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GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) congratulated the Chairman on being the first African woman to occupy an important elected post at the United Nations. Her election was an honour for all Africans.

2. His delegation was not among those which considered the Trusteeship System to be better than the classical colonial system. It was the same kind of exploitation in a different form; the people concerned were the victims of equally reprehensible extortions. There was no evidence that the Trust Territories had advanced any further than neighbouring countries which had the status of colonies. The conditions in New Guinea should convince those who thought there were any benefits to be derived from the Trusteeship System. After forty years of Australian administration, New Guinea was still one of the most backward territories in the world. The Administering Authority had stated that the whole of the Territory was not yet under its administrative control: he trusted that Australia did not expect to be given forty more years in which to complete that process. There was little to choose between trusteeship and the old colonial system; they were both effects of the same cause. He hoped that the current session would see the end of the Trusteeship System.

3. He welcomed the forthcoming independence of Tanganyika and trusted that nothing would prevent an

equally happy outcome in Ruanda-Urundi. He had no wish to dwell on subsidiary questions, since the Committee's essential aim was to promote the independence of all peoples. In the light of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), it was to be hoped that a resolution would be passed at the present session marking the disappearance of colonialism in all its forms, including that of trusteeship.

4. Mr. STOIAN (Romania) congratulated the Chairman and the other officers on their election.

5. The discussion of trusteeship problems was particularly important at the present session as the General Assembly had a mandate to deal with colonial questions in the light of the principle proclaimed at the fifteenth session, namely, that colonialism must be abolished immediately and unconditionally. The Trusteeship Council's report (A/4818) merely served to confirm the fact that the International Trusteeship System was simply a variation of the colonial system and differed in no way from the former Mandates System. Although it was intended to speed up the attainment of independence, events had shown that the colonial Powers had systematically contravened the principles laid down in the Charter and had used the Trusteeship System as the means of carrying out a tactical manoeuvre designed to camouflage their policy in those Territories. Unfortunately, they had frequently succeeded in obtaining United Nations approval for their policy in the Trust Territories and by trying to limit United Nations jurisdiction to those Territories they had endeavoured to leave most of their colonies outside its scope. The fact that there were a few new independent States represented at the General Assembly was due not to the so-called benefits of trusteeship but primarily to the peoples' struggle for independence. That was how his delegation viewed the forthcoming independence of Tanganyika, Western Samoa and Ruanda-Urundi. He was confident that the people of those Territories would also be able to evade the manoeuvres of the colonialists in the future and compel them to abandon their old colonial practices in their relations with the new States.

6. Most speakers so far had confined their remarks to the Trust Territories of New Guinea and Nauru. He felt, however, that the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under United States administration should not be neglected. It was high time that the Security Council, which had special functions under the Charter with regard to that so-called strategic Territory, gave it the necessary attention.

7. With regard to New Guinea, it was strange that at the twenty-seventh session of the Trusteeship Council representatives of colonial Powers had asserted that Australia's policy was entirely in accordance both with the Charter and with the Declaration on the

granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. That was a naïve interpretation of a United Nations document which called for the abolition of colonialism and not its defence. The fact was that the recent steps taken by the Australian Government were rather in defiance of that document. An example was to be found in the alleged reforms in the representation of the indigenous population in the Legislative Council, whereby the indigenous population of Papua and New Guinea, numbering 1,800,000 inhabitants, was represented by eleven members only, while the 20,000 foreigners were represented by twenty-six. The Australian Minister for Territories had clearly stated before Parliament in August 1960 that, since the immigrant races residing permanently in Papua and New Guinea would always be a minority, it was Australia's policy to uphold the legitimate rights and interests of that minority. It would have been more honest to speak of the interests of the State which that minority represented. After forty years of Australian rule, there were only 14,000 children attending primary school out of an indigenous population of 1,400,000 and not a single indigenous person had received a university education. That fact among many others was evidence that it had not been, and it still was not, the policy of the Administering Authority to lead New Guinea towards independence.

8. The case of Nauru was still more serious. The colonialists were planning to liquidate the Territory and move the population from the Territory as soon as the natural resources, which were the colonialists' sole interest there, were exhausted. That constituted one of the strongest indictments of colonialism and was an indication of what the fate of any colony would have been if the colonial Powers had been left to do as they pleased.

9. Australia had asserted that the people of New Guinea were not ready for independence. That was not a convincing argument, since Australia had never attempted to prepare the people for independence. That was characteristic of colonialism in general, so much so that it had prompted the General Assembly to declare in resolution 1514 (XV) that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. The fact was that a deliberate policy was being pursued which was designed to sabotage the Declaration on the granting of independence. The Romanian delegation, faithful to its policy of supporting all struggles for national liberation, considered that it was the duty of the United Nations to take steps to ensure that the Declaration was acted upon immediately. Only a radical solution would be effective; the various resolutions calling upon the goodwill of the colonial Powers had done little to help the colonial peoples to realize their aspirations. Year after year the Committee discussed the obstacles placed by the colonial Powers in the way of the scholarships offered to Trust Territories and it discussed the need to disseminate information on the United Nations in the Trust Territories. Yet every resolution passed on those questions met with resistance on the part of the colonial Powers, an attitude in which they were sometimes supported by certain officials of the Secretariat who had turned the political question of dissemination of information on the United Nations into a purely technical matter.

