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Seventeenth Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 29 February 1956, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

Mr. SEARS

(United States of America)

1. Examination of conditions in Tanganyika [3a, 4] (continued)
2. Examination of conditions in Togoland under French administration [3e, 4, 5] (continued)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.671. Delegations may submit corrections to the summary record for incorporation in the final version which will appear in a printed volume.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN TANGANYIKA

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1954 (T/1205, 1221 and 1223) [Agenda item 3a]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARAGRAPH 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.2/L.4 and 6) [Agenda item 4] (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Grattan-Bellew, special representative for Tanganyika under United Kingdom administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

Economic advancement

Mr. BARGUES (France) (interpretation from French): In paragraph 61 on page 12 of the annual report of the Administering Authority there is interesting information concerning the progressive substitution of British officials by African officials. It is stated that the number of African Assistant District Officers has increased from seven to fifteen and that during 1954 the first African District Officer was appointed. How are these African officials chosen? Do they have to meet the same requirements of professional competence and general culture as European officials, or is the Administering Authority following a policy which would somewhat favour the African officials? Has the Administering Authority adopted less severe rules for the recruitment of these African officials?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika under United Kingdom administration): I will deal with the question in two parts, first of all dealing with the position of Assistant District Officer, and then with the position of the African District Officer. The number of Assistant District Officers at the end of 1955 was twenty-three. It is hoped that that number will be increased still further year by year. The Assistant District Officers are selected by a locally appointed board from members of the existing service. They vary, of course, and some of them may have been in the clerical service and others, perhaps, in one of the technical departments. But they are chosen on

(Mr. Grattan-Bellew,
Special representative)

their past record, on their standard of education, and on their general ability to fulfil the duties of an Assistant District Officer, in which they are called upon at times to carry out the same duties as a District Officer.

As regards the African District Officer, he is the first African to be appointed to this post and he has the same qualifications and attributes and meets the same requirements as those required from a European recruit to that post.

It is not intended to lower the standard of District Officers. It is considered that that would be a very short-sighted policy and certainly not one in the interest of the future of the Territory. It is important that, as the Territory develops, the standard of the higher grades of the Administration should be maintained and, if possible, even slightly improved at the higher level.

Mr. BARGUES (France): I thank the special representative for this interesting information bearing upon an important point in the policy of the Administration. I think that the method used is a very good one because one might have been tempted to lower the standards and thus have a kind of second-rate official. I have another class of question concerning information appearing in the annual report in paragraph 90. The paragraph states that the separation of executive and judicial authority is progressively being carried out on the local level, that the chiefs are being replaced by magistrates.

I would like to put two questions to the special representative. With regard to the magistrates who are replacing the chiefs, are they generally Europeans or are they Africans? Also, what is the reaction of the population to this policy. The indigenous population traditionally is accustomed to consider the person giving the orders as the one who also hands out punishment for any infractions of these orders. This is the general situation in these under-developed societies. Has the indigenous population easily adapted itself to our idea of separation of powers?

Mr. GRATAN-BELLEW (Special representative): The representative is of course correct in what he says about the Africans' traditional idea that the chief, the head man who gives the orders, should be the man to punish. In some areas there is a dislike for the idea of that change, but the Administration, by the propaganda and by addressing barazas and talking to the people, are bringing about this idea that the judicial function should be separated from the executive. And it has been done in the districts that are set out there. It is the policy that that should be extended throughout the whole Territory. The people appointed in what we call the local courts are all Africans; they are African magistrates; they are people who are respected by the local inhabitants. The local inhabitants have confidence in them and in their knowledge and experience of native law and custom.

