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Chairman: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 36

- 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/3806, A/3807, A/3808, A/3809/Rev.1 and Add.1, A/3810, A/3811 and Add.1, A/3812 and Add.1, A/3813 and Add.1, A/3814, A/3815 and Add.1, A/3816, A/3837) (continued):**
- (a) Information on social conditions;
 - (b) Information on other conditions;
 - (c) General questions relating to the transmission and examination of information (A/C.4/374, A/C.4/375, A/C.4/385/Rev.1, A/C.4/390);
 - (d) Methods of reproducing summaries of information concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/3903);
 - (e) Report of the Secretary-General on developments connected with the association of Non-Self-Governing Territories with the European Economic Community (A/3916/Rev.1);
 - (f) Offers of study and training facilities under resolution 845 (IX) of 22 November 1954: report of the Secretary-General (A/3917/Rev.1 and Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. Irving SALOMON (United States of America) said that the United States, whose policy had always been to promote the advancement of dependent peoples towards full self-government, had had the pleasure of seeing many dependent peoples attain self-government and independence during the last twenty years. It must, unfortunately, deplore the fact that other peoples,

once free, had lost their national sovereignty during the same period.

2. The past twelve months had shown further advances peacefully achieved along the path marked out in Chapter XI of the Charter. The most important of those advances had been the establishment, within the British Commonwealth, of the federation of the West Indies, which would probably achieve independence in the not too distant future, the resumption in London of the Nigeria Constitutional Conference, which had set 1 October 1960 as the date for that Territory's accession to independence, and, in particular, the very rapid political advancement of the French Overseas Territories, which, under the Constitution adopted by referendum on 28 September 1958, had been given a choice between independence and various forms of association with France. In all those different cases, both the enlightened policy of the administering Powers and the faith and restraint shown by the peoples under their administration in their advance to self-government or complete independence, were worthy of praise. In that connexion, the United States was proud of the admission of Alaska to the American Union as the forty-ninth State.

3. It should be noted, moreover, that the advances made had been not only political, but also economic, social and cultural, in conformity with Chapter XI. On that subject the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had produced, under the enlightened chairmanship of Mr. Lall, and with the valuable assistance of the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Social Conditions, an objective report which was the fruit of close co-operation between the administering Powers and the members of that Committee. His delegation thoroughly approved of that report (A/3837).

4. Referring first to part one of the report, paragraph 42 of which dealt with the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa, he stated that the United States, although not a member of the Commission, would co-operate with it in every way. It sincerely hoped that the Commission would contribute substantially to the social and economic advancement of the peoples in all the countries and Territories of Africa.

5. The report prepared by the Secretariat on mass communications in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/AC.35/L.273) had been very valuable; in the Committee on Information, the United States delegation had already stressed the importance of mass media; it was accordingly gratified to learn from paragraphs 34, 35 and 46 of the progress which had been made in that important field during the past few years.

6. In paragraphs 63 to 68, the Committee had mentioned the work done in the economic, social and cultural fields, not only by the specialized agencies and

within the framework of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, but also by certain international organizations not directly linked with the United Nations. The United States, which was a member of three of the regional organizations mentioned in paragraph 67, and was working in full co-operation with the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (CCTA), was convinced that the work of those organizations effectively complemented that of the specialized agencies.

7. The United States also approved part two of the report, which contained a report on social conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, and it was in favour of the adoption by the General Assembly of draft resolution A submitted by the Committee (part one, annex II), because it thought that the report on social conditions was useful, objective and well documented. The assistance given by experts from France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, who had furnished detailed information, was very gratifying.

8. His delegation hoped to see draft resolution B (*ibid.*) adopted unanimously, and it trusted that the debates on the Non-Self-Governing Territories would be distinguished by a spirit of constructive co-operation, since it was the spontaneous co-operation of all States that would enable the United Nations to continue its work with regard to those Territories, and it was their spirit of compromise and mutual understanding that would make continued progress in those Territories possible.

9. Mr. NEKLESSA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that his delegation's attitude had always been determined by the problems facing the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and by the provisions of the Charter, in particular Chapter XI, with which the administering Powers were unwilling to comply.

10. One of the most striking features of contemporary history was the emancipation of dependent peoples from colonial domination. In the past twelve years over 1,300 million human beings had shaken off the colonialist yoke and formed sovereign States. But nearly 160 million, or approximately 6 per cent of the world population, were still living under the colonial system.

11. Events revealed that the ruling circles of the colonial Powers, far from doing anything to help the peoples attain their independence, were struggling by all the means at their disposal to prevent the disintegration of an outworn system. They did not hesitate to use the traditional methods of colonial rape by means of armed force and repressive measures, sometimes accompanied by bloodshed, as in Kenya and Cyprus. In other cases they preferred to employ more subtle manoeuvres, either granting a restricted form of self-government to those Territories where national liberation movements were becoming wide-spread or assimilating such Territories to the metropolitan country, as in the case of the Portuguese possessions.