10. The efforts that the United Nations had been making for many years to help solve the colonial problems had met with scant success, for the colonial

Powers and their agents did everything in their power to sabotage any kind of assistance which did not promote their own interests. The only effective action the United Nations could—and should—take would be to hold a referendum at the end of the current year or early the following year, under the supervision of a special United Nations mission, in which the people could express their views on the question of independence.

11. The record of the Trusteeship Council showed that it was far from fulfilling the obligations laid upon it under the Charter. While acknowledging the merit of a number of representatives who had taken part in the discussion of trusteeship problems, the Romanian delegation nevertheless felt that the Council was out of date; it was nothing but a forum used by the colonial Powers for complimenting each other and for creating in the minds of the people of the colonial territories the illusion that their interests were being taken into account. The peoples of the Trust Territories expected the Declaration on independence to be put into effect immediately by the competent United Nations bodies and it was along those lines that action should be taken without delay.

12. Mr. SANTISO GALVEZ (Guatemala) congratulated the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur on their unanimous election.

13. His delegation wished to associate itself with the tributes paid to the memory of Mr. Wieschhoff, who had given his life for the cause of the United Nations.

14. His country, which had always followed with the greatest interest the various steps taken by the United Nations to ensure that dependent peoples achieved self-government, liberty and independence, warmly congratulated the peoples of Tanganyika and Western Samoa on their independence and looked forward with pleasure to the day when they would become Members of the United Nations; it wished them prosperity and every success. The inhabitants of both Territories and their Administering Authorities were to be commended for the calm and orderly manner in which independence had been achieved.

15. With regard to New Guinea, his delegation hoped that the Administering Authority would put into practice the recommendations made by the Trusteeship Council. It should take every possible step to hasten the political development of the Territory, to strengthen its institutions, to increase New Guinean membership of the Administrator's Council and the Legislative Council and to increase the number of local government councils. With regard to the administrative union with Papua, the Administering Authority should pay careful attention to the Trusteeship Council's recommendations and ensure that the Trust Territory was maintained as a separate entity.

16. In accordance with the Trusteeship Council's recommendations, the Administering Authority should increase the scale of its plans for investment, the expansion and diversification of agriculture, industrialization, improvement in the system of taxation, a better system of land tenure and the development of road construction. His delegation hoped that the Administering Authority would take the necessary steps to establish a higher minimum wage, to increase the indigenous inhabitants' opportunities for education and, above all, to abrogate discriminatory laws and practices. Racial discrimination was roundly condemned by Guatemala, where no discrimination of any kind had existed since the country had achieved independence.

17. The achievement of self-government or independence by the Territory could not be indefinitely postponed. After making due allowance for the special difficulties of the Territory, it was nevertheless essential that the Administering Authority should make a determined effort to accelerate the development of New Guinea in order to ensure that, when the time came to entrust the people with the management of their own affairs, the transition would take place without the unfortunate events which had occurred elsewhere.

18. With regard to Nauru, his delegation appealed to the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom to put into practice the recommendations made with a view to solving the problem of the resettlement of the people and of their future, due regard being paid to the views of the Nauruan people. In view of the fact that the phosphate deposits would be worked out in some forty years, his delegation was of the opinion that the time had come to return that source of wealth to its original and rightful owners, the indigenous inhabitants of Nauru.

19. In conclusion, he desired to congratulate the Trusteeship Council on its important work, which would undoubtedly benefit the peoples of the Trust Territories.

20. Sir Hugh FOOT (United Kingdom) said that he had been greatly impressed, in studying the report of the Trusteeship Council, by the care and thoroughness of the reports of the Administering Authorities and the constructive approach of the Council in considering them. The Council's work had now passed its peak; by 1962 all the Trust Territories except the three in the Pacific would no doubt have achieved independence. Clearly, the year 1960-1961 had been one of spectacular advance.

21. His Government deeply appreciated the generous words of friendship voiced by the representative of the Republic of Cameroun at the 1159th meeting. He hoped that the reunited Cameroun would prosper, including in its culture something from the French and something from the English to add to the vigour of Africa. The appointment of Mr. Muna from the former Cameroons under United Kingdom administration to speak as representative of the whole Republic illustrated President Ahidjo's gift for imaginative action. Despite the problems which remained, the essential fact was that the union had taken place in agreement and goodwill.

22. With regard to Ruanda-Urundi, there was every indication that the Belgian authorities were co-operating closely with the United Nations Commission for that Territory. The situation there was one of special difficulty and he trusted that when the matter came before the Committee it would be discussed with restraint, bearing in mind the need to do everything possible to remove bitterness and promote understanding and co-operation.

23. New Zealand was to be congratulated on the satisfactory results of its long-term planning for Western Samoa. It was good to know that New Zealand was ready to continue its assistance to the Territory after independence, should Western Samoa so desire.