Of course the same thing is being reflected in the ordinary courts. At one time, many years ago of course, the district officer or district commissioner was always the magistrate. There was no one else available. The same separation is taking place and I think now there are 29 resident magistrates who have nothing whatever to do with the executive government. They are all qualified lawyers

(Mr. Grattan-Bellew,
Special representative)

and they handle all the serious cases in the subordinate courts. Unfortunately, they do not as yet have enough of them to make a complete separation, and we also have to overcome difficulties of communications, and so on.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): In the course of previous discussions on Tanganyika and in previous reports, the attention of the Council was drawn to the importance, within the Territory, of differences within tribes. I would like to ask a question of the special representative concerning the precise nomination of African district officers. Is it a matter of indifference for African district officers to be sent to any Territory or to any tribe, or are there differences in this connexion? Is it possible that certain tribes do not accept certain district officers who come from tribes other than their own?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): When it comes to appointing assistant district officers -- and I can speak from my own experience because I have served on the board and had to help in selecting them -- the question of tribe does not enter into it. Quite frankly, although I could recognize one or two men, or several men, by their features as being of a certain tribe, apart from that, I do not think it ever entered my mind as to what tribe the men were. The situation has never arisen, as far as I know, of a tribe refusing to accept an African as an assistant district officer, or for any other position, because of his tribe, and I do not think that situation would arise. It is something which has never entered my mind until the question was asked. Therefore, this shows that that question probably does not exist. Of course, I do not rule it out; it might happen. I think that if the Administration saw any danger, it would probably try to avoid this situation because it might aggravate the differences between the tribes to have that situation arising.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): The reply given by the special representative concerns the assistant district officers.

(Mr. Claeys Bouuaert, Belgium)

If it were a district commissioner, would there perhaps be difficulties? I would like to have the view of the special representative on this? Has there been a case between the Sukuma and the Chagga tribes, for example, where their district commissioner was not accepted?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEV (Special representative): We have only one African District Officer. That is why I thought that the question referred to the Assistant District Officer. That situation has not arisen. No doubt it is a matter which the Administration will watch very carefully because I see that it could well arise, particularly as between some tribes. They might resent very much having a District Officer who is an African from another tribe. As I said, it is a matter the occurrence of which the Administration will try to avoid.

Mr. Grattan-Bellow withdrew.

ATTAINMENT BY THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF THE OBJECTIVE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT OR INDEPENDENCE [GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 946 (X)] (A/RES.369) [Agenda item 9]

Mr. GERIG (United States of America): In this case, as in my motion of a few days ago, I should like to move again that the Trusteeship Council note the report of the General Assembly on this item.

Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, this question dealing with the resolution on the attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence is one of the most important issues on the agenda of this session. Since it refers to all Territories, and indeed to the crux of the problem of Trusteeship, namely, the final stage in the Trusteeship System when all Territories at present under Trusteeship shall have attained independence or self-government, the Soviet delegation considers that the question deserves the most earnest consideration at this session.

In its resolution, the General Assembly expressed regret with respect to the fact that in last year's report of the Trusteeship Council there was no separate section dealing with this matter, as had been recommended earlier to the Trusteeship Council by the Assembly. The Assembly also pointed out that it drew our attention to the importance which it continues to attach to the question of the attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence. Because of that, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to make the following statement.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

The importance of this problem and the need to solve it have been repeatedly stressed by resolutions of the General Assembly and by the Trusteeship Council. The attention that has been devoted to this issue by the Assembly and the Council is fully justified since the United Nations, in establishing the Trusteeship System, determined that the main purpose of this system in accordance with the purposes of the Organization consists of promoting the political, economic and social progress of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory, their progress in the educational field and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. The Charter, in Article 76 b, reflects the contention that the Trusteeship System, which was set up after the war, has as its purpose the progress of the non-self-governing peoples from a state of non-self-government towards a state of self-government.

One cannot fail to take account of the obvious fact that the peoples of the dependent territories, after many years of humiliation and suffering under colonial domination, are hopefully awaiting from the United Nations a decision that will enable them to free themselves at last from the centuries-old colonial yoke, to achieve self-government or independence and to become full-fledged members of the community of nations. The question is over-ripe. It is a vital problem from the point of view of the peoples of the Trust Territories. It cannot fail to be of concern to the States Members of the United Nations who have assumed the obligation in regard to these people and who have also assumed the pledge to support and maintain international peace and security.

