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Chairman: Mr. Luciano JOUBLANC RIVAS
 (Mexico).

AGENDA ITEM 30

Question of South West Africa (*concluded*):

- (a) **Voting procedure on questions relating to reports and petitions concerning the Territory of South West Africa: advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (A/2918);**
- (b) **Report of the Committee on South West Africa (A/2913 and Add.1 and 2)**

DRAFT REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/C.4/L.418)

1. Mr. MASSONET (Belgium), Rapporteur of the Committee, presenting the draft report (A/C.4/L.418) on the question of South West Africa, said that draft resolutions V and VI given in the annex reproduced the text of draft resolutions which had been adopted at the ninth session by the Fourth Committee (A/2747/Add.1, draft resolutions A and B) and which were still to be approved by the General Assembly.

The draft report was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2933, T/L.500, T/L.579 and Add.1, T/L.591, T/L.602, T/L.609, T/L.617) (*continued*)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

2. Mr. GREKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, if an assessment were made of the ten years of trusteeship, there was no escaping the fact that the Administering Authorities had not fulfilled the hopes of the millions they had undertaken the responsibility of administering. The trusteeship documentation made it clear that the Trust Territories had made little progress politically, economically

and culturally, and that the peoples concerned suffered from discrimination.

3. The purpose of the Trusteeship System was to turn what had once been colonies into independent countries. That was why, in resolutions 558 (VI) and 752 (VIII), the General Assembly had invited the Administering Authorities to provide information concerning measures taken or contemplated towards the self-government or independence of the Territories. The Trusteeship Council was asked to give that information in a separate section of its reports to the General Assembly. Those provisions had not been implemented.

4. The Administering Authorities and the Trusteeship Council should pay particular attention to the question of the attainment of self-government or independence by Trust Territories for in many Territories political development was not proceeding in accordance with the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System. In Nauru, Australia was still wielding the executive, legislative and judicial powers, in spite of the Trusteeship Council's recommendations. In Western Samoa, political advancement had been practically nil during the year under consideration, and the Administration was still in the hands of Europeans. In the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the indigenous peoples were represented only on advisory bodies. In Somaliland under Italian administration the Administering Authority was still doing little to promote the political, economic and social advancement of the Territory. The Administering Authority should considerably intensify its efforts in the time that still remained.

5. In the economic field his delegation was concerned at the alienation of land belonging to the indigenous inhabitants, the exploitation of natural resources by foreign monopolies and the lack of schools, hospitals, doctors, teachers, etc. In Tanganyika, food production was insufficient for the needs of the population, even though its standards of living were very low. Incidentally, Europeans owned the best lands and were acquiring more and more. It was important for the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council to take steps to put an end to alienation of land and to ensure that the indigenous inhabitants recovered their property. In Ruanda-Urundi the economic system served the interests of the European communities rather than those of the local populations. The increase in coffee-growing for export purposes had obvious dangers, while transfers of land were a serious problem, the more so as the Administering Authority admitted the principle of land transfers.

6. The situation was equally unpromising in the other Trust Territories. What concerned him particularly was that the situation was not improving as time went on. Yet the Administering Authorities would have far greater advancement to report if they improved social, economic and cultural conditions in their Territories.

They should also apply the Charter and enable the indigenous inhabitants to take part in the direction of public affairs.

7. Mr. AGUERO (Chile) was gratified to note that in most of the Trust Territories a certain measure of progress continued to be made towards achieving the purposes of the International Trusteeship System.

8. As the Council's report (A/2933) in its new form dealt mainly with the Territories on which a visiting mission had recently reported, he would confine his attention essentially to Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and Somaliland under Italian administration, and to a number of questions referred to the Trusteeship Council by the General Assembly.

9. He would like first of all to pay a tribute to the valuable contribution made by the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954. In its reports (T/1141, T/1142, T/1143 and Corr.1) the Mission had given new information and had put forward some rather disturbing views.

10. In regard to Tanganyika, the Chilean delegation supported the Council's recommendation (A/2933, p. 32) that the Administering Authority should promote, by all means within its power, the further participation of indigenous inhabitants in all the organs of government, the growth of a sense of territorial consciousness and the eventual establishment of a common roll, a common citizenship and a Tanganyika nationality. The Chilean delegation was most anxious to see a rapid increase in African representation in the Legislative Council and the Executive Council, and trusted that the Administering Authority would follow up the initial steps it had taken by even more significant steps towards attaining those objectives. The introduction of universal suffrage based on a common roll, regardless of race, would help to develop a territorial consciousness and a sense of regional responsibility.