24. The Trusteeship Council had done him the honour of electing him chairman of the visiting mission which was to go to New Guinea and Nauru in 1962. He would not, therefore, comment on those Territories until he had visited them, but for the moment would merely

record his sincere admiration for the work Australia had done in both Territories and for its careful reports to the Trusteeship Council.

25. The main event of the year in connexion with Trust Territories had been the rapid progress of Tanganyika. Mr. Nyerere, its Prime Minister, one of the most brilliant of African leaders, had provided Tanganyika with outstanding leadership at the moment when it had most stood in need of the inspiration of a great man. As the present occasion was the last on which the Committee would deal with Tanganyika, he would like to dwell for a while on the policies which had been followed during the period of over forty years in which it had been under British administration. Those policies came under two headings: firstly, the general preparations for self-government; secondly, the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

26. The United Kingdom Foreign Secretary had recently described to the General Assembly (1017th plenary meeting) how his country's dependent territories had been encouraged to develop systems of local self-government on the theory that the best way to train people in the exercise of responsibility was to give it to them. Independent and impartial courts of law had been set up; career officials, whose allegiance was not to a tribe or party but to the whole country, had been trained; education had been fostered and the principles of parliamentary government had been taught. It was that work, together with efforts to raise the economic level, which had ultimately made possible the smooth and rapid transfer of authority to the elected representatives of the people.

27. Before the Second World War there had been only four Africans in Tanganyika's Legislative Council, all of them nominated. After the war, urgent consideration had been given to the best method of political and constitutional advance. The general policy had been the same as in West Africa and in the West Indies: to make both the executive and the legislature more representative, to introduce free elections, to create the ministerial system and then to establish full internal self-government, to be followed by the fixing of a date for independence. The particular method adopted in Tanganyika had been that of racial parity under which, in the transitional stage, Africans, Asians and Europeans had had equal representation among the elected members of the legislature. In the previous year the legislature had been expanded to eighty-two members, of whom fifty-three were Africans, sixteen Europeans and thirteen Asians. In 1959 the old Executive Council had been replaced by the Council of Ministers, with the Governor as Chairman and the Chief Minister as his principal adviser. Since March 1961, full internal self-government had been in operation and the Governor, no longer in the Council of Ministers, was required to accept the advice of the elected Cabinet on all matters relating to the internal government of the country. The whole process from beginning to end had been carried through with goodwill and full agreement.

28. He wished to take that last opportunity to express gratitude to the members of the Trusteeship Council and of the Committee for the great help and encouragement which they had given during that process. Special thanks were due to those who had served on visiting missions to Tanganyika.

29. Commenting on the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union at the previous meeting,

he remarked that, although it was nothing new for the Soviet Union to attack the Administering Authorities, it had been a new departure to include so indiscriminately all those who had worked in the Trusteeship Council and had co-operated with it in the past sixteen years. It was not for him, as a newcomer to the United Nations, to answer the Soviet charge, but there were many witnesses who could answer that charge not in words but through the accumulated achievements of those sixteen years.

30. The main test of the success of the policies pursued in Trust Territories was the principle laid down in Article 76 of the Charter, namely that constitutional development should be in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. New nations often suspected that the increased interest in them arose not from a genuine concern for their welfare, progress and freedom, but from a pre-occupation with the prosecution of the cold war. There was some justification for those fears. For instance, in the Trusteeship Council the Soviet Union had voted against the settlement of the problems of the people of Nauru in accordance with the wishes of the people of that island; the Soviet Union representative had voted against the relevant paragraph of the report (A/4818, part I, chap. V, para. 22) when every other member of the Council had voted in favour of it. He appealed to the Soviet Union to give greater consideration to the circumstances of each individual Territory and more attention to the practical problems which required solution instead of simply impugning the motives of those who were endeavouring to find those solutions. The representative of Burma had recently quoted the statement made to the Trusteeship Council by the Prime Minister of Tanganyika that the United Kingdom was "sensitive to world opinion" (A/4818, p. 20). He hoped that the Soviet Union would learn to be equally sensitive to the opinion of the peoples concerned and, instead of merely repeating worn-out accusations, would co-operate with those who were genuinely seeking to carry out the purposes of the Charter.

31. On behalf of his Commonwealth colleagues who were co-sponsors, he introduced draft resolution A/C.4/L.689, on Tanganyika, which he hoped would gain the unanimous support of the Committee.

32. Mr. ZIKRIA (Afghanistan) congratulated the Chairman on her election and said that it was a tribute to the devotion and courage which she had always shown in the cause of the liberty and independence of subject peoples. He also associated himself with the congratulations addressed to the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur.

33. He expressed the desire that his personal condolences should be conveyed to the families of the Secretary-General, Mr. Wieschhoff and the members of the Secretariat who had given their lives in the course of duty.

34. In welcoming the representative of Sierra Leone, he asked him to accept the good wishes of the Afghan Government and people for the happiness and prosperity of the new State, whose presence in the United Nations meant that yet another voice would be raised on behalf of the freedom and independence of peoples still subject to foreign domination.