12. Lastly, in recent times, they had taken to advocating the adoption of a form of "collective colonialism", in an attempt to establish the joint responsibility of the capitalist Powers in their common struggle to crush the national liberation movement; an article on European Africa which had appeared in *La Nation belge* on 2 March 1954 made that quite clear. A first step in that direction was the integra-

tion of certain Non-Self-Governing Territories in the European Common Market. He quoted the resolution adopted by the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference, held at Cairo in December 1957, concerning the adverse effects of the European Common Market on the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

13. The colonial Powers were resorting to ideological manoeuvres in defence of colonialism. Analysis of a theory like that of "decolonization" revealed that only circumstances and the historical context had changed, but that colonialism itself remained the same.

14. The facts showed that the national wealth was not being used to develop the economy and increase the well-being of the inhabitants, but was being exploited intensively by monopolies, which derived vast profits from it. Thus, the ore exported to Europe and America represented 92 per cent of the value of African production as a whole. Between 1950 and 1956 the net profits of the *Union minière du Katanga*, which employed 26,000 workers, had amounted to 22,600 million Belgian francs, or, for 1956, 150,000 Belgian francs per worker employed. In 1954-1955, the profits of the four principal Anglo-American monopolies which mined copper in Northern Rhodesia had amounted to £52 million, or £1,268 per worker.

15. Agriculture was based on one or two export crops. The profit the foreign companies made on those products was approximately 200 to 500 per cent of their purchase price. The monopolies were taking over land belonging to the indigenous inhabitants; in the Belgian Congo, for example, the Unilever Company owned nearly 600,000 hectares. Lastly, the indigenous population's share of the national income was very small; it amounted to 53 per cent in the Belgian Congo and to as little as 30 per cent in Northern Rhodesia.

16. Turning to questions of public health and nutrition, he pointed out that, in the Committee's report (A/3837), those subjects were rightly grouped together—in section X of part two—since many diseases were due to malnutrition. That was true of tuberculosis, which still represented the most serious problem in many tropical regions and the incidence of which was increasing with urbanization. In order to provide a remedy, the living conditions and, above all, the feeding of the population must be improved; it was also essential to recruit doctors, establish hospitals and send in medical supplies. In Nigeria there were only 623 doctors, or one for over 50,000 inhabitants. Moreover, the administering Powers were showing discrimination in public health as well as in education; the amounts allocated per inhabitant in the United Kingdom were forty and thirty times as great, respectively, as in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. That disproportion explained the high rate of illiteracy, which stood at 95 to 99 per cent in French Equatorial Africa and British Somaliland and at about 80 per cent in Bechuanaland, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, and also the predominant part played by missions in African education.

17. The colonial Powers were now trying to rely upon the "new *élite*", consisting of future leaders who fully supported colonialism, or upon tribal chiefs. The Ukrainian delegation considered that the tribal structure was obsolete and that the administering Powers should take steps to replace it by democratic institutions chosen by the population.

18. At the conferences held at Bandung in April 1955, at Cairo in December 1957, at Accra in April 1958, and elsewhere, the peoples had condemned colonialism as a constant threat to peace and security. The United Nations must adopt recommendations which would help all peoples still under colonial domination to obtain their independence rapidly.

19. Mr. EL HAMID (United Arab Republic) considered that the problem of community development and that of urbanization, which was due to migration towards modern industrial areas and the centre of gravity of which was the labour force, were among the most important dealt with in the report on social conditions (A/3837, part two). The determining factors in social advancement were wages, social security, other services furnished by industrial enterprises in the matter of medical care, education, social welfare and housing, and trade unions.

20. The delegation of the United Arab Republic had studied the documents before the Committee in order to assess the contribution of employers in those four respects. It was unfortunately obliged to conclude from paragraph 81 of the report, that the employers absolutely disregarded the rules of social justice. There was as yet nothing that might serve as a basis for a wage scale; no differentiation in remuneration was made between married and unmarried persons; in some Territories wages varied according to race. A family wage policy, however, was an economic necessity, essential for the well-being and general advancement of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories; the fundamental condition for that advancement was the stabilization of the worker, who must have the means to support his family. The principles underlying the reform of wage systems could not be stated more clearly than they were in paragraph 87 of the report on social conditions.

21. Social security should be made the very foundation in the constitution of new companies in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Responsibility for it rested not only on Governments, but also on employers. It was not enough for Governments to apply social security measures in their institutions; it was their responsibility to see that those measures were adopted by private enterprises.

