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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. MITCHEV (Bulgaria) said that the liberation of the colonial peoples was the fruit of a long hard struggle and not the result of the goodwill of the colonialist States. On the contrary, those States sought to delay the emancipation of the dependent peoples in order to retain a source of raw materials and cheap labour. The peoples of the dependent Territories followed the work

of the United Nations with interest and were waiting for decisions to be taken which would enable them to realize their aspirations.

2. The Bulgarian delegation felt that the improvement of social conditions must be judged in relation to the favourable influence it might have on the political emancipation of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Moreover, social conditions could not be examined in isolation, but must be taken as part of the general picture.

3. According to the report prepared by the Secretariat on demographic conditions and population trends in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/AC.35/L.266), the discrepancy between the rapid growth of the population and the relatively slow rate of economic development was the prime cause of the poverty and disease rampant in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In order to conceal the real reasons for the deplorable condition of the indigenous population in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the colonialists resorted to the inhuman theory of Malthus, which claimed that over-population was the cause of poverty and disease. In fact, Africa was far from being over-populated and it was the colonialists who were responsible for the deplorable standard of living of the indigenous population. It would be possible to build a flourishing economy in the African Non-Self-Governing Territories, as was proved by the production figures for the raw materials which were exploited on behalf of the colonialist Powers instead of being used to improve the welfare of the indigenous inhabitants. In fact, the foreign companies which took such tremendous profits out of the mineral wealth of Africa paid their African workers extremely low wages. Instead of taking steps to remedy that situation, the colonial Powers were seeking to strengthen their domination still further. The association of African Territories with the European Economic Community constituted a further proof of that policy. The position was the same with regard to agriculture. The colonialist States seized the land of the indigenous population in order to give it to European colonists. In all the Territories, Europeans occupied most of the best land, while the Africans were confined to smaller and smaller infertile areas where they could hardly provide for their own needs. The remedy was very simple: the land and its natural wealth must be restored to its rightful owners, the indigenous inhabitants, so that they could build a prosperous economy. The United Nations must insist upon the administering Powers fulfilling their obligations and taking steps at once to accelerate the economic development of the Territories for which they were responsible on behalf of the indigenous population.

4. In connexion with health conditions, he noted that mortality, and infant mortality in particular, was immeasurably higher among the African population than among the European population. The principal reason

for that state of affairs was the malnutrition from which the indigenous inhabitants suffered. Thereagain, the United Nations should insist that serious steps be taken in order to bring mortality rates down, to raise the standard of living of the population, and finally to abolish colonialism, the cause of so much suffering. Moreover, the report prepared by the World Health Organization (WHO) on long-term health planning in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/AC.35/L.279) showed that the African Territories suffered from a shortage of doctors, nurses and hospitals. Thus, despite the enormous profits the colonialists made out of the exploitation of African resources and of the indigenous inhabitants, they left public health in a deplorable state.

5. Another particularly important problem was that of racial discrimination. The General Assembly had recommended, in resolution 644 (VII) of 10 December 1952, that specific measures should be taken with a view to the abolition of the discriminatory laws and practices which existed in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. However, there had been little change in the situation. The administering Powers avoided supplying any information on that matter, but the truth could not be hidden. The report prepared by the Secretariat on race relations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/AC.35/L.269) emphasized that race relations continued to be a serious problem in many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) had reached the conclusion that there was still much to be done to abolish discrimination entirely among the multiracial population of Africa. The reason for that was that racial discrimination was part of the policy of the colonialist forces which sought to prevent the emancipation of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Those shameful discriminatory practices were in flagrant contradiction with the United Nations Charter and constituted a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The General Assembly must take decisive action to bring about the total abolition of racial discrimination.

6. There could be no doubt that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had but one desire at present: their speedy emancipation from colonial domination. Their aspirations were in complete harmony with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It was the duty of the administering Powers to promote the political, economic, social and cultural advancement of those Territories, so that they could attain independence as speedily as possible. Despite the inadequacy of the information available to it, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories stressed in its report (A/3837, part two, para. 12) that during the last three years social conditions had not changed significantly. In its previous reports it had made similar statements with regard to economic conditions and education. It had thus been proved that the administering Powers did not wish to speed up the process of liberation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but were on the contrary trying to impede their development and to continue to exploit them. The Bulgarian delegation felt that the United Nations should take urgent measures to ensure that far-reaching changes were made in political, economic and social conditions and in the field of education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, so

that the peoples of those Territories might accede rapidly to independence. The Organization must also demand that the two administering Powers which had not yet provided information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration, namely Portugal and Spain, should fulfil their obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter.