In recent years, there have been vast changes throughout the world. One of the characteristic traits of our times is the change in the political status of the countries of Asia and Africa. There is a vast historical process of awakening going on with respect to the peoples of Asia and Africa. They are being awakened to active political life. This process is going on at full speed, and no force can stem it. One can say that the symbol of our times is the movement of the peoples towards self-government or independence. Africa and Asia today are no longer the same Africa and Asia that we knew yesterday. Many countries have already achieved self-government and have taken their fate into their own hands.

(Mr. Grubiyakov, USSR)

The era of colonialism, however, is not yet over. Quite a few countries in Asia and Africa continue to live under conditions of colonial domination. Quite a few peoples of Asia and Africa are still subject to exploitation, racial discrimination, and they are deprived of the most elementary human rights. Such a situation means vast suffering. The civic and economic development of these countries has been slowed down. Of course, the responsibility for this rests not on the peoples of Asia and Africa but on the colonial Powers who have established this order of affairs in these Territories.

The colonialists are slowing down and hampering the development of indigenous industries. They are obstructing the raising of the cultural level of the masses, and the prosperity of these masses is not increasing. All the countries which wish to follow the road to progress must become first of all economically and politically independent.

Historical experience shows clearly that the deliverance of the peoples from the colonial yoke unleashes their creative capacities and enables them to progress in every field of endeavour. The time is nearing when the nefarious effects of colonialism shall be overcome and the economies of these countries shall stand on their own feet.

It is to be noted that for a long time the colonialists have stated, as they continue to state, that the colonial peoples are incapable of administering themselves; that they have not yet reached a point of development where they can settle their own fate; and that they are not yet ripe for independence or self-government.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

Yet the experience of those peoples who have achieved self-government belies this contention. We contend that peoples cannot be divided into capable and incapable people; all people are equal if you establish equal opportunity for their development.

Events have shown that the days of colonialism are over, even if colonialists have not yet vanished from this earth. Take Africa, for instance, which we are discussing at this session. It is still nearly entirely divided up between European countries. There are different types of colonial policies, but this does not improve the lot of the peoples under this colonial yoke. Colonialism is a public shame which gives rise to hatred among peoples and to the subjugation of some countries by others. It is not surprising that the peoples of these countries, therefore, are raising their heads against the colonial regimes and are demanding ever more insistently their independence and self-government.

The condemnation of colonialism has been generally recognized, and the Bandung Conference is evidence of this since it reflected the continuing strivings of the peoples of Africa and Asia towards peace, national independence and progress in the economic, cultural and social fields. The representatives of twenty-nine countries of the Asian and African continents were present at this Conference, countries in which more than half of the population of the world lives. These countries have handed down a severe verdict. They have considered colonialism as an all round evil that should be liquidated as quickly as possible. The Conference of the twenty-nine countries and peoples has solemnly proclaimed its full support for the principle of self-determination, and it has appealed to those people responsible to grant independence to the colonial peoples.

The colonial policy is closely linked with the violation of human rights, mass persecution and all kinds of other evils, and these evils exist in many countries on the African continent, and particularly in the Trust Territories. Yet the peoples of Asia and Africa, awakening to reality, are demanding respect for fundamental human rights.

The Bandung Conference decisively condemned the policy and practices of racial discrimination and segregation which continue to be the basis of relations