11. The Chilean delegation also supported the Council's recommendations to the Administering Authority concerning the functioning of inter-territorial services in East Africa (A/2933, p. 45), and urged the Council to follow up the question.

12. In the economic sphere, it was clearly necessary to afford greater opportunities for Africans to take part in economic activities. Only thus could an improvement in living standards be brought about. Great progress had been made towards the development of the co-operative movement, which would seem to be suited to conditions in the Territory and was, moreover, highly popular with the Africans.

13. The Council's attitude on the subject of land alienation for the benefit of non-indigenous persons seemed sound. It would be dangerous to transfer lands which might be badly needed by the African population within a few decades. The Chilean delegation regretted that the Meru land case had not been settled satisfactorily both for the Meru families and for the Government; and it hoped that a just settlement would be reached in the near future.

14. On the social side, racial discrimination was still one of the chief problems. The Council had taken a welcome step in urging the establishment of interracial schools and the unification of the educational system of the Territory. The Administering Authority's efforts to build more schools and to provide higher education were to be commended. It was to be

hoped that the Territory would soon have its own university.

15. Turning to the situation in Ruanda-Urundi, he noted that the Administering Authority had made strenuous efforts to increase the well-being of the African inhabitants. The political picture of the Territory would be much clearer if the Administering Authority replied to the Trusteeship Council's inquiry as to the effects the administrative union to which the Territory belonged were likely to have on its political development. The introduction in the Territory of common citizenship, based on a more precise definition of the rights of the inhabitants, was urgent. The Chilean delegation trusted that within the next few years the Administering Authority would be able to report considerable progress towards the development of local and territorial administrative organs, with full powers and based on the electoral principle.

16. With regard to the present classification of Africans into various categories, such as persons enrolled on the register of civilized persons and civil merit card holders, the Chilean delegation agreed with the Trusteeship Council that other method of classification of indigenous inhabitants might be considered.

17. In the economic sphere, it was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would spare no effort to overcome the threat of famine.

18. The Chilean delegation approved the Council's recommendation that the curfew should be abolished and freedom of movement introduced throughout the Territory; and it hoped that the Administering Authority would follow the Council's recommendation that greater attention should be paid to the dissemination in the Territory, and especially in the schools, of information concerning the United Nations.

19. With regard to the Trust Territory of Somaliland, he was pleased to note the progress in the direction of independence, which the Territory was to acquire in 1960. Clearly, there was a satisfactory collaboration between the leaders of the political parties in the Territory, the Administering Authority, the Trusteeship Council, and the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration; but the question of the frontier between the Territory and Ethiopia, which had not yet been solved, was a matter of some concern to the Chilean delegation. He mentioned General Assembly resolution 854 (IX) and Trusteeship Council resolution 1257 (XVI), in which the Administering Authority was invited to have recourse to mediation if direct negotiations should fail. It was to be hoped that the representatives of Ethiopia and Italy would be in a position to give a progress report on the direct negotiations, thereby enabling the General Assembly to consider at its current session the possibility of facilitating the solution of that thorny problem.

20. The Chilean delegation wished to congratulate the Administering Authority on having transferred powers and responsibilities in the conduct of their own affairs to the Somalis. It was pleased to learn that the Administering Authority was going to set up a legislative council elected by the whole population.

21. With regard to the economic situation there were a number of fundamental problems to which as effective a remedy as possible must be found before 1960. The participation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in the Territory's economic

development would be of great help, and he hoped that the Bank would be able to send a mission to the Territory in response to the request of the Italian Government and the Trusteeship Council. The United Nations would do everything in its power to provide the technical assistance required for Somaliland's economic development.

22. Turning to various questions referred to the Council by the General Assembly, he expressed the hope that the Council, when deciding on the terms of reference of the visiting missions, would bear in mind General Assembly resolution 853 (IX), with special reference to the encouragement of the expression of public opinion on important problems.

