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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 44

Question of the future of Western Samoa (A/4404, part I, chap. VI, sect. I and part II, chap. V; A/C.4/454 and Add.1; A/C.4/L.663) (continued)

1. Mr. Najmuddine RIFAI (United Arab Republic) submitting draft resolution A/C.4/L.663 on behalf of his own delegation and those of Argentina, the Federation of Malaya, Ghana, India, Iraq, Sudan and the United Kingdom, said that at the present juncture the United Nations had one primordial duty to fulfil: it must ensure that the people of Western Samoa were not only given wise and constructive counsel but were free from any extraneous influence in exercising their right of self-determination. During the past decade or so Western Samoa had made steady progress towards the objectives of the International Trusteeship System and the Fourth Committee should now register its deep satisfaction at the manner in which that progress had been achieved. No one could deny that it had been marked by understanding, co-operation and confidence between the Samoan people on the one hand and the Administering Authority and the United Nations on the other. It was to be hoped that that harmonious relationship would prove of great assistance to the Committee in discharging the important tasks which remained to be performed.

2. The Committee was called upon to decide on the nature of the plebiscite to be held in Western Samoa. The first point to be decided was those who would participate in the plebiscite, the second was the questions that should be put. In accordance with the obligations laid down in the Charter, self-government or independence must be attained on terms and conditions which were acceptable to the peoples concerned. It was satisfactory that the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, 1959, had been able to persuade the Samoan leaders to hold the proposed plebiscite on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Important as that was, however, it was not a sufficient guarantee of free choice by the people if certain important matters which had a great bearing on the future were left outside the scope of their choice. It was that consideration which had prompted the Visiting Mission, and subsequently the Trusteeship Council, to insist that the plebiscite should include not only the question of independence but also questions on the Constitution and the proposed treaty of friendship

between Western Samoa and New Zealand. At the 1081st meeting, both the representative of New Zealand and the Prime Minister of Western Samoa had informed the Fourth Committee of the change which had taken place in their concept of the relationship which should exist between their respective States. It was now agreed that Western Samoa should attain unqualified independence on 1 January 1962. That development was of great importance. His delegation had in the past taken the position that the best interests of Western Samoa and of New Zealand called for the abandonment of the idea of a treaty before independence. If the Samoan people, after attaining independence, judged it desirable to conclude a treaty of friendship with New Zealand or with any other country it would then be their sovereign right to do so.

3. The Prime Minister of Western Samoa had informed the Committee of other significant developments which he hoped would mark the beginning of a progressive evolution towards the elimination of any distinctions based on race and would ultimately lead to the introduction of universal adult suffrage. In the meantime, however, his delegation considered that since the Constitutional Convention had been the outcome of a limited franchise the General Assembly must ascertain the wishes of the people with regard to the Constitution adopted by the Convention. That view should not be construed as questioning the representative character of that body. In view of the wish of the Constitutional Convention that the plebiscite should include no question on the Constitution, his delegation appreciated the decision of the Prime Minister of Western Samoa to meet the point of view of the sponsors of the draft resolution in that respect.

4. The Territory had reached the stage in its political advancement when, in accordance with the plan for self-government, one thing remained to be done before terminating the Trusteeship Agreement. In conformity with Article 76 b of the Charter, it was now the duty of the United Nations to ascertain the wishes of the Samoan people. That was the purpose of the draft resolution before the Committee. Generally speaking it was self-explanatory. At the previous meeting, however, the representative of Bolivia had raised certain questions which had a bearing on the second paragraph of the preamble. In reply to those remarks he would be speaking only for the delegation of the United Arab Republic, since he had had no time to consult the other sponsors on the point.