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

between peoples and governments in large areas of Africa and in other parts of the world. Such behaviour is not only a flagrant violation of basic human rights, but also a denial of the basic values of civilization and of human dignity. Violence, internecine strife and divisions which the colonialists are attempting to foment between the peoples of Asia and Africa are in flagrant contradiction of the strivings of these peoples. The subjugation of peoples to foreign domination and exploitation is a denial of basic human rights which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and which is a serious obstacle in the way of international peace and co-operation. The proof of the ardent wish of the colonial people to free itself of this colonial yoke can be seen from the many petitions that come to the United Nations from many Territories. These petitions come from parties, from groups, from individual inhabitants and from inhabitants of communities; they come from people of every type, from farmers, officials employees and chiefs of tribes. In numerous cases the population demands independence with courage and dignity in such a manner that the United Nations can ignore neither these petitions nor the movement in favour of independence. Consequently, the Administering Authorities, either for juridical, political or moral pretexts, cannot ignore the desires and aspirations of the populations. Nevertheless, the discussion of the reports submitted by Administering Authorities on these Trust Territories shows that the Administering Authorities are not taking the necessary steps to promote the accession of these peoples to independence and self-government. Furthermore, the policy and practice of the Administering Authorities show that they are doing everything in their power to conserve and maintain the status quo in these territories. This can be seen from the facts which have been discussed in the Trusteeship Council both in the last session and during the present session, as well as in the discussions which took place in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly.

In the Trust Territories, we note that the former colonial administration is being retained and that the indigenous populations in fact do not take part in the administrations of their own countries. The Administering Authorities ignore the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council in favour of universal suffrage and in favour of the setting up of democratic governments which would allow the indigenous inhabitants to play an increasing role in the administration

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

of their own affairs. All possible methods are used to maintain the tribal system, a system based on feudal principles which prevents the unity of the territories. This is a deliberate policy. One only has to glance at the report of the Governor of the Gold Coast in which he quotes the statement of the Secretary for Native Affairs, who said in effect that it happens that certain educated Africans, carried away by an alien but attractive doctrine of human equality, come to favour representative administration, and they attempt to install that system in their own countries. The official points out that the implementation of this idea would lead to the annihilation of the native system of government, and he arrives at the conclusion that the chiefs support the central Government which has always had the policy of retaining and supporting these native institutions.

The Administering Authorities, by means of administrative unions which unite the colonies and the Trust Territories, extend colonial law to the Trust Territories and deprive them of the opportunity of setting up their own separate legislative and judicial organs.

In the economic field, typical colonial practices are being retained, practices which are designed to cover the needs of the Metropolitan countries. Inadequate measures are taken to encourage education and as a result of the centuries-old colonial administration, which is being represented as having an enlightening mission, the population remains largely illiterate.

All these facts are characteristic of the situation in the Trust Territories, and they confirm that the Administering Authorities for the time being are not taking those measures that would contribute to a prompt implementation of the purposes of the Trusteeship System.

The concern of the United Nations for this situation in the Trust Territories was also expressed when the well known resolution 558 (VI) of 18 January 1952 was adopted. In that resolution the General Assembly recommended to the Administering Authorities of each Territory to include in their annual report information on the measures that are taken or that are proposed to be taken and which would be designed to prepare the Trust Territories within a brief period of time for the achievement of independence or self-government.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

It was also suggested that the Administering Authorities should indicate:

"(e) The period of time in which it is expected that the Trust

Territory shall attain the objective of self-government or independence."

The decision of the General Assembly to include such time-limits in the information submitted on the Trust Territories was a decision designed to speed up the implementation of the purposes of trusteeship. The establishment of such a time-limit is all the more necessary since the whole purpose and significance of the system is that it constitutes a transitional stage carried out under the control of the United Nations, a transitional stage after which the people will achieve self-government and independence.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

The Administering Authorities have decided not to implement this decision of the General Assembly. In their reports to the Council, they fail even to mention the possibility of these Territories achieving self-government. The representatives of the Administering Authorities, in their statements in the Trusteeship Council and in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, have been submitting unconvincing arguments that are intended to justify their failure to submit time-limits for the attainment of self-government or independence by the Trust Territories. In so doing they display a lack of respect for the peoples under their administration and they also injure the dignity of these peoples.

I would remind the members of the Trusteeship Council of the last report of the Visiting Mission to East Africa, in which several members of the Mission stated timidly that they hoped that the Territory would achieve independence within one generation. That statement was severely condemned by the Administering Authority, whose representative in the Trusteeship Council stated that the setting of a time-limit of twenty-five years could adversely affect the Africans. The Governor stated that it would be only in three or four generations that the population of the Territory might perhaps be able to assume responsibility for their own administration.