35. His delegation desired to express its satisfaction at the result of the plebiscite in the Northern and Southern Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, which had enabled the inhabitants to achieve

their aspirations in an orderly and peaceful manner, a result of which the United Nations could be justly proud. It had always been his country's view that, when a colonial territory became associated with an independent territory, the United Nations should effectively supervise the plebiscite. In the absence of such supervision, a plebiscite deliberately organized with a view to concealing the wishes of a people in the selfish interests of neo-colonialism would necessarily have grave consequences, for an entire people could not be deceived indefinitely.

36. The atmosphere of harmony and goodwill which prevailed in Tanganyika augured well for the future of that country. It was of the highest importance that every effort should be made to maintain that spirit of co-operation which at present obtained among all parts of the population; in the past, his delegation had always urged the abolition of the system of parity of representation, which in its view could constitute a menace to racial harmony. It trusted that the political leaders of Tanganyika would continue to ensure that the rights of all those who had made Tanganyika their country would be respected. His delegation looked forward with pleasure to the day when it would be able to welcome representatives of a sovereign and independent Tanganyika to the United Nations.

37. A study of the clear and concise report of the Trusteeship Council made it evident that conditions in New Guinea could not be viewed with satisfaction. The Administering Authority had still been unable to extend its control over the whole Territory, thus making it impossible for the time being for civilization to reach the primitive peoples concerned. Elsewhere in the Territory there was no discernible progress. What little had taken place had benefited persons of foreign origin and had not improved the lot of the indigenous inhabitants. His delegation considered that it was high time that the General Assembly took the necessary step to lead the Territory towards independence as quickly as possible. A target date for independence should be set, otherwise the establishment of successive intermediate targets might lead to procrastinatory manoeuvres, as had only too often been the case in the past. While commending the Administering Authority's development programme, he thought that better results would be achieved if it was made subject to a time-table. Indeed, the introduction of a target date was the only proper step to take if the principles of the Declaration on independence were really to be put into effect by the United Nations.

38. Certain members of the Trusteeship Council had expressed misgivings lest the administrative union with Papua, a Non-Self-Governing Territory, should lead to the dilution of the objectives laid down in Article 76 of the Charter or to their being limited to those laid down in Article 73. His delegation did not share those misgivings: it took the view that the Declaration placed obligations towards Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories on the same footing and that, in consequence, Papua had the same right to self-determination as Territories under the Trusteeship System; the United Nations should therefore ensure that that right of the inhabitants of Papua was fully respected.

39. Turning to Nauru, he deprecated any tendency to minimize the problem simply because of the small number of persons concerned: the future of the 4,000 or so Nauruans deserved the attention of the General Assembly. It was to be regretted that, despite the

recommendations of the Trusteeship Council, the General Assembly had taken no serious steps to calm the fears of the inhabitants of the island. The time had come to make the necessary provisions to protect the legitimate interests of the Nauruans; one of the first steps that the General Assembly should take during the current session should be the immediate nationalization of the phosphate workings.

40. The resettlement of the Nauruans elsewhere was a complex question which should be carefully examined. Everyone agreed that the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants should be paramount, as laid down in the Charter; what was not clear was how that idea was to be applied to the inhabitants of Nauru. In his delegation's view, it would be dangerous to take a decision until the United Nations had been in direct touch with the inhabitants and was fully informed about all aspects of the problem by the forthcoming Visiting Mission.

41. Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand) expressed his delegation's sorrow at the tragic death of Mr. Wieschhoff, an international civil servant of wide experience and profound learning, who had been devoted to the United Nations and the cause of dependent peoples.

42. At the 1157th meeting, the President of the Trusteeship Council had introduced the report with his usual clarity and distinction. The work of the Council had indeed been most fruitful: of the eleven original Trust Territories, all but three had attained independence or were about to do so. Moreover, the influence of the Trusteeship System and the Council had been felt far beyond the boundaries of the Trust Territories themselves, since, by its exertions and its example, the Trusteeship Council had hastened the movement of all dependent territories towards independence while bearing in mind the need to follow a logical and orderly course. Failure to follow such a course could lead to internal chaos which, in the existing political climate, rapidly assumed international significance and could constitute a threat to world peace and security, a danger of which the United Nations had had ample experience during the past sixteen months. His delegation could not agree that every colonial question should be turned into a major political question; the Trusteeship System had played a major role in the avoidance of that eventuality, which perhaps accounted for its unpopularity in some quarters.

43. His delegation wished to join others which had warmly congratulated the representative of Cameroun on his statement at the 1159th meeting on the peaceful integration of the Southern Cameroons into the Republic on 1 October 1961.

44. His delegation was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/L.689, in accordance with which the date of the independence of Tanganyika would be advanced to 9 December 1961. Tanganyika was not only the largest Trust Territory; it was the one in which the political advantages of the Trusteeship System were in many ways most apparent. Those advantages should not be denied to the few Territories that would remain in trust in 1962.

