. Their enforced state of backwardness and the continuance of the outmoded tribal system prevented any appreciable progress towards self-government—a state of affairs deliberately fostered by the administering Powers.

42. The USSR delegation had repeatedly called attention to the fact that the economies of the territories were being developed without regard for the legitimate interests of the peoples concerned. Year after year exports of raw materials were being stepped up, with no attempt by the metropolitan Powers to increase food supplies or import alternative foodstuffs where agricultural land was alienated for other purposes. Thus, the living standards in the territories were being reduced. In support of his thesis, he quoted specific data on various territories, as set forth on page 201 of the information on the Gold Coast for 1950,¹ on page 92 of document A/1269 and on page 68 of document A/1270.

43. The administering Powers were preventing the establishment and development of industries in the territories except for the purposes of extraction of

¹ See *Information on the Gold Coast for 1950 transmitted by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to the Secretary-General of the United Nations under Article 73 e of the Charter, and in accordance with paragraphs 1 and 2 of the General Assembly resolution 218 (III) of the 3rd November, 1948.*

raw materials and for such agricultural production as was needed for export purposes. As a case in point, he cited United States policy in Puerto Rico, which had led to that territory's economy being confined solely to the production of sugar cane, while the greater part of the population's food had to be imported from the United States. A similar situation obtained in Hawaii.

44. In pursuit of their own objectives, the metropolitan Powers continued to alienate land belonging to the indigenous peoples and were systematically driving those populations out into barren desert areas, thus condemning them to severe suffering and possible extinction. Again, he cited, as authority for his contention, facts given on pages 133 and 134 of the information on the Gold Coast for 1950 and on page 40 of the information on Alaska for the year ending 30 June 1950.²

45. Mr. Zarubin went on to quote figures illustrating the miserable wages paid to the indigenous worker, in contrast to those earned by European workers. The information on all Non-Self-Governing Territories

² See *Information on the Territory of Alaska for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1950 transmitted by the United States, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations pursuant to Article 73 e of the Charter*, prepared by the Governor of Alaska in co-operation with the Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

reflected the low scale of wages for indigenous workers and the widespread racial discrimination in matters of pay, as well as the complete lack of social security.

46. The very low standard of living of the indigenous populations was leading to an increase in the death rate, particularly in the case of infants, as was borne out by data he cited. Furthermore, the situation in respect of medical and hospital facilities was lamentable in almost all the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the administering Powers were taking no steps whatsoever to remedy the position.

47. As regards education, the report very clearly indicated that the metropolitan Powers were making no efforts to combat the backward and illiterate state of the indigenous peoples. On the contrary, their policies were directed towards maintaining the *status quo*, as a means of furthering their own ends and keeping the peoples in subjection.

48. The inescapable conclusion from the evidence cited was that the Administering Members were not fulfilling their obligations under Article 73 of the Charter. The USSR delegation would support any proposal aimed at securing the implementation of the objectives of that Article, and hence at improving the lot of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