It is clear that certain colonial Powers hope that for another hundred years -- for three or four generations -- they will be able to retain these people under colonial domination.

However, we have examples of the Trusteeship System in this Organization of the establishment of a time-limit for the achievement of independence by a Trust Territory, namely Somaliland under Italian administration. The establishment of such a time-limit was possible and it enabled the United Nations to anticipate that the measures that were taken would contribute to the achievement of independence by the people of that Territory.

The urgent need to carry out the purposes of the International Trusteeship System requires that a time-limit should be set for each Territory and that it should be a very short time-limit. Measures should be taken to accelerate the achievement of independence by the Trust Territory within that period of time.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

In view of the refusal of the colonial Powers to implement the resolution of the General Assembly under which they have the obligation to mention in their reports such time-limits for the granting of self-government or independence to the Trust Territories under their administration, it is necessary for the Trusteeship Council to adopt a decision that would make it obligatory for the Governments of the Administering Powers to submit to the General Assembly a special report on the implementation by these Powers of the decisions taken in that resolution. In accordance with the aforementioned statement, the Soviet delegation wishes to submit the following draft resolution to the Trusteeship Council:

"The Trusteeship Council,

"Considering that, under Article 76 b of the Charter, one of the principal objectives of the International Trusteeship System is the progressive development of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence, due regard being paid to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples, the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned and the terms of each Trusteeship Agreement,

"Attaching great importance to the fixing of specific dates for the termination of the period of Trusteeship over the Trust Territories and for the grant of independence to their inhabitants,

"Considering that the Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration, which was approved by the General Assembly on 2 December 1950, a specific date was laid down for the attainment of independence by this Trust Territory,

"Having regard to the fact that in its resolution 558 (VI) of 15 January 1952, the General Assembly invited the Administering Authorities of other Trust Territories to indicate the time in which each Territory was expected to attain self-government or independence,

"Invites the Administering Authorities to submit to the Trusteeship Council at its eighteenth session a special report both on the measures already taken and the measures contemplated with a view to preparing the Trust Territories for the attainment of independence at the earliest possible date, specifying the time within which each Trust Territory will attain independence."

The Soviet delegation, in moving this draft resolution on the achievement of self-government or independence by the Trust Territories, gives due attention to the fact that the Trusteeship Council, which is responsible for the fate of these Territories and for the implementation of the purposes of the Trusteeship System, must consider all possible means for the carrying out of these purposes. Among such measures must be included the enactment of provisions designed to protect the rights, the lives and the well-being of the indigenous inhabitants and of their Territory. The Trusteeship Council cannot remain indifferent to any events in these Territories in so far as they relate to the interests of the indigenous inhabitants and to the development and fate of the Territories. One of the main functions of the Trusteeship Council is to eliminate all obstacles that might hamper or delay the development of Trust Territories towards self-government or independence.

Therefore, the Soviet delegation deems it its duty to draw the attention of the members of the Trusteeship Council to the recent item in the press regarding the intention of the Government of the United States, an Administering Authority, to hold nuclear tests in the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands. The conducting of such tests in the Trust Territories, as may be noted from the discussion of the same question in the Trusteeship Council in 1954, constitutes a threat to the lives and prosperity of the peoples of these Territories. Such action violates their basic interests and their elementary human rights.

The use of a Trust Territory as a testing ground for nuclear and thermo-nuclear devices is harmful not only to the present population at this time but it may also have long after-effects and thereby delay and make more difficult the achievement by these people of self-government or independence. The conducting of such tests in the Trust Territory is incompatible with the purposes of the international Trusteeship System as stated in Chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations, whose main purpose is, as we know, "to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence".