45. The Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Nyerere, had suggested that a country suffered economic and financial disabilities because of its trusteeship status. There would of course be a grave danger of all dependent territories being deprived of economic aid if, as some had suggested, the Declaration on the

granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples authorized the nationalization of foreign investments; but that was clearly not the case. While New Zealand was playing its part in providing Tanganyika with educational and technical assistance, it was large-scale capital expenditure for which the new State cried out and it was to be hoped that those needs would be recognized and speedily satisfied. His delegation welcomed the decision of the United Kingdom Government to meet at least some of the more pressing of those requirements. In the case of Western Samoa, the New Zealand Government was willing to continue schemes of aid for that Territory after it attained independence, if that should be the desire of the Samoan authorities.

46. Since, according to the Charter, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands fell within the competence of the Security Council, the only Territories with which the Committee would be directly concerned thereafter would be New Guinea and Nauru. The problems of each were unique and constituted a practical challenge which could not be met by the ceaseless repetition of a few anti-colonial slogans. As a Pacific country, New Zealand hoped that the Pacific area would remain true to its name; it did not wish Congo situations to be imported into the dependent territories there or the seeds of possible cold war clashes sown. The Committee should carefully examine the specific circumstances of each Territory before adopting any resolutions which might affect their future development.

47. Given the unique physical, historical and human difficulties of New Guinea, the accomplishments of the Administering Authority had been remarkable. Its policy eschewed the use of force and endeavoured instead to persuade, train and educate the New Guineans to work together and attain a sense of identity and common purpose so that they would be able effectively to exercise self-determination. That policy was in full accord both with the Charter and with the Declaration on independence; reference was made in the latter to the right of all peoples to self-determination, and the policy of Australia was to create a political entity or "self" which could freely express its will and desire. Until that existed, it was hardly responsible to speak of immediate independence or to make unfounded accusations that inadequacy of preparedness was being used as a pretext for delaying independence. The Administering Authority itself agreed that the momentum of development should be accelerated and it had taken major steps to that end during the past year. It had given generous financial assistance to New Guinea, and the administrative union between New Guinea and Papua ensured that that assistance was spread as far as possible over both Territories, thus avoiding expensive duplication of administrative machinery and services. Although the peoples of the two Territories would have to decide their own future in due course, it seemed that they would be well advised to grow together. His delegation congratulated the Administering Authority on its achievements in New Guinea and looked forward to the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea, 1962.

48. When the Trusteeship Agreement for Nauru had been approved in 1947, the unique position of that Territory had been fully recognized. The General Assembly had known at that time that one day the phosphates would be exhausted and it had known of

the arrangements made for mining them. It had been realized that such a tiny island could not support an unlimited population and that its capacity for political and economic development was restricted. It had also been recognized in 1947 that no trusteeship agreement could be implemented in a vacuum but was in practice subject to hard, material realities. During the ensuing fourteen years the Trusteeship Council had tried with success to ensure that the people of Nauru should enjoy the benefits of the Trusteeship System and that their future would be in accordance with their freely expressed wishes. That objective was shared by the three countries which comprised the Administering Authority, which had endeavoured to co-operate with the Council in seeking a solution to the problem. Even if the rate of extraction of the phosphates were reduced, the difficulty would remain; in fact it would be complicated by a fall in living standards. Even if Nauru had no phosphate deposits but more fertile land, the question of what to do with the surplus population would sooner or later have to be faced.

49. The current report of the Trusteeship Council gave details of proposals placed before the Nauruans (A/4818, pp. 60-61) in accordance with the Council's recommendation of the previous year. The generosity of the proposals, which related principally to the possible resettlement of the Nauruans in Australia, had been recognized by the Nauruan leaders, who had, however, considered that the people were not yet ready to accept them, since they still hoped that a place might be found in which they could live as a Nauruan community.

50. Those proposals had not been simply rejected by the Nauruans, as had been claimed; they had been regarded as a basis of discussion. All three countries comprising the Administering Authority were always prepared to consider any proposals the Nauruans themselves might wish to make. If they wished to settle in the metropolitan countries, the New Zealand Government for its part would be anxious to ensure that all who chose to go to New Zealand could settle into their new life as soon as possible.

51. In his delegation's opinion, the proposals already made were fully in accord with the Trusteeship Agreement and, indeed, with the Declaration on independence. The representative of India had suggested in the Council that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), although concerned mainly with Non-Self-Governing Territories, seemed relevant to Nauru (A/4818, p. 13, para. 26). In that resolution, the General Assembly had decided, *inter alia*, that free association with an independent State or integration with such a State were two of the methods whereby a Territory could achieve a full measure of self-government. At the resumed fifteenth session, the Assembly, following well-established precedents, had agreed to the termination of trusteeship over the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration on the dates when the two separate parts of that Territory should join Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroun. The proposals before the Nauruans similarly pointed towards independence by integration, although the integration would be achieved in a different way.