23. On the question of the progress of the Territories towards self-government or independence, he recalled that, by resolution 558 (VI), the General Assembly had invited the Administering Authority of each Trust Territory, other than Somaliland, to include in its annual report information concerning measures taken or contemplated towards self-government or independence and, *inter alia*, the estimated period of time required for such measures and for the attainment of the ultimate objective. In resolution 752 (VIII) the Assembly had requested the Trusteeship Council to include in its subsequent reports a separate section dealing with the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 558 (VI) and 752 (VIII) and stating its conclusions and recommendations. He noted that the Council had not included such separate sections in its present report but had, on the other hand, adopted resolution 1254 (XVI) under which the drafting committee on the annual report on each Trust Territory, beginning with the Council's seventeenth session, was instructed to prepare, in the light of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, draft conclusions and recommendations concerning the question of the attainment by the Territory of self-government or independence. His delegation, being most anxious for proper study to be given to the question, would carefully review all the relevant sections of the Council's next report to the General Assembly.

24. He reserved the right to make a further statement during the debate on the Council's report to the Assembly and, more particularly, to introduce his delegation's draft resolution.

25. Mr. GHANEM (Egypt) noted with regret that the Committee on Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories had not been able to submit its final report. Since the question was very important, he hoped that the studies required for preparing the report would be completed in the very near future.

26. He would like due regard to be paid in the reports of visiting missions to the recommendations made in General Assembly resolution 853 (IX) concerning participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the work of the Council.

27. Referring to education, he noted that not enough advantage had been taken of the scholarships offered by Member States.

28. His delegation wished to stress the importance of disseminating information on the United Nations and on the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories. The easier it was for the inhabitants to learn of the benefits for which they were eligible, the more successful the System would be.

29. In the political field, he observed that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 858 (IX) had not been fully implemented, the Council not yet having included recommendations on the attainment of self-government by the Territories in its report. It was essential for the Council to put into effect the procedure laid down for the purpose at its sixteenth session.

30. He noted the growing awareness by Africans in Tanganyika of the fact that they formed the overwhelming majority of the population and would one day become the dominant force in the political, economic and social order. However, as the 1954 Visiting Mission had pointed out in its report on that Territory (T/1142), the interracial policy of the Administering Authority was unsatisfactory: whereas Africans should be given a large majority in the Legislative Council, the three ethnic groups in the country were placed on a footing of equality. His delegation was alarmed at the racial discrimination in the Tanganyika civil service. It had very definite reservations about the introduction of common services with Kenya and Uganda, and shared the Visiting Mission's view, as recorded on page 44 of the Council's report, that no political federation of Tanganyika and another country should be established without the free consent of the people. In that connexion, he, in common with the Indian representative, would like a study to be made from time to time of the East Africa High Commission.

31. In the case of Ruanda-Urundi, the administrative union of the Territory with the Belgian Congo threatened to affect its development towards self-government. Moreover, there should be a single status for all the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi.

32. Turning to Somaliland under Italian administration, he noted that the question of the Somali-Ethiopian frontier was still not settled. Another means of pacific settlement must be tried if the negotiations were not concluded within a reasonable time. He hoped that the Administering Authority would transfer more responsibility to the representatives of the Somali people, in view of the fact that the Territory was to attain self-government within five years. He had learnt with satisfaction that a committee of representatives of the various political parties had been set up to advise the Administration in the exercise of its executive functions. The committee should be consulted on all important questions of internal policy and administration. He hoped that the Administration would establish a number of government departments as soon as possible. The formation of the Somali National Front showed that the inhabitants of the Territory had acquired a sense of their responsibilities.

33. Although the Egyptian delegation had learned with satisfaction that the Administering Authority hoped to be able to complete its economic development plan before 1960, it regarded the economic situation of the Territory as disquieting. It hoped that the Territory would have the benefit of assistance from the United Nations and the International Bank.

34. So far as the Cameroons under French administration was concerned, he was afraid that the Territory's association with the French Union would prevent its becoming truly self-governing. A distinct Cameroonian nationality should be instituted, and a fully representative assembly established on the basis of universal suffrage and a single electoral college. As it was, the present system of a dual college consti-

tuted an act of discrimination against the indigenous inhabitants. The Egyptian delegation hoped that the Administration would facilitate the access of the indigenous inhabitants to public office, especially to responsible posts. It also considered that there should be separation of judicial and administrative powers and that the participation of the population in the work of the courts should be ensured.