7. Mr. LOIZIDES (Greece) regretted that the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were treated as second-class human beings and could not enjoy their natural right to freedom and independence. It was the duty of the United Nations to promote their political, economic, social and cultural advancement, and to help them develop towards self-government, so that one day they could attain independence. In examining the social, economic and cultural conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Committee must not lose sight of that basic objective, and it must ask itself whether the administering Powers were taking due account of the political aspirations of the peoples of those Territories and whether they were helping them to become self-governing.

8. It must be recognized that some progress had been made. As the United Kingdom representative had announced (803rd meeting), Nigeria was to become independent on 1 October 1960. The new French Constitution gave the Non-Self-Governing Territories administered by France the opportunity to become self-governing and to decide whether they wished to form part of the French Community as autonomous republics or wished to become independent. Guinea had already decided to become independent and the territorial assemblies of other Territories had opted for the status of autonomous republic within the Community. It was a matter for congratulation that the Fifth French Republic should have adopted such a liberal policy, based upon the right to self-determination of the peoples of the Territories under French administration, and it was sincerely to be hoped that it would be able, by applying the same principles, to solve all the remaining problems.

9. Once that had been said, and aside from the Territories administered by France, the Committee had virtually no information on political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. However, experience had shown that information on social, economic and cultural conditions in those Territories was of little value unless at the same time there was information on the political situation. It was unfair to keep to the letter of Article 73 e of the Charter in order to refuse to give such information, when sub-paragraphs a and b of that Article imposed upon the administering Powers the obligation to ensure the political advancement of those Territories and to take due account of the political aspirations of their peoples. The Greek delegation accordingly felt that, as long as the administering Powers refused to furnish political information, the information furnished on social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories would not allow the Committee to draw any conclusions regarding their social advancement.

10. Moreover, it was tragic irony to furnish relatively unimportant information on social, economic and cultural conditions in Territories where a liberation movement was struggling to end colonial status and where resistance, either active or passive, to foreign domination prevented all activity. It was easy to ima-

gine economic and social conditions in a territory where there was a soldier for every fifteen inhabitants, where thousands of people were in prison or interned in concentration camps, where innocent people were tortured or subjected to humiliating treatment and where almost daily curfews stifled every form of activity. It was easy to imagine educational conditions in a territory where schools were closed, teachers imprisoned or deported and students arrested and sometimes executed. In the vicious circle created by colonial domination, violence bred violence. He was, of course, referring to Cyprus and he felt that, although the First Committee was at present studying that matter, the members of the Fourth Committee should be informed of the situation in that Non-Self-Governing Territory.

11. The information given in the United Kingdom representative's statement on the situation in the Territories administered by that country (820th meeting) struck him as being of little value to anyone not acquainted with political conditions in those Territories, or with the actual extent to which the indigenous population benefited from the economic and social progress mentioned. Having regard to the reports published in the British weekly newspaper *Tribune* on 14 November 1958, it would, for instance, be useful to have information on the political situation in Kenya.

12. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) pointed out that the remarks of the Greek representative concerning the political situation in a particular Non-Self-Governing Territory were outside the scope of the consideration of the report of the Committee on Information.

13. The CHAIRMAN asked the representative of Greece to confine himself to the general situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

14. Mr. LOIZIDES (Greece) went on to recall that the General Assembly had on several occasions asked the administering Powers to furnish information on political conditions in the Territories they administered, and he emphasized that economic and social conditions could not be examined in a political vacuum, as they had been in the summaries of information transmitted to the Secretary-General. The obstinate refusal of the administering Powers to furnish political information was preventing the United Nations from discharging its obligation towards the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. He accordingly shared the view expressed by the Mexican representative (821st meeting, para. 6) that the distinction between Trust Territories and Non-Self-Governing Territories was unfair. All territories which were not self-governing should have been placed under trusteeship. As the Trust Territories were successively attaining independence and as there would soon be very few left, the administering Powers should now place under trusteeship, on their own initiative, such Non-Self-Governing Territories as were not scheduled to attain self-government in the near future. Unfortunately the administering Powers did not seem prepared to take such a step—a fact borne out by a recent reply of the United Kingdom representative to the effect that, while the United Kingdom regarded the wishes of the people of a Trust Territory as the decisive factor in determining its future, that did not apply in the case of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

15. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) said that the Greek representative had misconstrued his words. He had declined to comment on Non-Self-Governing

Territories at that time because the Committee had not then been concerned with those Territories but with Trust Territories.

16. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) noted that the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/3837) briefly described the efforts made by the administering Powers and some of the results achieved. The Fourth Committee should consider how far those measures were adequate to wipe out injustice wherever it existed and to promote the advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government and independence.