52. The prime consideration of the Administering Authority was the wishes of the Nauruans themselves. Application of the principle of self-determination must, however, be adapted to the island's small size

and unique circumstances. It was not the time to rush into a plebiscite which might divide the Nauruan community and keep some of it under semi-permanent tutelage. What was required was constant and continuing consultation with them in order that there might eventually emerge some consensus of opinion on a solution or the way in which a solution could be reached. That consultation would continue, under the supervision of the Trusteeship Council, and no resettlement would be undertaken without the consent of the Nauruan people. His delegation categorically rejected the insinuations that had been made about his Government's intentions with regard to the future of the Nauruans: New Zealand would never remove the Nauruans forcibly from their home, any more than it would build a wall to keep them there.

53. The Trusteeship Council was still faced with most important tasks. Its well-tried machinery could not be lightly discarded nor could its guiding principles be cast aside without damage to the Charter and grave risk of harm to the peoples still remaining under the Trusteeship System, who looked to that System and to their Administering Authorities for guidance and help towards the objectives of Article 76 of the Charter. It was important, moreover, when preoccupied with certain African problems, always to distinguish between those Administering Authorities which endeavoured to discharge their obligations under the Charter and those which did not. It was in the interest of the world community and of the dependent peoples concerned that that distinction should be recognized and that the remaining Trust Territories should be given the opportunity of working out their future—with a new sense of urgency, but realistically and in prosperous, peaceful and harmonious conditions.

54. Mr. BAHIZI (Congo, Leopoldville) protested against the reference made by the representative of New Zealand to the Congo. The Congo was an independent State; its difficulties were due to the colonial Powers, which were not prepared to abandon their interests and were endeavouring to divide the Congolese people.

55. Mr. THEODOLI (Italy) associated his delegation with the congratulations addressed to the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur upon their unanimous election.

56. The report of the Trusteeship Council gave a lucid and concise account of what was in effect the last phase of the Trusteeship System. The developments under consideration showed that the principle of the sacred trust enshrined in Article 73 of the Charter was not an empty phrase.

57. The solution found for the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration offered a good example of the way in which Territories could be regrouped by peaceable means according to the will of the people and to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned. With regard to Tanganyika, the statement made at the twenty-seventh session of the Trusteeship Council by that country's Prime Minister (A/4818, pp. 20-21) was impressive in its statesman-like qualities. His delegation welcomed the fact that Tanganyika and Western Samoa would soon be acceding to independent statehood and it extended its warmest congratulations to the peoples of those countries and to the Administering Authorities. Much credit also attached to the United Nations for its work and guidance.

58. He was confident that the advance in the remaining Trust Territories would be equally smooth and orderly. In that context, it should be remembered that when the Mandates System had been set up the Mandated Territories had been divided into three groups according to their degree of advancement; all the remaining Trust Territories had been in the most backward group.

59. The social, economic and political conditions in New Guinea were such that it was doubtful whether the Territory could at that stage accede to independence in such a way as to give its people an opportunity of expressing their wishes concerning their future. He agreed with the view expressed by the Moroccan representative at the 1160th meeting that the people of New Guinea should not be kept in a primitive state as an ethnographical curiosity but he was certain that that had never been the intention of the Administering Authority. On the other hand, precipitate changes would not redound to the advantage of the people of the Territory or to the prestige of the United Nations. The question was one of timing.

60. The Trust Territory of Nauru presented a special case, for with its small area and small population it did not possess the necessary resources for an independent existence. The solution should therefore be some form of self-government in association with adjacent islands, to be chosen in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants.

61. Italy was no longer a colonial Power or an Administering Authority. It maintained friendly relations with the States it had formerly administered and it had voted in favour of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Hence it regarded the problem of colonialism with detachment and impartiality. It was its sincere hope that the Asian and African countries, whose emotions and aspirations at that stage he fully appreciated, would soon be able to look at the problem of colonialism in its true perspective. The Western brand of colonialism was dying out but another form of colonialism and neo-colonialism had reared its head in Europe and Asia, where two great Powers exercised absolute military, political and economic domination over millions of men and women who had formerly lived as free peoples in neighbouring countries. In those colonies there was no provision for self-determination or self-government or for the dissemination of information on the activities of the United Nations.

62. He had been surprised to hear severe criticism levelled not only at colonialism but also at the Trusteeship System; it had in fact been said that there was no difference between the two. If that was the case, he would like to know why the countries which were now linking those two systems in a sweeping condemnation had signed the United Nations Charter which had established the Trusteeship System.

63. With regard to the question of offers by Member States of training facilities, his Government had embarked upon a vast programme of scholarships for African students. Over 220 scholarships had been awarded to students from African regions south of the Sahara. The programme included the award of twenty Italian Government scholarships to students from Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and 110 scholarships for students from Somalia—yet another proof that his country's administration of

that Trust Territory had not been just a form of exploitation.

64. Mr. AZAMBUJA (Brazil) expressed the concern his delegation felt with regard to the possible abolition of the Trusteeship Council. The Council's work in supervising the progress of the Trust Territories towards independence had been of such significance for the maintenance of world peace that he would welcome its continuation for as long as necessary. It could, for instance, perform a useful task under Article 77, sub-paragraph 1 c, of the Charter if the administering Powers of the various Non-Self-Governing Territories would voluntarily place their Territories under the Trusteeship System.

