



C O N T E N T S

	<i>Page</i>
Requests for oral hearings (<i>continued</i>).....	109
Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter (<i>continued</i>)....	109

Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Requests for oral hearings (*continued*)

**REQUESTS CONCERNING TRUST TERRITORIES
(*continued*)**

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Secretary-General had received some twenty communications relating to the Committee's decision to grant hearings to a representative of the Union des Populations du Cameroun. Unless any objections were raised, he would ask the Secretariat to circulate the communications, and any others it might receive on the same subject, as official documents.

*It was so decided.*¹

**REQUEST FROM THE NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO
RICO**

2. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) proposed that the communication of 29 September from the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico should be circulated.

*It was so decided.*²

**Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories
transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter
(*continued*)**

[Item 32]*

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

3. The CHAIRMAN read the list of representatives who had asked to speak in the general debate on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and, in accordance with the statement he had made at the previous meeting, declared the list of speakers closed.

4. Mr. TARCICI (Yemen) said that his delegation reserved its position on the part of chapter X entitled "Aden Colony and Protectorate", in volume II of the information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted in 1952 (ST/TRI/SER.A/7/Add.1). Yemen made a similar reservation each year because it had never recognized the situation of fact which existed in the southern part of its territory, particularly

¹ These communications were subsequently circulated in document A/C.4/240.

² This communication was subsequently circulated in document A/C.4/239.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

the increasing number of circumstances and measures contrary to article 3 of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Collaboration signed in 1934 between the United Kingdom and Yemen.

5. Lord HUDSON (United Kingdom) said that his Government formally reserved its position on the statement the representative of Yemen had just made.

6. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) thought that two important facts emerged from the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2465). The first was that the administering Powers had made far greater efforts to educate the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories since the establishment of the United Nations than before. The second was that those Powers did not at present have all the resources needed for a satisfactory solution of the urgent problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The first fact was an encouraging indication that the assumption by the United Nations of important functions affecting the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had brought advantages to those territories and had enhanced the prestige of the Western Powers' post-war policy. The second fact showed that the collaboration of all Member States was essential to a solution of the political problem created by the colonial undertakings of the previous century.

7. More important, the two facts proved the falsity of the theory that independence served to aggravate the economic, social and cultural problems of poor countries. It could hardly be denied that, before the Second World War, the States with colonial empires had been rich enough to compensate the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories which provided them with raw materials, cheap manpower and an easily controlled market, and which thereby contributed to the wealth of the metropolitan countries, by measures of economic, social and cultural improvement. During the same period, most of the independent countries outside Europe had been combating the poverty resulting from the unequal competition thus imposed on them by countries more advanced culturally, politically and industrially. The prices they had been able to secure for their agricultural products had not permitted them to raise the standard of living of their peoples to the level needed for prosperity and for active participation in political and cultural intercourse among civilized nations. Nevertheless, there was hardly an independent but industrially under-developed country, which had not, even at that time, made successful efforts to provide its citizens with free and compulsory education and to impress on every individual the part he had to play in assuring the progress and well-being of the community. In Venezuela, for example, there had been free and compulsory primary education since 1871; there were also schools of arts and crafts and teacher-training schools.

8. He was glad that the United Nations and the specialized agencies were today attempting to meet, by

means of technical assistance, for example, the legitimate desires of the independent under-developed countries, which were becoming increasingly aware of their right to make their needs known. What they lacked, the whole world lacked; prosperity, like peace, was indivisible.

9. Reference was often made in the Fourth Committee to the millions of human beings who were not fully self-governing. Reference should also be made to another and equally impressive figure, that of the thousands of millions of acres of ill-cultivated or uncultivated land and to the thousands of millions of sources of well-being which were not yet being turned to account, because they were being exploited from without solely with a view to obtaining the only benefits of which the so-called civilized world believed it stood in need.