22. The policy of employers on housing was as yet ill-defined. There were those who had some social conscience and provided their employees with housing; at the other extreme, there were those who gave their workers no housing at all, not even the most rudimentary. Moreover, the laws governing the matter differed greatly from one Territory to another. In some, employers were legally obliged to provide their workers with housing; in others, certain standards were laid down for employers who furnished housing; in yet others, there was no legislation whatsoever on the subject.

23. Labour was not yet organized in most of the Territories. Trade-union movements were a very recent phenomenon and workers were deprived of the protection that powerful unions could give them.

24. The fact that the Non-Self-Governing Territories were regarded as a source of cheap labour was the result of racial discrimination. The Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories of the International Labour Organisation (ILO)

had alerted public opinion to that problem,^{1/} which was still acute in certain parts of Africa. The United Arab Republic had noted the studies and declarations that had often been made on the subject and it admitted that in some Non-Self-Governing Territories legislation had been enacted to abolish discrimination; but the opinion expressed by the ILO Committee of Experts showed that, on the one hand, the problem of racial discrimination had serious implications and might give rise to a wide-spread conflict between the various elements of the communities living in the continent of Africa and, on the other hand, that practical measures must be taken to solve that problem. The few declarations that had been made and the few ordinances that had been enacted were but a meagre contribution to the solution of a problem which called for vigorous measures. The fact remained that the management of large-scale enterprises exploited rather than invested, and the same conclusion might be drawn with regard to other subjects dealt with in the documents before the Committee.

25. The activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in that field had unfortunately been hampered by lack of the necessary information. The administering Powers could play an important part in that connexion, as was shown in the report prepared by the Secretariat on race relations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/AC.35/L.269, para. 109). It was reassuring to note that the Governments of Australia, the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United States had communicated political information and that Australia had sent the Secretary-General information on the Cocos (Keeling) Islands (see A/3815). His delegation hoped that the other administering Powers would take the General Assembly's resolutions into account and would also transmit political information.

26. He approved the principle of draft resolution B on the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/3837, part one, annex II), but would prefer that Committee to have wider powers, similar to those of the Trusteeship Council.

27. Mr. LULO (Albania) said that one of the characteristics of the present period was the national liberation movement of the dependent peoples, whose representatives had proclaimed, at the Bandung, Cairo and Accra Conferences, their determination to put an end to colonialism.

28. He noted with satisfaction that many peoples had attained independence; nevertheless much still remained to be done in that field, especially as the administering Powers did not respect their obligations under the Charter. The Fourth Committee should assist the oppressed peoples and promote the establishment of relations based on respect for equality and the right of peoples to self-determination. All attempts made by the administering Powers to hold back the advance of the dependent peoples towards independence were doomed to failure.

29. The Territories' economies were made to serve the interests of the parent country, which did nothing to improve living conditions. The indigenous inhabitants were savagely exploited by the foreign monopolies; wages were very low, poverty was general, housing overcrowded and health services primitive.

^{1/} See ILO document G.B.138/3/3, paras. 97 ff.

The Territories were so short of doctors, paediatricians and hospital services for adults and children that every kind of disease was rampant and the mortality rate was four or five times as high as that of European peoples, as was stated in the 1957 Demographic Yearbook.^{2/} Instability, wages with little purchasing power, and weakening family ties characterized the situation of the African worker.

30. He observed with regret that nothing had been done to give effect to General Assembly resolution 644 (VII) concerning racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Thus in Kenya, where there were thirteen secondary schools for 30,000 Europeans, there were only eighteen secondary schools for an indigenous population of 5.5 million inhabitants. The General Assembly must take decisive steps to ensure the complete abolition of racial discrimination.

31. The Albanian delegation considered that the inclusion of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the European Common Market could have only adverse consequences, economically as well as politically, and that it was contrary to the spirit of the Charter. It would perpetuate the present situation by making those Territories markets for the manufactured goods of the European States and would hinder their economic development. The United Nations must not remain indifferent; it must take the necessary steps to help the Non-Self-Governing Territories enjoy their economic and political freedoms and advance towards independence.

32. Mr. EILAN (Israel) noted that an increasing number of African countries were independent or were about to become so. His delegation welcomed that development, but was aware from the experience of its own country of the difficulties sovereignty brought with it. The Israel delegation was therefore glad that the report of the Committee on Information dealt realistically with social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and might be of great value in guiding their development.

33. The formation of a modern society among African peoples organized on the tribal system and the intensive urbanization of rural groups presented the sociologist and the administrator with a difficult problem. In that respect the United Nations technical bodies could make a contribution of exceptional importance to the future development of Africa. There could be no doubt that the work of the United Nations, together with that of the administering Powers, would be much more lasting than many of the tasks of a political character with which the Fourth Committee had often to concern itself.