17. His delegation believed that the Committee was entitled to examine as fully as it saw fit the political conditions prevailing in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Certain political reforms had been introduced in some Non-Self-Governing Territories, particularly those under French administration. His delegation reserved the right to broach that question when the situation had become clearer and the Committee was considering the matter.

18. No document had been prepared in 1958 on community development and the report of the Committee on Information adhered, on the whole, to the basic principles laid down in the Secretariat's survey of 1955 (see A/3837, part two, para. 9). Initially, community development had been intended to replace paternalism by a long-term policy based on the efforts of the parties actually concerned. Certain results had been achieved but community development should not be allowed to become a substitute for the development of normal public administration. Moreover, that movement must not continue to be confined to local communities; it must attain a national scale if it was to achieve its object. His delegation would welcome further information from the administering Powers on the measures they were adopting to extend the scope of community development.

19. The report prepared by the Secretariat on race relations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/AC.35/L.269) contained a survey of measures taken to reduce racial discrimination wherever it existed, but did not take into account practices still prevalent despite new legislation introduced in the Territories. On the other hand, the report of the Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories^{1/} showed that discrimination was still an acute and pressing problem in some parts of Africa. That report added that practical measures must be taken in order to avoid fateful conflicts between the different elements of the continent's population. Furthermore, a report on the discussions at the eleventh annual Conference of the Nyasaland African Congress, held in April 1955, noted the discriminatory practices followed after the establishment of the Central African Federation. That report indicated that African wages were extremely low and that working conditions at certain industrial and agricultural undertakings were far from satisfactory. A committee instructed by the Governor of Uganda to make recommendations regarding the participation of Africans in commercial affairs had noted that there was no legal obstacle to the formation of interracial commercial companies except in the cotton and coffee industries. Those, however, were the most important branches of activity

^{1/} ILO document G.B.138/3/3, paras. 97 and 98.

in Uganda and, so long as Africans played no appreciable part in them, it would be difficult for the Territory to prepare for economic and political independence. Lastly, racial discrimination extended to nearly all economic sectors owing to the lack of African capital in the economies of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

20. Discriminatory practices were equally in evidence in education. Public authorities in nearly all African Territories allocated much larger sums for the education of European children than for that of Africans.

21. Those different aspects of racial discrimination were an obstacle to the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The administering Powers should endeavour to remedy that situation with the least possible delay, for political as well as humanitarian reasons.

22. His delegation hoped that the Committee on Information would examine the possibility of establishing close relations with the Economic Commission for Africa.

23. The information furnished under Article 73 of the Charter was not always sufficient to give a clear idea of the present situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The peoples of those Territories should be given an opportunity to inform the United Nations of their own problems. The League of Nations had reached a similar conclusion and had worked out a procedure whereby the peoples of mandated territories could submit petitions. The practical value of that system had soon become apparent. His delegation considered that the Fourth Committee should endeavour to find some system, in accordance with the spirit of the Charter, whereby the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories could maintain close contact with the United Nations.

24. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia) said that, owing to the community of interests between the Ethiopian people and all the other peoples of Africa, his delegation had a duty to give its frank opinion and criticism of the manner in which the Non-Self-Governing Territories in that part of the world were being administered. He was gratified that a large number of new States had been created in Africa during the past few years and that their number would soon increase further. He was, however, surprised that the Non-Self-Governing Territories in Central and East Africa should be faced with many problems, including the problem of racial discrimination, when those problems had scarcely arisen at all in West Africa. Whatever the reasons for that, the peoples of those Territories were as eager to attain the goals stated in the United Nations Charter, and as capable of doing so, as those of the West African Territories. In order to remedy the situation, it might perhaps be necessary to consider separately the case of each one of the Territories, or at least of the Trust Territories, of Central and East Africa, with a view to granting full emancipation to those which had achieved sufficient political maturity. That applied in particular to Tanganyika, whose emancipation would have favourable repercussions in that part of Africa and would crown the magnificent work done by the United Kingdom Government in bringing so many Territories to independence. Although the progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was

not entirely satisfactory, the administering Powers should be congratulated on the work they had done there, in order to show that the Committee was aware of the difficulties they had encountered.

25. He deplored the dryness of the report of the Committee on Information. As the Mexican representative had stated (821st meeting, para. 4), the reason probably lay in the wording of that Committee's terms of reference. In any event, it was not possible, on the basis of the report in its present form, to evaluate the work remaining to be done in those Territories and, from that, the progress which had been achieved. The Powers concerned should therefore endeavour to remedy the situation, in particular by providing numerical data on economic, social and educational advancement in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Furthermore, the report dealt at too great length with methods for analysing and comparing information, to the detriment of the survey of living conditions of the indigenous populations.

