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Chairman: Mr. Enrique de MARCHENA
 (Dominican Republic).

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3170, A/C.4/350, A/C.4/L.472, A/C.4/L.476, A/C.4/L.477) (*continued*)

CONSIDERATIONS OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS
 (A/C.4/L.472) (*continued*)

1. Mr. TAZHIZAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, replying to the request made by the Iraqi representative at the 635th meeting for further clarification of the suggestion that most Trust Territories were fully capable of attaining independence within three to five years, said that he had not been referring to Somaliland under Italian administration, which was already scheduled to attain independence in 1960, or to Togoland under British administration, whose status had been the subject of special discussion in the Committee. Nor had his suggestion been meant to include Western Samoa, since an agreement had been reached on constitutional changes which would give the Territory full self-government in 1960—although that question had yet to be discussed and a decision taken by the United Nations, especially in view of the fact that the New Zealand Government had stated that it would probably retain certain powers and prerogatives in the Territory. The proposal that independence should be granted within three to five years referred only to the Territories mentioned in paragraph 1 of his delegation's draft resolution (A/C.4/L.472).

2. The Cameroons under British administration was one of the more highly developed Trust Territories and had the necessary personnel and resources for self-government; from the information available it appeared that the Territory could achieve self-government or independence within no more than three years. The Cameroons under French administration was also in a position to achieve independence within three years, as could be seen from the events of the last two years, which indicated that the Territory possessed sufficiently mature political figures and organizations, as also from the fact that the French Government proposed to grant the Territory autonomous rights within the framework of the Trusteeship System. In Togoland under French administration the French Government itself had raised the question of autonomous rights for the Territory; there was therefore every reason to grant it not only those rights but independence. Moreover, the Fourth Committee had seen for itself that the Territory pos-

sessed political figures well able to assume the responsibilities of self-government. With regard to Ruanda-Urundi, in view of the Trusteeship Council's statement that important further progress had been achieved (A/3170, p. 69) and of the Administering Authority's praise of its own achievements, it could be assumed that the Territory was capable of attaining self-government within the next few years. In Tanganyika, his delegation was sure that it would be possible, with the help of the Administering Authority, to find sufficiently mature and developed representatives to organize self-government in the Territory. Moreover, it had no doubt that the development of the Territory would be accelerated by the attainment of self-government, especially in the matter of local government and the training of administrative personnel. Some representatives had expressed doubt that the Territory of New Guinea was capable of attaining independence within the period specified. His delegation was prepared to substitute a more realistic period if that was suggested. It could not, however, agree with the very presumptuous and arrogant views expressed by the Italian representative; head-hunters or their moral equivalent could be found in civilized countries, too, and his delegation had no doubt that if the people of New Guinea achieved independence they would be able to find people as capable of representing their country as were many of those now serving on the Committee.

3. His delegation fully supported the idea that, in order to accelerate the development of the Trust Territories and the training of qualified personnel, inhabitants of the Territories should be given the opportunity to study abroad. It could not, however, agree with the Spanish representative's suggestion that the inhabitants of Trust Territories should be offered facilities for religious training in other countries. What those Territories needed was not priests and monks but doctors and engineers.

4. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) said that his delegation had always been convinced that the question of time-tables for the Trust Territories was of great importance and that if the principle of setting target dates was accepted by the Administering Authorities it would enable them to win the goodwill and co-operation of the inhabitants in the work of development. His delegation was not, therefore, hostile in principle to the Soviet draft resolution; but it could not, support the proposal in its present form.

5. The Soviet draft resolution grouped together six Trust Territories which were at different stages of political development. The Haitian delegation, however, had always considered that each Territory should be examined individually. For example, it was not altogether convinced that the progress made in Ruanda-Urundi put that Territory in a position to attain independence within the specified time-limit. Another example was Tanganyika; Mr. Nyerere, the President of the Tanganyika African National Union, had said at

the 582nd meeting that in his view the Territory might be ready for independence in less than ten years; the draft resolution, calling for independence within five years, seemed to take less account of reality than even the representative of the nationalist movement in the Territory.