65. His delegation would be proud to welcome Tanganyika as a Member of the United Nations. The Committee had already heard a petitioner from that Territory (1157th meeting), who had spoken of matters of concern to the members of the Committee. He felt that Brazil, with its multiracial society, could make a contribution to the solution of the problem of foreign communities in newly independent States. His Government held the view that aliens who came to the country of their own free will should be integrated in the national community and should not enjoy any special privileges. Such integration of minority groups perhaps provided the solution for those incipient problems in the newly independent African States.

66. With regard to Nauru, he felt that it would be premature to take any decision since the people of the Territory were faced with several alternatives and were entitled to decide their own future. The 1962 Visiting Mission should place all those alternatives before the leaders of the Nauruan people. In the meantime, some thought should be given to the creation of a capital fund to which annual payments would be made from the profits of the phosphate industry and which would help the people of Nauru to start their new life.

67. In the matter of the dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories, his delegation, in the light of first-hand observations by one of its members in Ruanda-Urundi, wished to draw the Committee's attention to the great material, linguistic and other difficulties with which the United Nations Secretariat was faced in implementing the relevant resolutions. The effectiveness of the educational process involved in the dissemination of such information depended on the cultural environment in which an information centre was located. At the same time he fully realized the usefulness of the programme and hoped that the new information centres would be maintained after the Territories in which they were situated became independent.

68. It had been with great pleasure that his delegation had heard the statement by the Camerounian representative at the 1159th meeting and it wished to extend its congratulations to the Governments of Cameroun, Nigeria and the United Kingdom on a most successful handling of a very complex problem. He had particular pleasure in being able to say that, for his delegation had had serious doubts concerning the merits of General Assembly resolution 1608 (XV).

69. He welcomed the fact that Sierra Leone had become a Member of the United Nations and expressed pleasure at Western Samoa's forthcoming accession to independence.

70. His delegation would support the two draft resolutions (A/C.4/L.689, A/C.4/L.690) before the Committee.

71. Mr. GRINBERG (Bulgaria) said that under the pressure of the stormy wind of change and of the dependent peoples' struggle for national liberation, the colonial Powers had been compelled to give up a number of additional Trust Territories. The world would soon be celebrating the independence of Tanganyika and Western Samoa. The difficult problem of the former Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration had already been solved and there was no doubt that Ruanda-Urundi would accede to independence at an early date.

72. The Committee's task in examining the report of the Trusteeship Council was further facilitated by the fact that in the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples it had an unequivocal criterion by which it could judge the situation both in the Trust Territories and in the Trusteeship Council itself. The importance of the Declaration lay in the fact that it had outlawed colonialism and had stated that that shameful remnant of the past should be abolished forthwith. The colonial Powers, however, ignored the Declaration and obstructed its implementation because their policy was profoundly hostile to the ideas incorporated in it.

73. Despite the provisions of operative paragraphs 3 and 5 of the Declaration, Australia, in its administration of New Guinea, was clinging to the old colonial policies in the hope that it would be able to continue to exploit the Territory for at least another fifty years on the pretext that its people were not ready for independence. In that context it was legitimate to ask Australia what it had achieved in the period of over forty years in which it had been administering the Territory. The fact was that, not only had nothing of substance been achieved, but the Administering Authority had persistently frustrated the efforts of the United Nations to help with technical assistance, scholarships, training facilities and so on and had even failed to agree to the setting up of a United Nations information centre. Consequently, the isolation and backwardness of the people of New Guinea were due not to the rugged terrain of the Territory but to colonialism itself. It was precisely because of the application of such policies which hampered the development of peoples that the Declaration stated that inadequacy of preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. Consequently, the United Nations was in duty bound to take all the practical steps necessary to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration in New Guinea.

74. The benefits of the Declaration should also be applied to Nauru, whose peoples were equally entitled to freedom and independence. Its resources, if nationalized and put at the service of the people, would be sufficient for their needs.

75. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, too, came fully within the scope of the Declaration and it was to be hoped that, following the statement made at the previous meeting by the United States representative, the Security Council would shortly consider the situation with a view to implementing the Declaration in that Trust Territory.

76. Despite its numerous shortcomings, the Trusteeship System could have led to the liberation of all the Trust Territories years earlier had it been applied

correctly and persistently. The colonial Powers, however, had preferred to use the Trusteeship Council as a screen behind which they continued the colonial exploitation in a legalized form. The accession to independence of the Trust Territories had therefore been brought about not by the activities of the Council or the working of the Trusteeship System but by the disintegration of the colonial system, the struggle of the dependent peoples for their emancipation and other revolutionary changes in the world. Had it been otherwise, the Trust Territories would have achieved independence long before the colonial territories.