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

There should be no doubt that nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests conducted in Trust Territories, bearing in mind the horrible effects of such tests, would be contrary to the provisions and purposes outlined in the Charter of the United Nations. The conducting of these tests in Trust Territories is contrary also to the obligations that have been assumed by the Administering Authority under the Trusteeship Agreement.

In view of the foregoing statement, the Soviet delegation considers it intolerable that such tests should be conducted within a Trust Territory. The Soviet delegation, deeply concerned that the conducting of such tests constitutes a threat to the lives and prosperity of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, bearing in mind the grievous effects that may make more difficult the achievement of self-government or independence, proposes the following draft resolution:

"The Trusteeship Council,

"Noting with concern that the carrying out of test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs in Trust Territories constitutes a threat to the life and well-being of the indigenous populations of these Territories,

"Considering that the holding of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests in Trust Territories is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the International Trusteeship System as set forth in Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter, and is equally incompatible with the terms of Trusteeship and with the obligations of the Administering Authorities as laid down in the Trusteeship Agreements in respect of these Territories,

"Declares the holding of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests in Trust Territories to be inadmissible."

The Soviet delegation hopes that the Trusteeship Council, which has under the Charter the political and moral responsibility for the prosperity of the indigenous inhabitants of Trust Territories, will give due attention to the consideration of these draft resolutions.

Mr. GERIG (United States of America): The trend and the present-day aspect of colonialism were clearly brought out at the Bandung Conference, to which the representative of the Soviet Union has referred. At the Bandung Conference, it was pointed out by a number of speakers, and rightly, that, while colonialism was receding in other parts of the world, a new and worse form of colonialism -- of colonialist imperialism, if you like -- was developing in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. We agree with Mr. Grubyakov that we cannot overlook the problem of colonialism. As to one type of colonialism, the Trusteeship Council is doing and has been doing a constructive work, but not always perhaps with the amount of disinterestedness that would be desirable. But, on the whole, we believe that our work has been effective.

We adopted a resolution at our last session on the question of the attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence. The main paragraph of that resolution stated that the Trusteeship Council:

"Decides to instruct the drafting committee on the annual report on each Trust Territory with the exception of Somaliland under Italian administration and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, beginning with the seventeenth session of the Council, to prepare in the course of its regular functions, and in the light of the above-mentioned resolutions of the General Assembly, appropriate draft conclusions and recommendations concerning the question of the attainment by the Territory of self-government or independence."

The General Assembly thereafter, at its last session, adopted a resolution which, among other things, requests this Council:

"to ensure that the procedure devised by it for dealing in future with this question will enable it to comply fully with the terms of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and, accordingly, to include in its next and succeeding reports to the Assembly a separate section containing the information indicated in those resolutions and the conclusions and recommendations of the Council thereon."

(Mr. Gerig, United States)

Since the Council at this session has not even yet had an opportunity to try out its own resolution -- a resolution which, as I have just pointed out, was the subject of some consideration by the General Assembly, which merely requested the Council to ensure that the procedure devised by it should be carried out -- it seems to my delegation very strange that we should now begin to revise the situation, when we have not even begun to act on the previous resolution.

We believe that it is quite possible for drafting committees to do just what the Council last year recommended should be done, and we believe that that would be entirely consistent and would meet the wishes of the General Assembly. It was for that reason that my delegation made the proposal that the Council should note the resolution of the Assembly. I therefore maintain that my proposed resolution should be acted upon in a suitable way by the Council.

Of course, I have not had the opportunity to examine the details of the two resolutions that the representative of the Soviet Union has just laid before the Council. I would only remark, though, with reference to what I heard him say in connexion with proposed nuclear tests in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, that it seems to my delegation that this subject has no relation to the item which we are now discussing. At least, we cannot see the relevance at all, and it seems to us that the Council should decide, first of all, whether remarks on that subject of nuclear testing and the proposed resolution -- which, as I say, we have not read -- have any relevance to the item which we are discussing. After such action is taken by the Council, and after we have had an opportunity to see what was said in this connexion, we may wish to discuss the matter further.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): The representative of the United States has stated a great many facts and made some observations which I had proposed to make. I should just like to point out that, as he has said, it was decided at a previous session of this Council that each drafting committee should have the task of preparing conclusions and recommendations, in respect of the Territory under examination, as part of its usual report. This seems to