10. During the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly (444th plenary meeting), the Chairman of his delegation had drawn particular attention to the world economic situation and to the tragic discrepancy between the increase in world population and the increase in food production. The representatives of the European administering Powers had clearly and frankly drawn attention to the importance of the problem, which was particularly pressing in Asia and Africa, where the greater part of the peoples were not as yet self-governing. It would not only be charitable and Christian to give those peoples the education which would enable their representatives to explain for themselves the vital needs which they felt but could not at present convey, but it would also be a safeguard against the threat to international peace and security which poverty represented. It was essential, therefore, that one day those representatives should also come, with the right to speak and to vote, to join with the representatives of the other under-developed areas in pointing out the deficiencies in world prosperity and proposing solutions.

11. The aims which the Committee on Information recommended in paragraph 12 of its report on education (A/2465, part two) indicated not only the direction which education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should take, but also the one means of checking subversion, which found fertile soil among any people which felt itself despised and any nation which could not make its voice heard in international affairs.

12. The information asked of the Administering Members under Article 73 e of the Charter was intended to enable the international community to make sure that the steps taken in economic, social and cultural matters were really consonant with the purposes set forth in Article 73 b. It was also intended to enable the international community to make recommendations and even to issue directives designed to make the inhabitants of those backward areas capable of expressing their ideas for themselves and of taking steps to diversify their sources of income and free themselves from the evils which a single-crop agriculture and a single-product economy meant for them—as indeed for the world as a whole.

13. The Venezuelan delegation whole-heartedly supported the views expressed at the end of paragraph 12. They were important not only because they were fair, but also because they had been put forward by a body whose composition might have made so constructive a decision difficult. The usefulness and necessity of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was thus proved once more. It constituted

an effective means of reaching agreement, of dispelling the fears which might be caused by certain possibly ill-expressed views thrown out in the heat of debate and of doing useful work in the interest of the peoples of the whole world.

14. When the various draft resolutions were discussed in detail, the Venezuelan delegation would make known its definitive position on them and on any amendments.

15. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) said that every year the Polish delegation gave the most careful study to the documents on the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was deeply interested in the fate of the peoples of the territories and regarded with the greatest sympathy their struggle to obtain their independence and the right to decide for themselves what their economic, social, cultural and political future should be. The events of the year just ending had shown that national liberation movements in the Non-Self-Governing Territories had grown even more widespread. In spite of the efforts of the administering Powers to stifle such movements, the dependent peoples, inspired by ever increasing courage and firmness, were reminding the world that the colonial system was a tragic anachronism which must inevitably disappear and which was already fading into history.

16. The information which the Administering Members transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter in no way reflected the real situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It had been one-sidedly chosen and presented so as to give the impression that they were achieving the best results and that the dependent peoples ought to be satisfied with their present conditions. Nor did the report of the Committee on Information give a true picture, not only because it had been drawn up on the basis of tendentious information from the Administering Members, but also because half the members of the Committee which had drafted it were Administering Members. In that connexion, it was noteworthy that the geographical area in which his country and other countries which had freed themselves of all national or social oppression were situated was not represented on the Committee. Nevertheless, thanks to information from other sources, certain basic conclusions could be reached.

17. The report paid special attention to the question of education. The Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter had formulated conclusions on that topic in 1950, in the first special report on education (A/1303/Rev.1, part two), and the position in the Non-Self-Governing Territories had hardly improved. The Administering Members had not fulfilled their obligations; nor had they carried out the United Nations' recommendations. The figures for illiteracy in a Secretariat memorandum (A/AC.35/L.123) were proof of that. Generally speaking, 70 per cent of the African population was illiterate and in some territories the proportion was 90 per cent.

18. The rate of school attendance was very low and the progress that had been made was insignificant. The position was even more serious than the figures indicated, for it should not be forgotten that many of the children enrolled did not complete the school year and very rarely went beyond the first grade. The level of primary education in general was very low and, as the Committee had noted, it did not enable the children to lay even the first foundation of a literate education. Lastly—the Committee also had emphasized that point—compulsory education in certain African territories

applied to all but African children. Higher education was practically non-existent and the opportunities for young indigenous inhabitants were extremely limited. For example, there were only seven higher educational establishments, attended by a mere 3,234 students, in all the territories administered by the United Kingdom, although their population amounted to tens of millions. How could it possibly be said that the Administering Members had achieved marked progress?