35. In the economic field, the appropriations for development programmes should be increased. It would be desirable in that connexion for the Council to have the more detailed information which it had requested on the impact of the ten-year plan on individual incomes and the general standard of living (A/2933, p. 161).

36. Finally, the policy of repression directed against indigenous nationalists by the Administering Authority was contrary to the Trusteeship Agreement and must come to an end.

37. Mr. AZIZ (Afghanistan) said that he would confine himself to the parts of the report dealing with the questions to which the Assembly had drawn the Council's attention. The purpose of the Trusteeship System, namely, to guide and instruct the populations of the Trust Territories through the medium of their legal guardians—the Administering Authorities—so that they might attain self-government or independence as early as possible, was essentially humanitarian in character and its fulfilment must not be affected by political considerations or self-interest. The Afghan delegation was accordingly anxious to know what effect had been given to previous General Assembly resolutions on the attainment by the Trust Territories of self-government or independence.

38. In resolutions 558 (VI) and 752 (VIII) the General Assembly had requested the Council to include in its annual reports information on the measures taken to promote self-government or independence and on the time considered necessary to complete those measures. It had also requested the Council to present conclusions and recommendations on the subject. At the ninth session, however, the Assembly had received from the Council a report (A/2680, part III) that had not contained any conclusions or recommendations on the events that had taken place in the Trust Territories. At the present session, the Assembly had not even received any report on the subject. It was a great pity that the Council had been unable to carry out such important General Assembly resolutions as resolutions 558 (VI), 752 (VIII) and 858 (IX). The Afghan delegation attached very great importance to the achievement of self-government or independence by the Trust Territories and was eagerly awaiting the Trusteeship Council's next report in order to see how the resolutions had been carried out and whether conclusions and recommendations were made in the report, as the resolutions required.

39. Another matter to which the Afghan delegation attached great importance was the dissemination, in the Trust Territories, of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System. It was important for the peoples of the Trust Territories to have an accurate knowledge of the relations between them and the United Nations and to know that the Organization was continuously concerned with their welfare and their future. The better informed those peoples were of the interest the United Nations took in them, the more confidence they would have in their

future and the more willingly they would co-operate with their guardians to hasten the realization of their ideal of independence and equality. Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the operative part of resolution 754 (VIII) were relevant. The Secretary-General's last report (T/1193) seemed to indicate that the progress achieved, though appreciable, was still far from satisfactory. The Afghan delegation would like the Secretariat to give particular attention to the matter and to inform the General Assembly of its work in that field. The co-operation of the Administering Authorities was, of course, of primary importance. The Afghan delegation gladly supported the suggestion made by the Indian delegation at the 513th meeting that the Secretariat should send an expert to the Trust Territories to help in solving the difficulties encountered on the spot.

40. With regard to the work of the specialized agencies and their relations with the Trusteeship Council, the Afghan delegation was of the opinion that any measure prepared with the help of a specialized agency would certainly carry more weight than a measure taken by an Administering Authority alone. The interest of the peoples of the Trust Territories in the specialized agencies and the prestige of the United Nations would provide a great stimulus to progress in the Territories. Specialized agencies like the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) would be of great help to the Trusteeship Council in their respective fields.

41. He noted with concern the number of petitions received from inhabitants of the Trust Territories at the Council's fifteenth and sixteenth sessions. The Afghan delegation was particularly disturbed to see how the number of petitions postponed increased at every session. It would appear that the Council must take steps to remedy the situation. The right of petition which the Charter granted the inhabitants of the Trust Territories was for them the most direct means of securing redress of their grievances.

42. At the present session of the General Assembly, after ten years of work, the United Nations, and particularly the Trusteeship Council, could and should expedite the setting of a time limit for the achievement by the Trust Territories of independence or self-government. 1955 was a year in which the United Nations should be able to give the dependent peoples a substantial and definite assurance regarding their welfare and their future status among the nations.

43. Mr. THORP (New Zealand) made a few remarks to supplement the outline of conditions in Western Samoa and the recommendations in the Council's report.