(Sir Alan Burns, United Kingdom)

my delegation to be the obvious and most useful line to follow. For this reason, I agree with the representative of the United States that we should take note of the General Assembly resolution which is now before us. In consequence of this, I shall be unable to vote for, and, in fact, I shall oppose, the first of the resolutions which the representative of the Soviet Union has read out to us. I have not yet, of course, had the opportunity of reading it.

We have just listened to a long and typical propaganda speech by our Soviet colleague. He tells us that colonialism is receding in Africa and Asia -- but he has not referred to the fact that it has actually increased in Europe and Central Asia.

Mr. CUTTS (Australia): As the representative of the United States has indicated, the representative of the Soviet Union has introduced two extensive and far-reaching resolutions which, speaking for myself, I was surprised to see brought forward under this particular item of the agenda. The connexion between his second resolution and the item seems to me particularly remote. Consequently, my delegation would not be prepared to discuss it until we have had an opportunity to study the text of his resolution. However, because of its remoteness from the item of the agenda, we do not believe that this should delay our final consideration of this item at this session.

For the reasons which the representative of the United States has given, we believe that all that the Council is called upon to do at this stage in connexion with this item of its agenda is to take note of the General Assembly resolution which has been referred to. We are prepared to support the resolution which has been proposed to this end. We are not prepared to support the resolution which has been proposed by the representative of the USSR and which, I would agree, falls under this item of the agenda -- I refer to the first of his resolutions -- because we believe that in its language it is slanted, unbalanced and immoderate and does not truly reflect the attitude which my delegation feels the Council should take on this question.

(Mr. Cutts, Australia)

I must say that, like the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom, I was a little disturbed at the tone and what I would describe as the lack of balance of the statement by the representative of the USSR. But I recognize that this proceeds inevitably from the assumption -- which I presume is the basis of his statement -- that nothing good can be said about an Administering Authority or about any aspect of the Trusteeship System, and that the stronger one's criticism the better. For this reason I do not feel called upon to take issue with him on the details of his statement.

The PRESIDENT : Under the rules the draft resolution in question must be circulated before we can discuss it further. Presumably, therefore, it will be taken up tomorrow when representatives have before them mimeographed copies of what has been proposed. Meanwhile, if there is no objection, we shall revert to the discussion of conditions in Togoland under French Administration.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION (T/L.630);

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1954 (T/1202, 1202/Add.1, 1223 and 1232) [Agenda item 3 e]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARAGRAPH 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.7/L.10 to 13) [Agenda item 4]
- (c) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION, 1955, (T/1211 and 1228) [Agenda item 5] (continued)

General debate (continued)

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): All the speakers who have preceded me have pointed out that Togoland under French Administration is on the eve of important developments in relation to the future orientation of its political status. At its tenth session the General Assembly approved the Visiting Mission's report to the effect that certain recommendations contained in that report will facilitate the realization of the will of the inhabitants of this Trust Territory with regard to their future. The Administering Authority, through the preliminary statement of its representative,

(Mr. Glaeys Bouuaert, Belgium)

has indicated its intention to ascertain directly what the desires of the population are in this matter, and has pointed out that the Council will have to study proposals in this connexion at a future date. Therefore, it is premature to speculate on the form, the conditions and the scope of this inquiry which is to be carried out. The only thing we can say is that the Administering Authority, by deciding to proceed eventually to this inquiry, is acting in conformity with the fundamental principle of the Trusteeship System, which is to foster the development of the Territory towards independence or self-government, taking into account the freely expressed views of the populations concerned.