34. He wished to deal more particularly with the growth of the trade-union movement in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, discussed in section VIII of the report on social conditions (A/3837, part two). He recalled the decisive role which that movement had played in Israel, particularly in promoting the integration of immigrants from under-developed countries into the country's industrial and rural structure. That showed that associations of workers were not necessarily confined to playing their traditional role. They contributed to the civic education of the wage earners, a factor of great importance for the maintenance of parliamentary democracy. The success of a demo-

cratic system ultimately depended on the voluntary association of the individuals who formed the basis of society. Israel's own experience had shown the part of the trade unions in making the individual feel that he was actively participating in social development. In Africa the strength and structure of the trade unions varied considerably from one Non-Self-Governing Territory to another. It too often happened, however, that in the Territory a trade-union organization was considered merely as an instrument of negotiation, and as one, moreover, limited to industrial workers. The report mentioned the right of agricultural workers to form trade unions; in those countries in which the economy was based on agriculture, as was the case in most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the trade-union movement had an especially important task to perform in organizing migrant labour and in ensuring that it received not only better wages but also an education which would enable it to play its proper part.

35. The Israel delegation was especially pleased to note the growth of the co-operative movement in Africa, which it had often recommended as a means of bringing the greatest economic benefits to the peoples of the Territories by teaching them to rely on themselves. It was with that in mind that the Israel Government had in 1958 organized a seminar on co-operative management in which many representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were taking part.

36. Although the Committee, in the course of its work, could only ask for information on the non-political aspects of life in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, its discussions at least had the advantage of reflecting world opinion. Recent developments in Africa clearly showed that there was a better understanding of the problems confronting the dependent peoples, and the Committee had helped to bring that about.

37. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland) observed that the question of the competence of the United Nations with respect to the Non-Self-Governing Territories, which was based on Chapter XI of the Charter, had always been a controversial one. Nevertheless, going beyond differences of interpretation due to the fact that the text of the Charter represented a compromise, it could not be denied that under the Charter all dependent peoples, whether they were inhabitants of Trust Territories or of Non-Self-Governing Territories, could expect to attain independence. It was therefore clear that the United Nations should assist them to do so without differentiating between the peoples in those two categories of Territories. His delegation based its view on the principle of the equality of the rights of those peoples, notwithstanding the restrictive or defective provisions of Chapter XI, and considered, together with other delegations, that the administering Powers should transmit information on the political advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The connexions which existed between social, economic and cultural development and political advancement were so close that even those who were opposed to the transmission of information on political advancement were obliged to discuss that subject in the Committee. That had happened during the debate on the future of Togoland under British administration. The Committee would have to examine political advancement in Nigeria when it took up the question of the Cameroons and that examination would greatly influence the decision it would take. It would therefore

^{2/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1957.XIII.1.

be better to abolish a taboo which only hampered the Committee's work.

38. With regard to the renewal of the Committee on Information, he considered that operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution B submitted by the Committee (A/3837, part one, annex II)—to which the Mexican representative had drawn attention (821st meeting, para. 4)—contained an unfortunate restriction which the Polish delegation would like to see omitted by common agreement. On the whole the report was an excellent one and his delegation wished to take that opportunity to congratulate the Committee on Information. Nevertheless, while talking in general terms, it would like to point out that the restriction imposed on the Committee did not apply to the discussions of the Fourth Committee, since each delegation had the right to discuss all aspects of life in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

39. With regard to social conditions in those Territories, the Polish delegation was, as it had said at the twelfth session, convinced that they could not be considered in isolation from other aspects of community life. Social advancement depended on what was being done in all the other fields, more especially in the political field: it should be made clear to the peoples that the Administration's goal was independence. Since social advancement depended to a very large extent on economic conditions, the administering Powers must multiply their efforts to improve economic conditions and clarify their policy in that sphere. Certain measures would make it possible for the people to play a

larger part in economic life, a prerequisite of economic advancement; among those measures were the opening of credit institutions granting low-interest loans and the establishment of economic bodies which the local population would help to administer.

40. If the disparity between the rate of development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and that of the advanced countries was one day to be reduced, the Territories would have to develop vigorously and rapidly. The Polish delegation had noted with concern that, according to the information transmitted, the rate of development of some of the Non-Self-Governing Territories seemed to show signs of stagnation.

41. That had nothing to do with outdated social structures; those had already been demolished under the influence of the colonial system which, at the same time, had introduced such dangerous elements as racial discrimination. In fact, when they had attained independence, the peoples of those Territories would certainly wish to preserve their traditions and their customs.

42. The Polish delegation wished the United Nations to be as active in promoting the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards independence as it was in promoting the development of the Trust Territories. It hoped that one day, when they had become sovereign and Members of the United Nations, those Territories would be able to say that the United Nations had helped them to achieve their independence.

The meeting rose at 10.30 p.m.