44. At the eighth session, the New Zealand delegation had explained to the Committee (383rd meeting) the purpose and extent of the proposals made in March 1953 by the Prime Minister of New Zealand providing for further substantial advances in all fields of development in the Trust Territory of Western Samoa. At that time, the constitutional reforms introduced by the Samoa Amendment Act, 1947, had been close to completion. The 1947 Act had given impetus to political progress in the Territory, and with the appointment of an Executive Council early in 1953, the time had come to take new steps towards the goal of self-government.

45. The statement of March 1953 had been considered very timely in Western Samoa and the proposals had been everywhere well received. The Constitutional Convention, which had been representative of all sections of the Samoan community, and whose function had been to consider a constitutional plan for the future State of Western Samoa, had met for six weeks in November and December 1954. The Trusteeship Council had noted with satisfaction the atmosphere of free and thorough discussion which had prevailed (A/2933, p. 193). The task of the 170 delegates to the Convention had been to recommend institutions which they believed would be suited to the needs, customs and traditions of their community. The Constitutional Convention had adopted almost all its decisions unanimously. Its recommendations had been transmitted to the Administering Authority. They had concerned such matters as the nature of the executive government, the legislature, suffrage, the position of Head of State and the control of the public service. It had been particularly gratifying to the Administering Authority to note the confidence in its policy indicated by the recommendation that some special relationship should be maintained between New Zealand and Western Samoa indefinitely.

46. In the previous July, the New Zealand Minister of Island Territories had met in Western Samoa spokesmen of the Legislative Assembly and of the *Fono* of *Faipule*; those representatives had taken the opportunity to reaffirm their support of the resolutions of the Constitutional Convention. In particular, they had restated their desire that effective Cabinet government should be established concurrently with the setting up of the proposed new Western Samoan legislature.

47. Politically, therefore, those were fruitful years for Western Samoa. In the equally important fields of economic, social and educational development, as the Council's report showed, the activity had been almost as great. The following were examples. The recent economic stock-taking under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission showed that the Territory had sufficient natural resources to support a substantial increase in population without reduction of the general standard of living, provided the resources were adequately employed. The Government of Western Samoa had taken a big step towards the efficient exploitation of the Territory's agricultural resources by completing an aerial survey. Another example lay in the fact that the Legislative Assembly of Western Samoa had adopted as a general guide and objective in matters of education the recommendations made in a recent report by Mr. Beeby, New Zealand Director of Education.

48. The favourable references which had been made in the debate to the measures taken by the New Zealand Government in order to carry out its trusteeship obligations would give encouragement both to the Administration and to the Western Samoan people.

49. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) said that his delegation attached great importance to the Fourth Committee's annual discussion of the Trusteeship System, for that was the only occasion on which the General Assembly could exercise the supervisory powers conferred upon it by the Charter. The Trusteeship Council was only a subsidiary body and its sole task was to assist the General Assembly. It was worthwhile stressing that fact because every time the Fourth

Committee tried to take action which did not meet with the Council's unanimous approval, the General Assembly was accused of undermining the Council's authority and of jeopardizing co-operation between the Administering Authorities and the non-administering Powers. In the course of nine years, however, the Assembly had proved that it could exercise its trusteeship functions with discretion and moderation.

50. The majority of the Committee, including the Iraqi delegation, sometimes seemed impatient at the slow rate of the Trust Territories' progress towards independence. It was true that the Administering Authorities had great difficulties to overcome. The Trusteeship System was entirely new. The community of nations had adopted the noble idea of responsibility towards the less-developed peoples, but it was not easy to apply that idea in practice. Nevertheless, there could be no objection to discussing the inexcusable delay in the development of some Territories, especially their political development. The delay was due to the fact that the Administering Authorities attached primary importance to economic development while they underestimated the dependent peoples' ever-increasing desire for political emancipation. The fact was, however, that the dependent peoples' desire for freedom came even before such considerations as the sound management of public affairs or economic development. Some Administering Authorities were beginning to understand that, while others were engaged in a losing battle against the march of history.

51. With regard to part I of the Council's report, he observed with regret that only two specialized agencies, WHO and UNESCO, had presented observations on the Administering Authorities' annual reports. It was to be hoped that the ILO and FAO, whose assistance could be valuable in their respective spheres, would do the same at the Council's future sessions.