19. It was regrettable that such a lamentable situation had not led the Committee to the critical conclusions that should have been forthcoming. It was also regrettable that the report did not analyse the serious problem of the language of instruction in detail and simply indicated that in most dependent territories the indigenous culture was often underestimated and unappreciated. The General Assembly had stressed the need for tackling such problems in a spirit of understanding and respect for the national languages of the indigenous populations; language was the basic instrument for the cultural development of every nation. Every language could be expressed in writing and made the language of instruction. The administering Powers, however, were eliminating the use of the vernacular, even when the language concerned was, like Spanish or Arabic, a living language and the expression of an age-old culture. The data supplied by the Secretariat (A/AC.35/L.128) showed that primary education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was most often given in the national language of the administering Power.

20. The indigenous peoples' desire to obtain education came up against an attitude on the part of the administering Powers which was expressed in a particularly outspoken manner in the information on British Somaliland transmitted in 1952 (A/2134). In that document the administering Power stated that, since a large urban population could not be supported without widespread unemployment and poverty, it was not intended to provide formal education on a large scale or to aim at mass literacy, but to limit the output of the schools to those who might reasonably be expected to find suitable employment. It was to the advantage of the administering Powers to keep the dependent peoples in a state of ignorance and to give them only the very limited education necessary to make them better servants of colonial interests.

21. His delegation would refrain from commenting at length on economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, which would be the subject of a special study by the Committee on Information in 1954. It wished, nevertheless, to emphasize that those conditions should be analysed not mechanically on the basis of the statistics supplied by the colonial Powers, but from the point of view of the interests of the majority of the indigenous inhabitants. The report on economic conditions should therefore determine the trend of economic development in the dependent territories and state whose interests it served. The administering Powers had once again referred to the vast development schemes which were being carried out in the dependent territories and the volume of capital being invested there; in that connexion, it should also be stated for whose benefit the natural wealth of the territories was being exploited. There was every indication that it was not for the benefit of the legitimate owners—the local population—but for the benefit of trusts and monopolies. The indigenous inhabitants' standard of living was still so low that they could not

satisfy their most elementary needs. Even the *New York Times* had referred to that situation; on 12 October 1953 it had published an article on British Guiana which gave some very striking information. On the other hand, the profits which the trusts or monopolies were deriving from exploitation of the national wealth of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were constantly increasing; the profits were transferred to the metropolitan countries or to the United States, which had taken over the colonial heritage of its allies for its own purposes. There was the example of an American company which was exploiting Nigeria and the Gold Coast through a subsidiary company; its profits exceeded \$200 million a year.

22. The United Kingdom representative had spoken of the new constitutions which had recently been promulgated in some Non-Self-Governing Territories. The political changes were deceptive and intended to conceal continuance of the traditional colonial policy. For example, the United States Congress, in which the Puerto Ricans were not represented, retained legislative control over Puerto Rico and the decisions of the Supreme Court in Puerto Rico could be annulled by the United States federal courts. In the same way, the so-called Constitutions of Nigeria and the Gold Coast gave the governors of the colonies dictatorial powers to suspend and annul any legislation as they saw fit and made it mandatory for the local authorities to conform to the instructions of the metropolitan authorities. The situation was the same in all the other Non-Self-Governing Territories. In Nyasaland and Southern and Northern Rhodesia a federation had been forced on the African population despite its vehement opposition. The Prime Minister of the federation, following the example of other protagonists of the colonial policy, had invited as many white colonists as possible to immigrate into the territories. As a Nigerian newspaper the *West African Pilot* had recently pointed out, the result of European immigration had been to deprive the Africans of their land and mineral resources; the indigenous population had been persecuted; they were the victims of discrimination and were prevented from participating fully in the administration of their countries. It was well known that the tension in Kenya was due to the fact that the Europeans had dispossessed the indigenous inhabitants of their land.