5. The second preambular paragraph took note of two important documents which were the result of the labours of the Constitutional Convention. The resolutions adopted by that Convention (A/C.4/454/Add.1) contained many important decisions which his delegation felt the General Assembly should note, even though it might not agree with some of them. In fact his delegation would have had reservations concerning some of the resolutions if they had been subject to the approval

of the Fourth Committee or submitted for popular ratification. It construed them simply as the expression of advice or as a wish by the Constitutional Convention, of which the future independent Government of Western Samoa might or might not take heed. One of the resolutions dealt with the external relations of Western Samoa. The General Assembly had in the past urged the Samoan people and the New Zealand Government to refrain from concluding a treaty of friendship before the attainment of independence. They appeared to have complied with that recommendation and in his delegation's view the United Nations was not called upon to sanction any treaty between the two States. The mere noting of a resolution which, as the New Zealand representative had explained, had no legally binding force on the future independent Government of Western Samoa would not commit the General Assembly in any way. If objections were to be raised on that score they could equally well be raised against the third preambular paragraph, which noted the statements made in the Fourth Committee by the representative of the Administering Authority and the Prime Minister of Western Samoa.

6. His delegation therefore trusted that the two preambular paragraphs would give rise to no further objections. From the standpoint of the United Nations the fundamental aim was to ensure that Western Samoa would obtain unqualified independence. After that the Samoan people, in the exercise of their sovereign rights, would choose the course of action in the external field which was best suited to their interests. His delegation hoped, however, that Western Samoa would decide to join the United Nations.

7. He did not think that operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution called for any elucidation. With regard to paragraph 2, the sponsors felt that, as the Constitution of Western Samoa had been drawn up and promulgated by a body which had not been elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, it was the duty of the General Assembly to ascertain the wishes of the people of the Territory on the subject. They had accordingly proposed a separate question on the Constitution.

8. In conclusion, he expressed his delegation's deep appreciation of the valuable contribution the Prime Minister of Western Samoa had made to agreement on a draft resolution of such importance for the future of the Territory. The search for a happy and harmonious blend between old and new must continue. He was confident that the people of Western Samoa would pay as much attention to the needs of the present and the future as to those of the past.

9. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) felt that, as a member of the Visiting Mission which had been so closely concerned with the later stages of Western Samoa's evolution towards independence, he should contribute to the debate.

10. The Visiting Mission had made a number of recommendations regarding constitutional matters and it appreciated the consideration given to those recommendations by the people of Western Samoa and their leaders.

11. The Prime Minister had told the Committee of the steps taken to give effect to the plans made by the representatives of the Territory to establish citizenship for Western Samoa. It had been a difficult and delicate task and he paid a tribute to the Western

Samoans for the wisdom, toleration and moderation which they had shown.

12. The Visiting Mission had also had certain proposals to make regarding the judicial system and the public service and had recommended that provision should be made in the Constitution for certain safeguards with regard to those important matters. His delegation had been much impressed by the way the Constitution and the resolutions of the Constitutional Convention covered those subjects.

13. Perhaps an even more important matter was that of domestic status and the proposed elimination of racial distinctions. The Mission had attached particular importance to that question and he had been glad to see in the note regarding land and titles reproduced in document A/C.4/454/Add.1 that, as a result of the proposed changes, it would be possible to repeal the whole of the Samoan Status Ordinance 1934 and parts of the Land and Titles Protection Ordinance 1934. The changes proposed by the Constitutional Convention with regard to land and titles were most satisfactory and the changes proposed in the electoral system went far to meet the suggestions made by the Visiting Mission. He hoped that they would open the way to still further changes in the future. It was not by forcing changes on the people but by a gradual and agreed process of evolution, which had been characteristic of Western Samoa in recent years, that the necessary reforms could best be secured in social, economic and political questions. It was thus a source of great satisfaction that in connexion with constitutional arrangements the Samoan leaders had paid so much attention to the suggestions put before them by the Visiting Mission.