77. In view of the fact that the Trusteeship Council had not justified its existence thus far, it was unlikely that it would do so in the future. It was so heavily weighted in favour of the colonial Powers that it could not be expected to perform the main task of all United Nations bodies entrusted with functions in the colonial field, which was to ensure the speedy and faithful implementation of the Declaration. That being so, he was of the opinion that the Trusteeship Council should cease to operate. In the present circumstances, the General Assembly should itself assume responsibility for the implementation of the Declaration, with the help of a special organ. As for the Council, it could either dissolve itself or linger on for a short while, performing no useful functions. He believed that 1962 would mark the end of both colonialism and the Trusteeship Council.

78. As the Committee was aware, the agenda of the General Assembly included an item proposed by the USSR and entitled "The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". As the General Assembly's decision on that item would affect the questions examined in the Fourth Committee, he suggested that the Committee should not conclude the examination of the item under consideration but should leave it open, so that it could if necessary adopt additional resolutions in the light of the outcome of the debate on the item to which he had referred.

79. Mr. DEMETROPOULOS (Greece) congratulated the Chairman on her election. Having studied the report of the Trusteeship Council he also wished to associate himself with the congratulations extended to the President and members of that Council.

80. The liberation movement of the peoples of Africa and Asia was irresistible and irreversible. In the circumstances the United Kingdom's decision to provide information on the political and constitutional developments in the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration was of profound significance.

81. The care with which the question of Nauru was being studied showed that the United Nations was guided not by the size of a Territory or the number of people involved but by respect for human dignity and national aspirations. That was a source of satisfaction to his country, which had been the cradle of such aspirations.

82. Colonialism as practised in Africa and Asia was virtually a thing of the past and he was certain that happy solutions would be found for all outstanding problems. He did not overlook the fact that progress towards emancipation had been slow in certain areas because the minimum social and economic conditions were not yet present. That fact could not, however, stop the historic current and the Committee would

undoubtedly complete its main task in the foreseeable future. Thereafter, if it remained in existence, it would be dealing not with the accession of countries to independence but with the consolidation of their independence, which called for certain minimum standards of security and well-being.

83. In the countries of Asia and Africa, which were richly endowed by nature, the main problem was the training of cadres. His country had therefore decided to continue and enlarge its programme of scholarships within the United Nations framework. The European countries' activities in that field were prompted by a genuine desire for interdependence and co-operation and not by greed, and he was hopeful that the newly independent countries would not fall victim to the insidious assertions to the contrary being made in certain quarters.

84. The CHAIRMAN recalled that at the previous meeting certain references had been made to the personnel of the Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. She felt that those honest and responsible international civil servants, who were dedicated to the tasks assigned to them by the General Assembly in fulfilment of the Charter, were entitled to protection. It was not fair that such references should be made to them.

85. Mr. BRYKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) referring to the statement by the United Kingdom representative, whose competence in colonial matters he did not question, said that his attack on the USSR, which had always been a resolute opponent of the colonial system, could not take the place of arguments in support of colonialism and did not make the position of the colonialists any stronger.

86. The statement by the United Kingdom representative, who would be the Chairman of the 1962 Visiting Mission to Nauru, had made him even more concerned for the fate of the people of that Trust Territory. The USSR's position with regard to Nauru was clear: it was of the opinion that the mulcting of the people of Nauru by the British Phosphate Commissioners should be brought to an end and that the people should be allowed to live as they wished. The United Kingdom representative, on the other hand, had proposed that the process of robbing the people should continue and that the people should be driven out when the phosphate deposits were exhausted. Therein lay a radical difference between the position of the United Kingdom and his own country.

87. Statements had also been made by certain junior partners in the Western military blocs. Those un-

successful colonialists could find nothing better after the failure of their colonial adventures than to make their Territories available for the establishment of rocket bases by their stronger partners, particularly the United States. He wished their people success in their struggle against that new form of colonialism.

88. Sir Hugh FOOT (United Kingdom) welcomed the fact that the USSR appeared to have had a change of heart: its representative had now said that the wishes of the people of Nauru should be respected, whereas in the Trusteeship Council the USSR had been the only member to vote against the paragraph of the report which provided that the problems of Nauru should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people. At no time had the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom favoured the expulsion of the people of Nauru from their island. They had always stated that the wishes of the people were paramount in the matter.

89. Mr. BRYKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) replied that his country's attitude with regard to Nauru remained unchanged. Its views were to be found in part II, chapter VI, paragraphs 22 and 26, of the report of the Trusteeship Council.

90. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) questioned the accuracy of the New Zealand representative's statement that the people of Nauru had not rejected the offer made by the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand with regard to their resettlement. It was clear from Mr. Gadabu's statement before the Trusteeship Council (A/4818, p. 61, para. 15) that the people of Nauru had rejected the offer. The New Zealand representative had also said that the 1962 Visiting Mission to Nauru would devote its attention to the problem of the future of the Territory. In the circumstances, the Committee should consider the possibility of enlarging the Visiting Mission and making it into a visiting mission of the General Assembly and not of the Trusteeship Council.

91. Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand) replied that Mr. Gadabu had been making an impromptu statement. He himself had based his statement on the comments by the Nauru Local Government Council, which had said that the people of the island were not yet ready to accept the proposals because they still hoped that a place might be found where they could live as a community. The proposal therefore was still under review.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.