23. The United Kingdom representative had tried to justify European colonization policy in Africa by alleging that the primitive African peoples were incapable of applying modern agricultural methods. That was not the case. As the author of an article in the *New York Times* had pointed out, African farmers were able to obtain even better results than white colonists when they were given an opportunity of working in good conditions. In its next report on economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Committee on Information should make a particular study of rural questions and particularly of the alienation of land.

24. Recent events showed that the administering Powers were taking harsh steps to stifle the national liberation movements in their colonies. In Malaya, the populations of whole villages had been forcibly removed. In British Guiana, a constitution promulgated six months before had been suspended and the Government elected by the people had been prevented by armed force from carrying out its proper functions. Such events clearly showed the fundamental importance of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, which it was the duty of the United Nations to safeguard. His

delegation was faithful to those principles and would consider all aspects of the problem and any proposals that might be submitted in that spirit.

25. Mr. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) noted that the Committee's report referred to the progress in all aspects of education. The number of children attending schools had noticeably increased. Higher education had expanded in the territories administered by the United Kingdom. The increase in the number of children attending school had led to an increase in expenditure and it was satisfactory to note that the administering Powers were allocating larger credits to education than in the past. Nevertheless, although the relevant figures indicated certain trends, they did not give a complete picture of the situation, and the deficiencies which still persisted and the problems that had still to be solved should not be overlooked. His delegation regretted that the credits allocated to public education were such a very small percentage of the total revenue of the territories, and that the number of girls attending schools was so far below the number of boys. It was convinced that the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories depended to a great extent on progress in women's education, which would not only lead to the education of the girls themselves, but would have, through them, a favourable influence on the life of the whole family. The ultimate aim was good education and free education for all.

26. In the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories the Pakistani delegation had raised the question of the decline in the price of raw materials, and had asked for details on its consequences in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and on the measures taken by the administering Powers to remedy them. It appeared from the information transmitted by the administering Powers that the prices of raw materials exported by those territories had been subject to violent fluctuations. He did not doubt that the administering Powers were anxious to ensure the well-being of the indigenous peoples, but was not certain that the policies pursued in the dependent territories were the most apt for the purpose.

27. The Pakistani delegation felt that there was every reason to intensify and diversify the technical assistance proffered to Non-Self-Governing Territories, so long as such assistance accorded with their general development plans.

28. It was unfortunate that the General Assembly's resolutions on the voluntary transmission of information, which were couched in moderate terms and were in conformity with the spirit of Article 73 of the Charter, had provoked at times violent and wholly unjustified opposition. It would be decidedly to the advantage of the Administering Members to inform the United Nations of any steps they had taken to help the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories achieve the aims set forth in Articles 1, 55 and 73 of the Charter. They would thus be armed with new and cogent arguments in support of their claims that they were doing all in their power to foster the progress of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The attitude of the Administering Members, therefore, seemed illogical and it was to be hoped that they would more and more come to follow the example of those which had taken the initiative in transmitting more information than was actually required under Article 73 e.

29. The Committee on Information, which included representatives of both administering and non-admin-

istering Powers, had adopted a draft resolution on direct association of representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in its work by an overwhelming majority (A/2465, part one, annex II). Its authors had endeavoured to meet the main objections of the principle of unity of representation, and to reach a satisfactory solution which would make it possible for representatives of Non-Self-Governing Territories to take part in work which so intimately concerned them. Although the original draft resolution (A/2465, part one, para. 93) had been somewhat weakened by amendments, it was the first step on the way towards direct association of the indigenous peoples in the work of the United Nations.

30. The United Nations could go forward along that road without depending on the administering Powers' goodwill. It might, for example, allocate a certain quota to the Non-Self-Governing Territories so that they could send to work in the Secretariat competent and qualified officials who would thus acquire knowledge of the utmost value to their territories. That would give fresh proof of the United Nations interest in the millions of human beings living in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Member States might be induced to give up a certain number of the posts which their nationals at present held in the Secretariat in favour of representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Pakistan, for its part, would not hesitate to make the necessary sacrifice. The specialized agencies might also open their doors to representatives from the Non-Self-Governing Territories. After an initial period of adjustment, the co-operation of such representatives would certainly prove most fruitful; their presence in an international organization enjoying such high prestige could only encourage the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to persevere on the road to independence. The Pakistani delegation was prepared to support any formal proposal for the submission of a draft resolution in that sense to the General Assembly.