52. The problem of petitions was still critical. The right of petition was one of the pillars of the Trusteeship System and the most effective instrument of international control. Of the 475 petitions on the agenda of the Council's sixteenth session, however, the Council had had to defer consideration of 313 till its next session. The Council's method of dealing with petitions was obviously inadequate, and if that situation continued, there was a danger that the inhabitants of the Territories would be discouraged from exercising the right of petition and lose confidence in the Trusteeship System. He hoped the Council would study the question carefully and find a method which would enable the Standing Committee on Petitions to do its work properly.

53. The Iraqi delegation considered the question of administrative unions to be one of the most serious matters arising in connexion with the Trust Territories. Such unions could have very grave effects—both immediate and long-term—on the status of the Territories. Some of them were based on principles which were valid from the administrative point of view, in that they simplified the task of the Administering Authority and improved the administration of public business; but the Council and the Assembly must not lose sight of the disadvantages of a system which made many of the Territories dependent upon neighbouring colonies. The Standing Committee on Administrative Unions had so far submitted reports which, while full of information, did not permit an appraisal of the situation in the light of the purpo-

ses of the Trusteeship System. It was to be hoped that the Committee would be in a position to submit appropriate conclusions to the Council at its next session.

54. The Iraqi delegation maintained its view that the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the work of the Trusteeship Council was a matter of extreme importance. At the ninth session, after protracted discussion, the General Assembly had adopted a compromise solution in the form of resolution 853 (IX), which gave the visiting missions a very important role. The Council had merely taken note of that resolution. At its fifteenth session (605th meeting) the Council had rejected a proposal to hold a discussion on the question because of strong opposition by the Administering Authorities; that was a most unfortunate decision since the General Assembly was entitled to expect the Council to carry out its resolutions.

55. In yet another connexion, that of measures taken to lead the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence, the Council had failed to carry out a request made to it by the General Assembly. It had set up a committee to study the question, and the Committee had suggested in its report (T/L.602) that the necessary information should be included in the chapters dealing with conditions in the various Trust Territories. The Council had endorsed that view and had adopted resolution 1254 (XVI) instructing the drafting committees on the annual reports on the various Territories to prepare, as from the seventeenth session, draft conclusions and recommendations on the question. That decision should have been referred to the General Assembly for consideration and approval, since it amended in Assembly resolution both in its meaning and its purpose. It could not yet be judged, whether the method chosen by the Council was preferable to the one recommended by the Assembly; but in any event, the question arose why the Council had refused to insert the Secretary-General's report on the matter (T/L.579 and Add.1) in its report, as it had done the previous year. The Salvadorian delegation's proposal (A/C.4/L.389) had been completely justified, and it was unfortunate that owing to lack of time it had not been considered by the Committee.

56. With regard to part II of the report, he would confine his remarks to the three East African Territories visited by the Visiting Mission in 1954, namely, Tanganyika, Somaliland under Italian administration and Ruanda-Urundi; and he would deal chiefly with political advancement.

57. In Tanganyika, it was clear that the situation had somewhat improved, particularly with regard to local administration. The Local Government Ordinance had met with opposition from certain sections of the African community, but it was satisfactory to note that it was to some extent being applied; freedom of local government was the best means of preparing the population for the exercise of self-government. He hoped that the Administering Authority would do everything in its power to hasten progress in that field. It was also satisfactory to note that all local government bodies would soon become elective in localities whose inhabitants so desired. The development of political associations and the awakening of a national movement were also encouraging signs. It was to be hoped that the national movement would carry on its activities

within the bounds of the law and the constitution, and would help to develop the national consciousness and the political maturity of the population. From the relevant passages of the Visiting Mission's report (T/1142) it appeared that the inhabitants of Tanganyika enjoyed complete freedom of expression and association; a matter on which the Administering Authority deserved congratulation.

58. The organization of multi-racial political institutions in Tanganyika represented a problem. That was because the European and Asian minorities were economically, socially and culturally more advanced than the overwhelming African majority. Racial conflicts were fortunately not at the moment very serious, but the potentialities of conflict inherent in such a situation could not be ignored. The problem could not be solved by setting up a multi-racial society, as such a society would be based on a fiction and would not stand the test of experience. The Iraqi delegation therefore fully supported the conclusions which the Mission had arrived at in its report. Parity of representation, although it represented a step forward by comparison with the preceding period, should be maintained only so long as was necessary. It was reassuring to learn from the Administering Authority that that measure was a temporary one (A/2933, p. 35). The period of transition could probably be shortened if the Administering Authority took into consideration the suggestions made by the Visiting Mission.