6. For those reasons, his delegation would abstain if the Soviet draft resolution was put to a vote in its present form.

7. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) said that his delegation was in sympathy with the objectives of the Soviet draft resolution and agreed with most of its provisions. Certain aspects of it, however, seemed somewhat unrealistic at the present stage and in order to make it more flexible, more realistic and more capable of implementation his delegation wished to suggest certain amendments.

8. Firstly, in order to bring the draft resolution into conformity with the wording used in the Charter, the words "self-government or" should be inserted before the word "independence" in the first and fifth paragraphs of the preamble and in paragraph 1 of the operative part.

9. Secondly, since it seemed hard to imagine that all the Territories in question would be in a position to attain independence within three to five years, the words "within three to five years" in the sixth paragraph of the preamble should be replaced by the words "in the near future".

10. Thirdly, for the same reason, New Guinea should be deleted from the list of Territories in paragraph 1 and the words "within three to five years" should be replaced by the words "at an early date".

11. Fourthly, since the General Assembly had in the past requested the establishment of time-tables for all Trust Territories, the word "other" in paragraph 2 should be replaced by the word "all".

12. Mr. THORP (New Zealand) noted that the Soviet draft resolution linked together six Territories in different parts of the world which were widely disparate in terms of political, economic and sociological progress. The development of each Trust Territory presented unique problems and there was no reason to think that the situation in any one of them would fit into a pattern that might be practicable in others. In its report on the Territory (T/1142) the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, had estimated that Tanganyika would not be ready to become self-governing or independent for another twenty-five years, while the Soviet draft contemplated a limit of three to five years. Those facts demonstrated the fundamental weakness inherent in the Soviet proposal.

13. In political, as in economic, social and cultural advancement, each step must be consolidated before the next was taken. When a Trust Territory reached an advanced stage of evolution it might sometimes be possible, and was usually politically desirable, to forecast the next steps in its political development, but only the Administering Authority, in collaboration with the indigenous inhabitants, was in a position to do so. The Territory of Western Samoa was a case in point. It was to be noted in that connexion that the Soviet delegation had used the word "and" instead of "or" in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, thereby ignoring the distinction between the objectives of independence on the one hand and self-government on the other,

which the Charter envisaged as alternative rather than identical. The New Zealand Government had followed the practice of consulting the representatives of the Samoan people at each stage of their progress towards self-government and hoped that full cabinet government would be feasible by 1960, subject to the reasonable proviso that the new ministerial government to be established in the current year measured up to its responsibilities. The means by which the New Zealand Government was assisting Western Samoa to attain self-government had a longer history than did the General Assembly resolutions invoked in the Soviet draft resolution. It should not be forgotten that Article 76 of the Charter laid down as basic objectives of the Trusteeship System the progressive development of the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence as might be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each Territory and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. As he had already informed the Committee, the timing of the final step in the achievement of self-government for Western Samoa would be the subject of discussions between the new Government of Western Samoa and the Government of New Zealand. Such a procedure was surely reasonable, democratic and fully in accordance with the purposes of the Charter.

14. Though the estimates of time given in the draft resolution might seem ludicrous to the Committee, the adoption of those or any estimates could have only a disturbing and harmful impact in the Trust Territories.

15. He had dwelt upon the case of Western Samoa because he wished, on the one hand, to illustrate the dangers of generalizing about the Trust Territories and, on the other, to show, by reference to that Territory, that attempts to set time-tables would be inappropriate and ineffectual. The amendments proposed by the Syrian representative seemed only to confirm his argument.

16. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that his delegation had always felt that political evolution in accordance with an agreed time-table would reduce tension in colonial areas and contribute to their rapid and harmonious development. It had likewise maintained that a periodic review of the Trusteeship Agreements should be made in the light of the progress achieved or difficulties encountered in the various Territories. While neither of those ideas had found favour with the Administering Authorities the first had been embodied in several resolutions adopted by the General Assembly suggesting that the Administering Authorities should take steps designed to lead the Trust Territories to self-government or independence and should estimate the time required for reaching the intermediate and final goals.