31. Cessation of the transmission of information required under Article 73 e of the Charter was a separate item on the agenda; the Pakistani delegation would state its position on the matter when the Committee examined that item.

32. The Pakistani delegation wished to congratulate the Committee on Information. Under the able chairmanship of Mr. Loomes, it had revealed a remarkable spirit of co-operation and had striven to reconcile all points of view. It would be useful if the Committee could continue the valuable work it had begun.

33. Mr. BENSON (Secretariat) stated that it was already the policy of the United Nations to open the Secretariat services to representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Some of them had assisted the departments concerned in drawing up the documents before the Committee. Nationals of Trinidad, Jamaica, the Virgin Islands, French West Africa, Puerto Rico and the Gold Coast, for example, had helped to prepare the documentation for the Committee on Information, and their co-operation had been all the more valuable in that each of them had first-hand knowledge of the situation in the territory from which he had come. The assistance of inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was thus enabling the United Nations to perform its tasks with ever increasing effectiveness.

34. Sir Douglas COPLAND (Australia) said that the Australian delegation was deeply touched by the congratulations which the Pakistani and Indian dele-

gations had offered to Mr. Loomes, Chairman of the Committee on Information. The Committee's report was of course not final, but it could be said to open the way to the solution of a problem whose complexity was due not so much to the facts themselves as to the heated discussions to which they had given rise. The very fact that it had been necessary to set forth the principles laid down in Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter clearly showed that Member States had fully realized that certain peoples were still not in a position to lead an independent existence and that they needed guidance and encouragement from more advanced countries to help them to develop and arrive one day—no one doubted it—at complete self-government. Development would be slow but sure; it would be set back by numerous difficulties as a result, for instance, of geographical and climatic conditions, linguistic differences, contact with different cultures and traditions. It would demand great caution as well as absolute devotion to the cause of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories from those who guided it. No one should disparage the often thankless task which the administering Powers were carrying out, nor belittle the efforts they were making on behalf of the Non-Self-Governing Territories by speaking of traces of colonialism. What was the system which those who condemned so-called colonialism, proposed to substitute for it? Any new system must be at least as good as the old and its sponsors would be required to describe it to the Committee in a report as constructive as that submitted by the Committee on Information, a report which, it had to be admitted in all justice, was the result of a praiseworthy attempt to solve the problem.

35. The representative of Poland had pointed out how low a percentage of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories could read or write when he had spoken of the campaign against illiteracy there.

But such a situation was not peculiar to the Non-Self-Governing Territories; it was found in many other countries. If the fact that a people as a whole could read and write had been the only way in which a country's contribution to civilization could be measured, many countries whose contribution had in fact been large would have been able to play only an insignificant part in the great flowering of culture. Teaching indigenous peoples to read and write was but one aspect of the whole problem of education, which was perhaps one of the most delicate problems facing an administering Power in the modern world. Modern methods had to be grafted on to an indigenous culture, often millenary and in many cases quite foreign to modern life, without damaging it or depriving it of its individuality.

36. As a representative of a country which had once been a colony, he was happy to be able to say that Australia, which had never been exploited when dependent, was resolved never to exploit the often very primitive peoples for which it was responsible, now that it had in turn become an administering Power. Australia was not to be deflected from that path by charges of "colonialism". The Australian delegation would always support any proposal or draft resolution designed to encourage the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

37. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) reminded the representative of Australia that the discussion on the problem of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had only just begun; there would therefore be time to refute the arguments of the Australian representative. It should be remembered, however, that the main task of the Committee was to protect the interests of almost 200 million human beings who were not represented on it, and not the interests of the colonial Powers.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.