26. Regarding economic conditions in the Territories he was gratified to note that economic progress had been resumed in the Territories administered by France, after marking time in 1955. Although it was too early to evaluate the extent of the economic progress achieved in the Territories as a whole, he was pleased at the progress made in planning and research in the field of economic development.

27. The report noted that some progress had been made in the field of education, and indicated the difficulties encountered by the administering Powers. It might perhaps be possible to overcome some of those difficulties if, as the Chinese representative had suggested (see A/3837, part one, para. 51), the population were to take a more active part in planning and implementing educational policies.

28. Perhaps the most interesting and most instructive parts of the report were those dealing with industrial and racial relations. They showed that the work done in those fields was far from negligible, particularly as regards the elimination of discrimination against Africans. Nevertheless, it was inadequate and the best way to solve the problem was to enact legislation covering all aspects of social life and to establish the administrative services required to ensure its application. Legislation was one of the best means of fighting discrimination, as law and order helped to form social habits.

29. He appealed to the Powers administering African Territories to put an end to racial discrimination because, if the problem was not rapidly solved, its effects might extend over national frontiers and poison relations between peoples, not only on the African continent, but throughout the world. As the Emperor of Ethiopia had stated in his address at the opening of Parliament on 2 November 1958, the independent nations of Africa were increasing rapidly in number and the peoples of Africa were in no way different from other peoples; the time had come when, by showing sympathy for them and by helping them to achieve their legitimate aspirations, the injustices and oppression which the countries and peoples of Africa had had to suffer in the past could be remedied and wiped from memory.

30. His delegation was convinced that the Powers administering Territories in Africa would show under-

standing and goodwill towards the peoples they administered, and that the years to come would see the realization of the aspirations of the African peoples and the establishment of effective co-operation, which were the only foundation for lasting friendship.

31. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) observed that the Committee had reviewed the economic, social and cultural conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories every year for the past twelve years. A further review of those conditions seemed unlikely to be of great value; repetitions were likely to lead to recrimination which, in turn, would create division within the Committee. Moreover, it was undeniable that over the last ten years the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had achieved a measure of progress without precedent in history, which would have been impossible had the administering Powers discharged unsatisfactorily the obligations imposed on them by the Charter. The administering Powers were to be congratulated on that score.

32. His delegation welcomed the very happy initiative taken by the United Kingdom representative who, at the 820th meeting, had opened the general debate on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories with a review of the policy and methods followed by his country in the Territories for which it was responsible. He hoped that the other administering Powers, which had hitherto merely replied to statements of the non-administering Powers, would follow that example, thus enabling the other delegations to participate more fruitfully in the debate.

33. On the whole, the report of the Committee on Information was simply a repetition of the reports of previous years. It was unfortunate that it did not deal with political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The United States of America was the only administering Power which had voluntarily furnished information on the political situation in the Territories it administered. The other Powers took refuge behind Article 73 e of the Charter which made specific reference only to "economic, social and educational conditions". Article 73 was in fact concerned with "Territories whose peoples" had "not yet

attained a full measure of self-government", a phrase which implied that measures would be taken to enable those Territories to achieve self-government. Furthermore, sub-paragraph a of that Article referred specifically to "political advancement", and sub-paragraph b spoke of taking "due account of the political aspirations of the peoples" and of developing "their free political institutions". It was therefore quite clear that the administering Powers had an obligation to ensure not only the economic, social and cultural advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but also their political advancement.

34. Since Article 73 a of the Charter imposed on the administering Powers an obligation to ensure the political advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the members of the Committee were entitled to ensure that those Powers were doing their duty and the administering Powers could only arouse suspicion by refusing to provide information on that point voluntarily and by refusing to comply with the resolutions which the General Assembly had repeatedly adopted on the matter. Certain administering Powers seemed to think that the non-administering Powers had no authority to consider the political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. However, many delegations represented countries which had formerly been non-self-governing and therefore had a direct and profound knowledge of the problems of those Territories.

35. He therefore considered that the Committee on Information should interpret the General Assembly resolutions very broadly and, on the basis of Article 73 a of the Charter, should begin to study political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in its reports.

36. In spite of the progress achieved in the past ten years, the goals set in the Charter had not yet been fully achieved and, now that the Non-Self-Governing Territories were about to become independent, the administering Powers should act in such a manner as to preserve friendly relations with the Territories which they administered, when the latter attained independence.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.