In this connexion the opinion has been expressed here that the best solution would be independence and that the political evolution can under no circumstances lead to the absorption of the Territory by a neighbouring State or by a larger entity. This seems to prejudice the aspirations of the population and to decide for it to a certain extent. What the Charter lays down is that the Territory should have the opportunity to choose its status freely according to what it considers to be in its own interests. It would be a mistake to impose a kind of isolated independence upon the indigenous inhabitants, irrespective of whether they wanted it or not.

I come now to the study of conditions in particular fields in Togoland under French Administration. It seems undeniable that 1955, in particular, has been a year of intense political development in this Territory. The extension of suffrage among the adult population, the enlargement of the membership of the Territorial Assembly, and the creation of a Government Council are concerned achievements. They are important and they make the progressive advance of Togoland towards self-administration and a remarkable extension of its own responsibility.

It has been pointed out that there are sixteen categories of electors which universal suffrage would not affect. I should like to emphasize, however, that these sixteen categories overlap more or less so that suffrage does in fact extend to a great majority of the adult population of the Territory. All heads of families are included, as also are all women with at least two children. As the representative of France has indicated, this is obviously only a stage in the process of attaining universal suffrage for all adults in a very near future.

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but it is a stage which is highly advanced, making it possible already for most of the population of Togoland to express in a practical sense its opinions on the Administration of its Territory and on its future. The projects which the Administering Authority has in hand for the reform of the municipalities and the district councils represent other stages in the process of working out an internal structure for the Territory. Thus the political evolution of Togoland under French Administration is rapid and entirely in conformity with the provisions of the Charter relating to the Trusteeship System. One cannot but congratulate the Administering Authority for that.

The general picture of economic development is also satisfactory. Togoland under French Administration is an agricultural country, and it seems likely that it will remain so in the future. Mining offers encouraging prospects and, if hopes are fulfilled, the country will have a diversified economy in the future. Its exports have risen and the home market has been developed to the benefit of the African peasant. The Belgian delegation feels that the Administering Authority's coming five-year plan will find full approval from this Council. The development of production will make it possible to lay a sound foundation for future achievements.

In this field it is important to point out, in particular, the advantage accruing from the development of pilot centres and farm schools for the purpose of teaching methods of soil conservation. The development of the livestock programme is also of great significance. Cattle-breeding is extremely important, and it is considerably advanced in this Territory. Animals are the source of products for the peasant, and draft animals are a means of maintaining the fertility of the soil.

It is hoped that the Administering Authority will pursue the efforts which it has begun towards improvement in agriculture. The programme already started has a good foundation, in the view of the Belgian delegation. It is quite natural that the land tenure regime should be based eventually on a system similar to that in the more advanced countries and one more akin to a private property system. We do believe, however, that this reform should not be undertaken too hastily. Not only should the immediate situation be borne in mind, but also the desires of the African population. We believe that the agricultural methods being followed are not incompatible with satisfactory development. I should like to point out that my delegation is convinced that the Administering Authority shows wisdom in its discretion with regard to development in this particular field.

In the matter of social progress and education, the achievements in Togoland under French administration are particularly important and merit the congratulations of this Council. The Visiting Mission also had high praise for these achievements. We might recall here particularly the progress in education and the high percentage of budgetary funds allotted to education in hygiene. The progress attained thus far is a guarantee for the future.

The important developments in the improvement in the status of women have been referred to several times. The question of polygamy has given rise to some concern on the part of the Administering Authority, and we have noted the generosity of the Administration in the granting of family allowances. Statistics in regard to population show an excess of men over women in the Territory; therefore, it would seem logical that each case of polygamy can have very unfortunate social repercussions. I hope that the Administering Authority will give consideration to this problem and that its policy will not be aimed exclusively at favouring large families, but that it will bear in mind that if polygamy is regarded as a respectable institution it will not be compatible with an improvement in the status of women.

In conclusion, my delegation is convinced that the increasing participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the development of the country, which is evident from the reports and from the explanations which we have heard, gives ground for confidence in the future of the Territory.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to the representative of France and the special representatives for their contributions to our discussion.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers on my list for this morning's meeting.

The Council will meet this afternoon at 2.00 o'clock.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.