14. With regard to the resolutions adopted by the Constitutional Convention (A/C.4/454/Add.1), he would not go into details but would say that in the view of his delegation they were of great importance. The Constitutional Convention had laid particular emphasis on the subject of land because land was the people's source of livelihood. There were many problems relating to land to which the leaders of Western Samoa had given attention, allowing both for the preservation of customs and traditions and for evolution to meet the needs of the modern world and to provide for the growing wealth and prosperity of the population and the protection of those who wished to lease land and to farm it under modern conditions. In view of the importance of the resolutions he agreed with the United Arab Republic representative that it was right and reasonable that the Committee should note them in its resolution. He emphasized that the Committee would merely note them; it would be for the people of Western Samoa to approve them.

15. Western Samoa would take the final step to independence with the goodwill, encouragement and friendship of all States represented in the Fourth Committee. Those who had been concerned, in the Trusteeship Council and in the General Assembly, with the development of Western Samoa had admired the way in which the New Zealand Government and its representatives had helped the people of the Territory forward to nationhood; it could indeed serve as a model of the manner in which the representatives of a dependent people could be given gradually increasing responsibilities and their wishes could increasingly prevail in the working out of constitutional arrangements. Although Western Samoa was a small country and at

present a purely agricultural one, dependent on a limited range of products for export, and although there were many ways in which its economy could be improved, its educational system extended and its governmental service developed, its great strength lay in the people themselves and it was that which determined the happiness, success and well-being of a country. The people of Western Samoa were deeply rooted in tradition. Yet in their development towards independence, with the help of the Administering Authority and the encouragement of the United Nations, they had shown their capacity for flexibility and change.

16. He hoped that the draft resolution, of which his delegation was a sponsor, would be unanimously and expeditiously approved. He expressed his Government's warm good wishes to the Government and people of Western Samoa and its confidence that they would lead their country forward in strength, happiness and prosperity.

17. In conclusion he welcomed the delegation of Nigeria, which he had been informed wished to be added to the list of sponsors.

18. Mr. DINGEMANS (Netherlands) congratulated the representative of New Zealand and the Prime Minister of Western Samoa on their admirable statements on the future of the Trust Territory, from which there emerged a picture of cordial relations and friendship between the Governments of New Zealand and the Government and people of Western Samoa which had made it possible to move swiftly towards the goals of the Trusteeship Agreement. His delegation had been impressed by the rapid but thorough preparation of the people of Western Samoa for conducting their own affairs, culminating in fully responsible self-government by the introduction of the cabinet system of government in October 1959. That was a fine example of the progressive development of a people towards self-government in accordance with its freely expressed wishes, as envisaged in Article 76 of the Charter.

19. His delegation was grateful to the delegation of New Zealand for having submitted such extensive material on the situation in Western Samoa and its relationship with New Zealand. It had found the new Constitution and the resolutions adopted by the Constitutional Convention particularly enlightening. The resolutions regarding individual voters and the holding of "matai" titles and the "pule", or authority, over customary land were important because they demonstrated the flexibility of Samoan society and showed that the recommendations of the 1959 Visiting Mission had not passed unheeded.

20. The new Constitution was a document for which the Constitutional Convention deserved much praise; it was an inspiring example of the possibility of blending ancient and historical traditions with the necessities of modern democratic government.

21. The General Assembly should be able to deal with the question without difficulty. The facts were clear. The New Zealand Government was committed to the proposition that Western Samoa should obtain independence by 1 January 1962. It believed that the Territory was ready for independence, and that belief was shared by the people and their leaders. Both the Constitutional Convention and the Legislative Assembly had requested the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. The question therefore arose whether the holding of a plebiscite based on universal adult suffrage was

indispensable. His delegation had some doubt about the necessity of a plebiscite but would have no objection if the Committee deemed that such a procedure was necessary. For those reasons, his delegation was in agreement with the second question in operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.4/L.663. Although the ratification of the Constitution by universal adult suffrage, as called for in the first question in paragraph 2, was not strictly necessary, once a plebiscite had been decided upon there could be little objection to its inclusion. For the reasons he had given, his delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution.