17. His delegation, appreciating the difficulties involved, thought that where political advancement was automatic in the sense of being the direct result of the expression of the people's wishes through representative bodies, as in Western Samoa, such time-tables could be dispensed with. In the case of the other Trust Territories, some might already be so close to the final goal that time-tables were unnecessary, whereas in others the establishment of time-tables for the attainment of both the intermediate and the final goals could contribute to the balanced and harmonious development of their peoples. The drawing up of successive targets and dates for the attainment of independence had been recognized by the Trusteeship Council as desirable, and the Administering Authorities themselves, while op-

posing such a course in principle, had in practice often followed it, as in the case of Somaliland under Italian administration.

18. Although his delegation was in sympathy with the principle underlying the Soviet draft resolution it thought that in the case of New Guinea the three- to five-year period stipulated was too short. It likewise considered that rather than the General Assembly fixing the period of time required for each Trust Territory individually, for groups of Trust Territories or for all of them as a whole, it would be preferable if the Administering Authorities themselves could be persuaded, in the light of their administrative experience, to undertake that responsibility. The Soviet draft resolution would be improved by the changes the Syrian representative had suggested and the Indian delegation would vote in favour of it if those amendments were accepted. The title of the draft resolution and the last paragraph of the preamble might likewise be amended to include the words "or self-government". He would suggest further that the words "fix specific time-limits" in paragraph 2 should be replaced by the words "estimate the period of time required", which would be more in keeping with the wording and spirit of General Assembly resolution 558 (VI). In that paragraph, too, the word "or" should be substituted for "and".

19. Mr. HOOD (Australia) said that the preamble of the Soviet draft resolution merely invited a further review of principles which had frequently been the subject of debate and subsequent action by the General Assembly. The operative part, if adopted, would constitute a clear directive to the Administering Authorities which had no justification in either the Charter or the Trusteeship Agreements. The admission by the Soviet representative that the proposed three- to five-year period might not be realistic in the case of New Guinea and that he would be prepared to consider changing it threw doubt on the realism and sincerity of the draft resolution as a whole. Indeed, it seemed designed to reject the Trusteeship System as envisaged in the Charter, for it ignored the fact that year by year the Administering Authorities, generally speaking, were demonstrating that they could and would fulfill their obligations under the Trusteeship Agreements.

20. The effect of the draft resolution would be to go over the heads of the Administering Authorities in establishing time-tables, thus violating the legal rights conferred upon them by the Trusteeship Agreements and the Charter, which provided that they alone should be responsible for the administration of the Territories concerned. That legal relationship had never been questioned. Were the resolution to be adopted, the General Assembly, usurping the traditional status of the Administering Authorities, would find itself in the position of instructing them in regard to functions which were their exclusive responsibility. Such a step would not be in the interests of the peoples of the Trust Territories, for it might well set them in opposition to the Administering Authorities and to the United Nations.

21. In addition to being of questionable legality, the Soviet proposal was unrealistic, for it failed to take into account the extraordinarily rapid progress made in the three West African Territories mentioned in paragraph 1, which rendered the establishment of time-tables unnecessary. With regard to Tanganyika, the New Zealand representative had recalled the 1954 Visiting Mission's estimate that the Territory would not be able to stand on its own feet for another twenty-five years. The wide

discrepancy between that estimate and the proposed three to five years demonstrated the folly of trying to commit the General Assembly to the establishment of time-tables such as those suggested in the Soviet draft resolution.

22. Speaking as the representative of the Administering Authority for New Guinea, he recalled that for many years the Soviet Union representative in the Trusteeship Council had argued that no progress had been made in that most primitive of Trust Territories. It was difficult to understand how he could now argue that New Guinea would be ready to assume responsibility for its own affairs within the next five years.