59. Turning to Somaliland under Italian administration, Mr. Pachachi paid a tribute to the Administering Authority for the sincere efforts it was making to prepare the Territory for independence in the little time it had at its disposal. Among the more striking items of progress in the field of administration, he mentioned the setting up of a committee of representatives of the political parties to give advice to the Administration, the formation of the Somali National Front including the various political parties, and the increase in the number of Somali senior officials. It was to be hoped that the right of veto possessed by the Administrator would soon be abolished, since it weakened considerably the legislative powers of the Territorial Council. In the matter of local government, the Iraqi delegation noted with satisfaction the application of a plan which extended the powers and competence of the municipal councils; it was to be hoped that additional measures would soon be taken to increase the powers of those councils.

60. There were, however, two problems which might jeopardize the future of the Territory. The first was the economic situation, which was extremely unfavourable, as the Visiting Mission had noted in its report (T/1143 and Corr.1). Despite the support of the Italian Government and of the United States, development plans remained inadequate. It was gratifying that the International Bank had decided to send a mission to the Territory to study the situation.

61. The second problem which must be solved was that of the frontier with Ethiopia. The time had clearly come for the General Assembly to take the necessary measures, and the Iraqi delegation would support any draft resolution which would help to settle the question in an appropriate manner.

62. Finally, with regard to Ruanda-Urundi, he noted that considerable progress had been made in the

economic and educational fields, thanks to the efforts of the Administering Authority. The budget had doubled since 1950. Expenditure on social services had increased by 250 per cent. The 400 million Belgian francs spent each year on education testified to the Belgian Government's interest in the well-being of the populations under its administration. The Visiting Mission had, however, rightly stressed in its report (T/1141) the desirability of eliminating gradually the need for outside financial assistance. On the other hand, production of foodstuffs had greatly increased, thus considerably diminishing the risk of famine.

63. Unfortunately, racial discrimination was still the rule; freedom of movement was restricted; there was no indigenous Press and nothing was being done to create one; and the inhabitants were ill-informed concerning the status of their country as a Trust Territory.

64. There was considerable room for improvement in the political field. The only progress accomplished in that field had been the introduction of the electoral principle into the councils set up in 1953. However, the representative character of those councils was doubtful. Moreover, the status of the Territory as a Vice-Government-General dependent upon the Belgian Congo raised a number of difficulties concerning its political future. The legal status of the inhabitants remained undefined: they were still subject to the law of 1925 which brought them under the laws in force in the Congo. Furthermore, the division of the indigenous population into *évolués* and *non-évolués* was contrary to the fundamental principles of human dignity and could only hinder the progress of the Territory towards self-government. Africans were still unable to occupy important posts in the Belgian central administration. The Iraqi delegation agreed with the New Zealand delegation in expressing the hope that the Administering Authority would not only give increased re-

sponsibilities to the indigenous authorities but would also take measures to "Africanize" the central administration. The dual system of administration also constituted a disturbing element. It was clear that Ruanda and Urundi would have to be closely associated, and it was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would take the necessary measures to that effect.

65. It had been suggested, as an excuse for the political backwardness of the Territory, that its populations had only recently entered into contact with modern civilization. But it was questionable whether their degree of development was markedly inferior to that of the other Africans. There was at present an immense difference, from the political point of view, between Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi. The obvious conclusion was that the Administering Authority of Tanganyika was doing more for its indigenous populations than that of Ruanda-Urundi.

66. He reserved the right to speak again when draft resolutions were presented on the item under discussion.

Requests for hearings (continued)

67. The CHAIRMAN recalled that at its 482nd meeting, the Fourth Committee had granted the hearing requested by Mr. Antor for the Togoland Congress (A/C.4/307). The Secretariat had now received from the Chairman of the Togoland Congress and Paramount Stool Father, Buem Borada, a telegram concerning the hearing of Mr. Alex Kofi Odame and of Mr. Theodore Asare as an assistant. He suggested that, in accordance with the Committee's usual practice, the telegram should be circulated to the members of the Committee.

There being no objections, it was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.