22. The world would soon see the birth of the first independent and sovereign Polynesian State in the Pacific. When New Zealand laid down its responsibilities for the administration of the Territory it would leave behind it a legacy of goodwill and friendship which it was to be hoped would be the basis of the future relations between Western Samoa and New Zealand. It augured well for the future of the new State that the New Zealand Government had indicated its willingness to continue to give to Western Samoa, at its request, substantial assistance in the fields of both internal development and international relations. He was confident that the United Nations would continue to provide Western Samoa with support in its task of building a happy and peaceful life for its people.

23. Mr. VITELLI (Italy) wished to place on record his delegation's satisfaction at the auspicious developments in Western Samoa. His delegation had been glad to note, from the remarkable statements which the representative of New Zealand and the Prime Minister of Western Samoa had made at the 1081st meeting, that the Administering Authority was firmly committed to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement on 31 December 1961. He thought that the time-table and measures on which the Administering Authority was in full agreement with the Government of Western Samoa were wholly adequate and realistic. He ventured to say that a successful outcome seemed a foregone conclusion.

24. The Italian delegation had no strong views concerning the question of holding a plebiscite in Western Samoa, though it appreciated the validity of the argument advanced by the New Zealand representative that the case for a plebiscite could rest only on the absence of universal suffrage. The expense and preparations which a plebiscite would entail should be weighed against the beneficial effects of acquainting the population with universal suffrage and, possibly, helping them to overcome certain difficulties resulting from their social structure. He felt, however, that it was a matter that should be left to the responsible Government of Western Samoa.

25. If the General Assembly decided to recommend the holding of a plebiscite, it would have to consider carefully the form of question to be put to the people. The description the New Zealand representative had given of the relationship which was likely to exist between New Zealand and Western Samoa after the latter's accession to independence seemed sound and wholly acceptable. Quite clearly, continued assistance by New Zealand in the conduct of Western Samoa's international relations would not involve any control of the latter's foreign policies. In view of the technical and financial implications of having a fully-fledged organization to deal with international relations, it was understandable that some form of assistance might be

envisaged for a period of time after Western Samoa had acceded to independence. A particularly gratifying feature of that scheme of mutual co-operation in the conduct of Western Samoa's foreign relations was that the authority for formulating the newly independent State's external policies would be vested in its Government, while New Zealand would merely offer facilities. The fact that Western Samoa would not be obliged to seek help exclusively from New Zealand should also be noted.

26. His delegation was prepared to support draft resolution A/C.4/L.663. It offered the Government and people of Western Samoa its best wishes for a happy and prosperous future.

27. Mr. ANSTENSEN (Canada) said that the temperament and training of the Samoan people seemed to it them admirably for a smooth and orderly transition to independence. The fact that they had played the major role in the planning of the future political and constitutional development of their country was a happy augury for its future prosperity and well-being.

28. The frankness which the Governments of Western Samoa and New Zealand had displayed in explaining, both in the Trusteeship Council and in the General Assembly, the step-by-step development to complete independence and their present ideas on the possible future relationship between the two countries reflected the confidence both Governments placed in the United Nations. The United Nations should respond in like spirit and should bear in mind that, although Western Samoa was still a Trust Territory, it managed its own domestic affairs and had obtained a very large measure of self-government. The General Assembly's task at the present juncture was simply to give guidance on the steps which remained to be taken before the Trusteeship Agreement could be terminated and Western Samoa became an independent State.

29. He did not think that any Member of the United Nations would wish to call into question the right of the Western Samoan people, acting through their chosen representatives, to adopt a form of government which they considered to be best suited to their needs. By reason of the long tradition of the Samoan people, their Constitution incorporated some novel features but it seemed to his delegation to embody all the necessary guarantees of fundamental human rights which could be expected in a modern constitution.