23. Presumably the reference to "other Trust Territories" in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution would cover the island of Nauru. He wished it to be clearly understood that his Government, as the Administering Authority for that Territory, was firmly opposed to any attempt to set a target date, regarding it as illegal, impractical and unwise. In view of the fact that the Administering Authority had undertaken to discuss fully with the Trusteeship Council the future of Nauru as well as New Guinea, there could be no justification for applying the proposal in paragraph 2 to that island, and were it to be adopted his Government would reject it outright.

24. The Administering Authorities had unanimously stated their opposition to the establishment of time-tables in general on the grounds that they were illegal and would be impracticable from the standpoint of the inhabitants. Any attempt to impose them would constitute an unwarranted rejection of the views of the Administering Authorities, would damage the fabric of the Trusteeship System and would increase divisions within the Trusteeship Council. The Trusteeship System had proved itself to be the most liberal system yet devised in the international field for ensuring the rights of dependent peoples. The consequences of any such arbitrary measure adopted by the General Assembly might well be felt most keenly by the dependent peoples themselves. That the General Assembly should take such a step at any time would be astonishing; it would be all the more inappropriate at the present time, when the Trusteeship System was bearing its first fruits and the prospects it held out for the future were more encouraging than ever before.

25. Mr. TAZHIBAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said there appeared to be an assumption that that his delegation was prepared to withdraw its draft resolution. As he had already stated, he had no intention of doing so.

26. With reference to the remarks of the Syrian and Indian representatives, he said that his delegation had omitted the words "self-government" advisedly, since in its view self-government was merely an intermediate step towards independence and not an alternative solution. Nevertheless, if the lack of any mention of self-government caused difficulty to certain delegations he would accept the Syrian representative's suggestion and agree to the insertion of the words "self-government or".

27. With reference to the suggestion of a three- to five-year period, it was evident that some Territories were so near the achievement of self-government that there was no need to fix a period. In his delegation's view three to five years was a reasonable time for the granting of independence to the Territories named in the draft resolution.

28. Since a number of representatives appeared to think that the period of from three to five years for the attainment of independence was unrealistic in the case of New Guinea, he would be willing to agree to deletion of New Guinea from the list of Territories in paragraph 1.

29. He agreed to the replacement of the word "other" by "all" in paragraph 2, which he felt was an improvement on the original text.

30. He also accepted the Indian suggestion to replace "and" by "or" between "self-government" and "independence" in paragraph 2.

31. He accepted the Indian representative's suggestion to replace "fix specific time-limits" by "estimate the period of time required" in paragraph 2.

32. The most substantial amendment proposed was that put forward by the Syrian representative for the deletion of any reference to a period of from three to five years. In the view of the Soviet delegation the fixing of a definite period was in accordance with the strivings of the peoples of the Trust Territories. The knowledge that a date had been set would affect every sphere of endeavour in the Territories concerned; the preparation of the people for self-government or independence would become more rapid and intensive. He considered the expression "at an early date" to be too vague. The General Assembly had already adopted resolutions asking for independence or self-government for the Territories at an early date. In view of the fact that his delegation had agreed to add "or self-government" to the draft resolution he felt that a period of three to five years should be amply sufficient. He was therefore unable to accept the Syrian suggestion.

33. Mr. LARAKI (Morocco) endorsed the remarks of the representative of Haiti.

34. While appreciating the motives which had prompted the USSR delegation to present the draft resolution, he felt that a period of from three to five years was not realistic and hoped that the Soviet Union would be able to accept that Indian and Syrian representatives' suggestions.

35. The phrase "in the near future", suggested by the Syrian representative, was rather vague and he wondered whether some such words as "within a reasonably short time" could be added.

36. With reference to the Australian representative's contention that the Trusteeship Agreements specified no fixed period for the attainment of self-government or independence, he wondered whether that representative considered resolutions of the General Assembly to be less valid than the Trusteeship Agreements.

37. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt) said that the principle of the independence of dependent peoples on which the Soviet draft resolution (A/C.4/L.472) and also the Haitian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.477) were based called forth certain historical reflections. The development of that principle, both under the Mandates System established by the League of Nations and by its formal recognition, a quarter of a century later, in Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter, had made the increasingly rapid progress of the dependent peoples towards independence a logical phenomenon of progressive and creative evolution. His delegation welcomed that phenomenon, which led it to support the principles on which the two draft resolutions were based and to

support the Syrian and Indian amendments to the Soviet draft resolution.

38. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) felt that the establishment of a fixed period for the attainment of self-government or independence would be valuable because it would give hope to the peoples who were still under the International Trusteeship System that their aspirations would be realized in the near future and it would influence the Administering Authorities to take additional steps to achieve the target date. The best illustration of that was furnished by Somaliland under Italian administration, where the people of the Territory and the Administering Authority were together making a great effort to prepare the Territory for independence by the date fixed and to meet not only their legal but also their moral obligations.

39. He could not accept the Australian representative's thesis that the Administering Authorities had exclusive responsibility with respect to any decision regarding the Trust Territories. In his delegation's view the fixing of target dates should be the result of a joint effort by the Administering Authorities, the United Nations and, above all, the peoples of the Trust Territories. The desires of those peoples should be ascertained not through institutions set up by the Administering Authorities and composed of officials and government representatives but through bodies that were genuinely representative of the indigenous populations.

40. The New Zealand representative had expressed the view that the will of the people should be the fundamental element in any decision with respect to the period for the achievement of self-government, and the results achieved in Western Samoa indicated that New Zealand had followed an extremely liberal policy in full accordance with the principles of the Charter.

41. He did not feel that he could unreservedly support paragraph 1 of the USSR draft resolution as it stood, since in his view target dates should be set in collaboration with the populations concerned and taking into account all the relevant factors in each case. He would be able to vote in favour of the draft resolution if the Syrian amendments were accepted.

42. It was true that the inclusion of the words "self-government" was in accordance with the terms of the Charter, but the situation today was very different from that at the time those clauses had been drafted. A number of new Members had since joined the United Nations, most of whom had then been in a similar position to the Trust Territories.

43. He hoped the New Zealand representative would accept his argument that it should be the population itself that should make the greatest contribution when the time came to fix a period for the attainment of self-government.

44. He was willing to agree to the deletion of New Guinea from the list of Territories in paragraph 1, although he could not believe that, as claimed by the Administering Authority, many generations must elapse before that Territory attained self-government or that the people were living in the Stone Age, especially in view of the conclusions in the report on that Territory (T/1260) of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1956.

45. Mr. GERIG (United States of America) said he was in general agreement with the remarks made by the representative of Haiti. He also felt that the New

Zealand representative had argued very convincingly that the wishes and views of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories should be taken into account in fixing a period for the attainment of self-government. He would agree too with most of the remarks made by the Australian representative.

46. It seemed unlikely that the USSR draft resolution would be sufficiently modified to make it acceptable to his delegation. He would be unable to support it as it stood and unless substantial modifications were introduced he would be obliged to vote against it.

47. Mr. GRILLO (Italy) observed that the Soviet Union delegation was faced with a dilemma; either, as that delegation frequently asserted, the Administering Authorities had done nothing to promote the political advancement of the peoples of the Trust Territories, in which case the Territories obviously could not be ready for self-government or independence for some considerable time; or else the Territories were nearly ready for self-government or independence, in which case it must be admitted that the Administering Authorities had fulfilled their obligations under the Charter.

48. He had intended to deal thoroughly with the situation in New Guinea, of which he had made an extensive study, and to quote from statements by the Indian delegation and from the Soviet encyclopædia to prove the unrealistic character of the Soviet proposals. In view of the fact, however, that the Soviet delegation had agreed to delete New Guinea from the list of Territories in the draft resolution, he would not dwell on that subject.

49. With the amendments which had been presented and accepted by the Soviet delegation the draft resolution was now entirely different in spirit and meaning from its original text. He wished for time to consider it further before deciding how to vote.

50. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) sympathized with the motives which had prompted the draft resolution and hoped that the time would come when all the Trust Territories would become independent or self-governing. She would say no more for the time being in view of the short time at the Committee's disposal. She reserved the right to speak again later if necessary.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.