30. The Canadian delegation had no doubt that the Constitutional Convention had been entirely competent to adopt the resolution dealing with external relations and the framework of future co-operation between New Zealand and the independent State of Western Samoa. That resolution was simply a recommendation and would not be in any way binding on the sovereign Government of independent Western Samoa, which would be free to act on it or to reject it. The essential point was that Western Samoa would accede to full and unqualified independence in a year's time. Consequently, the resolution could not be conceived as a factor limiting the freedom of action of the future Government of independent Western Samoa. The kind of scheme envisaged in the resolution had none of the features of a protectorate because Western Samoa would be, at all times, solely responsible for formulating its own international policies. Both the Prime Minister of Western Samoa and the representative of New Zealand had assured the Committee that the arrangements would involve no diminution of sover-

eignty and could be terminated by Western Samoa at any time.

31. In the circumstances the proposed scheme was an eminently sensible and practical interim arrangement. Many small States must necessarily follow such a system, which implied no surrender of sovereignty. A decision by which the people of a free and independent State made the best use of their available resources in the fashion best suited to them was in itself an exercise of sovereignty and it would be an unfortunate limitation of such sovereignty were a State with limited resources compelled to take on more in the field of external relations than it felt it could manage. If, instead of remaining in isolation in the South Pacific, independent Western Samoa should choose to conduct its more important international negotiations and to seek membership in those organizations of most interest to it, while availing itself of the help of New Zealand with regard to representation in other international bodies and countries, that would be an exercise, not a surrender, of sovereignty.

32. His delegation therefore gave its full support to draft resolution A/C.4/L.663, which, in appropriate language, formulated the action required of the General Assembly at the present juncture.

33. Mr. THAPA (Nepal) said that his delegation welcomed the advent of Western Samoa to independent statehood on 1 January 1962; it was a tribute to the population of the Territory and to the Administering Authority that that event was taking place in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding between the two peoples. His delegation hoped that the friendship between them would continue to grow after the attainment of independence. The Prime Minister of Western Samoa had also stressed that point and had given the Committee much information of great interest about the political situation in the Territory and the political and economic aspirations of its people.

34. Since Western Samoa had already adopted a Constitution, the stage was set for final independence. His delegation supported the draft resolution, which in its view would contribute towards that end, while the proposed questions to be put in the plebiscite took into account the particular circumstances prevailing in the Territory.

35. His delegation desired to express its appreciation of the work done by New Zealand, which had in truth regarded the trusteeship as a sacred trust and was now ready to give the Territory independence. The people of Western Samoa, for their part, had proved their capacity to govern themselves. His delegation wished them and their Government every success in the future.

36. Mr. KUCHAVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the main feature of the situation in Western Samoa was the intensification of the political activity of the people, who were eager to attain independence without delay. It had been only recently, after repeated requests by the representatives of Western Samoa that the Territory should be given full self-government, that the Administering Authority had been forced to make a number of concessions and to suggest a scheme whereby a plebiscite would be held in Western Samoa in May 1961, followed by the granting of independence at the end of that year.

37. It should be noted that the Samoan people, like the people of other dependent Territories, had by their

deeds refuted the colonialists' assertions to the effect that the colonial peoples were incapable of governing themselves and were consequently obliged to be under the trusteeship of the allegedly civilized colonialists. The Samoan Government, headed by Mr. Fiamé, had demonstrated from the very outset that no one could govern Western Samoa better than the Samoans themselves. At the twenty-sixth session of the Trusteeship Council the Administering Authority had been forced to admit that the Government, consisting of Samoans, had been functioning extremely well and that the handing over of political control to the Samoans had liberated new energies and stimulated great interest in future planning. Quite clearly, the people of Western Samoa, who had always been capable of governing their country, had hitherto been simply prevented from assuming control. The time had come for the United Nations to request the Administering Authority to grant independence to Western Samoa without delay, and of course not later than 31 December 1961.

38. The General Assembly should above all ensure that Western Samoa's independence would be full and unconditional and that the country's constitution and legislation would provide for complete sovereignty and independence, subject to no limitation or restriction. In that connexion attention should be drawn to the attempt being made by the Administering Authority to secure the General Assembly's approval of a plan providing for the conclusion of the so-called treaty of friendship between New Zealand and Western Samoa. There was a real danger that such a treaty would result in Western Samoa's losing its independence as soon as it had acquired it. The New Zealand Government's memorandum of 19 March 1959 (T/1449, annex II) had shown that the treaty as originally envisaged provided for handing over to New Zealand the questions of foreign relations and defence, among others. Apparently recognizing the unpopularity of such a direct imposition of a treaty of friendship, the Administering Authority had changed its tactics and was now saying that the Treaty would be concluded after, and not before, the proclamation of independence and that Western Samoa would receive "assistance" in the conduct of its external affairs. The Administering Authority was still striving to achieve the same result and to conclude a treaty which might substantially restrict Western Samoa's sovereignty and in effect establish a protectorate. Despite the reassurances the delegation of New Zealand had given, the USSR delegation thought that the General Assembly should study the question thoroughly.

39. The plebiscite to be held in May 1961 should be a popular referendum on the question of a new constitution, the termination of the trusteeship and the proclamation of the independence of Western Samoa. The wording of the questions should be such as to enable the people freely to express their views on those matters.

40. Since the conclusion of any agreements with foreign States would be within the competence of the Government and the legislature of the independent State of Western Samoa, and since no one had the right to impose any agreements or treaties upon it, the USSR delegation categorically objected to the proposal that the General Assembly should take note of the Constitutional Convention's resolution recommending that a treaty of friendship should be concluded between Western Samoa and New Zealand on the morrow of the proclamation of Western Samoa's independence.

41. Attention should also be drawn to the Administering Authority's intention to retain control over monetary circulation and banking in Western Samoa. The present state of affairs, with New Zealand holding 55 per cent of the stock in the Bank of Western Samoa while Western Samoa itself had a participation of only 45 per cent, should be reconsidered and changed in such a way as to give control to the Samoans.

42. The USSR delegation wished to know whether New Zealand could give the General Assembly the same assurance as it had given the Trusteeship Council in 1959 and 1960, to the effect that it did not intend to set up military bases in Western Samoa, maintain troops in the country or bring Western Samoa within the ambit of the military agreements to which New Zealand was a party. It was regrettable that the colonialist majority in the Trusteeship Council had refused even to take note of the New Zealand Government's statement to that effect. Apparently the colonialists had been in too great a fear of losing their military bases in colonial territories, whose retention they demanded as a prerequisite for talks on political reforms and the granting of independence. In that way, the United States and the other imperialists had yet again demonstrated their aggressiveness.

43. The question of universal suffrage was assuming great importance at the present stage of Western Samoa's development. In the Trusteeship Council, where the question had been debated on many occasions, the colonialist majority had refused to adopt the appropriate resolution, and the Administering Authority, while paying lip-service to the advantages of universal suffrage, had done nothing to introduce it. He was not, of course, advocating the imposition of any such measure by force. The General Assembly should merely express its views on the desirability of introducing universal suffrage, and the Administering Authority, in conjunction with the Western Samoan authorities, should explain the significance of that measure to the people. He did not doubt that the overwhelming majority would be in favour of the reform: the Visiting Mission's report (T/1449) and the statements of the Prime Minister of Western Samoa bore that out. The measure was all the more timely since all Europeans in Western Samoa had the vote. In the view of the USSR delegation the most democratic way to assess the opinion of all the Samoans would be by submitting the question of universal suffrage to the people in the forthcoming plebiscite, in which all the adults in Western Samoa would be taking part.

44. He did not propose to go into the economic, social and cultural aspects of the situation in Western Samoa, although the USSR delegation in the Trusteeship Council had drawn attention to shortcomings in those fields. In the year remaining before independence the Administering Authority should try to make up for lost time and, by allocating considerable sums out of its own budget, do everything in its power to strengthen Western Samoa's finances and economy.

45. In conclusion, he asked the Prime Minister of Western Samoa to convey to the people and Government of his country the sincere greetings and best wishes of the people of the Soviet Union.

46. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that his visit to the Territory as a member of a former visiting mission had reinforced his admiration for the culture and customs of Western Samoa. His delegation had been

impressed by the harmonious and friendly relations which had always prevailed between the Administering Authority and the people of Western Samoa and it welcomed the prospect of the attainment of full independence by the Territory—the first Trust Territory in the Pacific to achieve that status.

47. He asked the Prime Minister of Western Samoa to convey to his people the sincere good wishes of the people of the Philippines. The question of Western Samoa was of deep interest to his Government and it was particularly concerned lest Western Samoa's independence should be destroyed by some predatory Power; in its view, the future of the Territory was inextricably linked with the future security of the Philippines.

48. The Constitution, the resolutions of the Constitutional Convention, and the report of the Trusteeship Council had made it clear that the Territory had already achieved internal self-government. That in fact was all that was required under Article 76 of the Charter and the Administering Authority would have been in a position to ask for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement on that basis. As the New Zealand representative had said, that had been the intention until some two years previously, in the light of the Territory's small size and limited resources. In the interval, however, opinion in the Territory had evolved; what was now desired was full sovereignty for Western Samoa, including the right to conduct its own foreign relations. With the encouragement of the Administering Authority, Western Samoa had drafted its own Constitution. In his recollection, that was the first time in connexion with a Trust Territory that a fully-fledged Constitution had been submitted to the Committee, which was not, however, called upon to examine the Constitution in detail. The assurances given by the Prime Minister of Western Samoa and the Administering Authority that the Territory would be independent on 1 January 1962 provided sufficient grounds for the termination of the trusteeship at the next session of the General Assembly.

49. The representatives of both Western Samoa and New Zealand had frankly stated that, while Western Samoa would be fully responsible for formulating its own foreign policy, it might find it necessary, in view of its limited funds and shortage of trained personnel, to ask for help from New Zealand in carrying that policy out. There was nothing wrong in such an arrangement and it in no way derogated from full sovereignty, since the decision would be taken by Western Samoa as a sovereign State.

50. Turning to the draft resolution, he said that his delegation agreed with its basic intention that a plebiscite should be held, if only to establish a precedent.

The Prime Minister of Western Samoa and the representative of New Zealand had wondered whether in the circumstances a plebiscite was necessary, but they were prepared to abide by their previous undertaking that it should be held. There remained the problem of the questions to be put to the voters. The sponsors had provided for two questions: he could not see why it should be necessary to refer in those questions to the Constitution, which had been drafted by duly authorized representatives of the people of the Territory, the latter being kept acquainted of its terms. It was true that the members of the Constitutional Convention had not been elected under a system of universal adult suffrage but there was surely no doubt that they represented the true wishes of the people. Nor could he see why, if the Constitution was referred to in the first question, it should again be mentioned in the second. If the electors answered the first question in the negative, they could scarcely answer the second question in the affirmative; yet, according to the second question, independence was linked to approval of the Constitution. There was thus a possibility of a situation arising which would be fraught with embarrassment for the Committee.

51. His delegation was convinced that the plebiscite should deal with only one subject, namely independence. In its view, only one simple question should be asked: "Do you agree to Western Samoa becoming an independent sovereign State on 1 January 1962?" In that way, confusion would be avoided. If the answer was in the negative, the trusteeship could be continued for a while. If it was felt that some reference to the Constitution was essential, then the words "on the basis of the Constitution adopted by the Constitutional Convention on 28 October 1960" should be added to the question which he had formulated. He appealed to the sponsors to give most careful consideration to those suggestions.

52. In operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, there was a reference to Article 76 b of the Charter. There was, however, a principle of even greater importance involved, namely the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples referred to in Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter. Accordingly he felt that the reference to the Charter in the operative paragraph in question would be more complete if that sentence were amended to read "in pursuance of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and of Article 76 b of the Charter". In operative paragraph 2, the words "agree with", in the first question, should be replaced by "agree to".

53. He emphasized the fact that he was not making any formal proposals; his delegation's vote would be guided by the considerations to which he had referred.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.