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Chairman: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3822) (*continued*)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. MITCHEV (Bulgaria) observed that the outstanding feature of the situation in the colonial territories, including the Trust Territories, during the preceding year had been that the struggle of the colonial peoples for national liberation had been conducted with ever greater strength and determination. During the past year problems connected with that struggle had been discussed at various important international meetings, including the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference concluded on 1 January 1958 and the Conference of Independent African States held at Accra in April 1958, in which some colonial territories, including Togoland and the Cameroons under French administration, had been represented. At those Conferences, it had been emphasized that independence should be granted to all colonies, including Trust Territories, and that definite dates should be set.

2. The struggle of the peoples in certain colonies had been marked by considerable success. The forces of colonialism had continued to oppose the movement for national liberation and had resorted to every possible means, including armed force, to delay or prevent the liberation of the colonial peoples.

3. The peoples of the Trust Territories, like the colonial peoples, ardently desired independence, not at some indefinite future date but immediately, or at least within a very short time. The General Assembly had already adopted a number of resolutions inviting the Administering Authorities to fix dates for the attainment of independence by the Trust Territories under their administration. In resolution 1064 (XI) it had recommended the Administering Authorities to take measures to ensure that Tanganyika, the Cameroons under British administration, the Cameroons under French administration, Togoland under French administration and Ruanda-Urundi would achieve self-government or independence at an early date. That

request had been repeated in General Assembly resolution 1207 (XII). It was clear, however, from the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3822) that the Administering Authorities saw no need to comply with the recommendations of the General Assembly. Even where target dates had been laid down there were various important questions regarding the Territories concerned which had not yet been settled, including the question of genuine independence. In the great majority of cases the Administering Authorities had no intention of fixing a definite period for the attainment of independence; they advanced various pretexts to justify the continuation of their colonial domination, such as the excuse that the inhabitants of the Territories were not yet ripe for independence. He would illustrate the hollowness of such excuses by referring to Tanganyika and other Territories as examples.

4. It was well known that long before the colonial era Tanganyika had possessed its own independent economic and cultural life. When, seventy years previously, the German colonialists had invaded that country, they had not created a civilization but had destroyed the independent life of the people. The people had not yielded up their rights, however; the struggle for independence had continued throughout the German occupation and after the Territory had come under British colonial domination. Today the people continued to press for their independence, which had been taken from them by force. The Administering Authority claimed that the people of Tanganyika were not yet ready to manage their own affairs but it was clear from the report of the Trusteeship Council and the petitions received by the United Nations that they possessed a lively political consciousness but had very little opportunity of putting forward their political claims. Under the electoral system, based on so-called parity representation, approximately 9 million Africans had approximately the same representation as 3,000 Europeans, and the Africans were compelled to vote for European representatives. The people rightly demanded the abolition of such a monstrous system of racial discrimination. There were a number of other restrictions which had the effect of preventing the people from voting. In that connexion he drew attention to paragraph 33 of the chapter on Tanganyika in the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3822, vol. II, Chap. I), which stated that the voting qualifications necessarily excluded the majority of the African population. The Administering Authority seemed to fear that if the entire population had the right to vote it would elect its true representatives, those who today were struggling for the independence of the Territory. That fear was one further proof of the political maturity of the people of Tanganyika.

5. Another excuse used by the Administering Authority to delay the achievement of independence was the Territory's economic backwardness. Obviously

until there was an end of colonialist exploitation and until the Territory was granted independence the people would continue to live in poverty. Paragraphs 136, 137 and 138 of the Chapter on Tanganyika showed that the country's wealth was exploited by foreign monopolies, which also used the African population as a source of cheap labour. Paragraph 215 showed the low rates of pay among the African workers; there again a policy of racial discrimination was practised. The activities of the foreign monopolies would not lead to the development of the national economy since they exported their enormous profits and treated the country merely as a source of raw materials. It was clear that in advancing the economic backwardness of the people as an excuse the Administering Authority was making use of a situation created by colonialist domination and that it could continue to use that pretext to prolong the exploitation of Tanganyika for an indefinite period. Only genuine independence could enable the country to develop its national economy and free itself from poverty.

6. What he had said about Tanganyika applied to a greater or lesser extent to most of the Trust Territories. It was for that reason that the General Assembly had adopted its resolutions inviting the Administering Authorities to estimate the time required for the attainment of self-government or independence by the Trust Territories. That suggestion, however, did not seem to appeal to the colonialist Powers. More than enough time had elapsed since the establishment of the Mandates System, which had subsequently been replaced by the Trusteeship System, to enable any country to make tremendous progress in all aspects of life. The colonialists interpreted Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter to mean that they need only inform the United Nations each year of a few small changes in the Territories under their administration and that they could then claim that the objectives laid down in the Charter had been attained. Such an interpretation would enable them to delay the attainment of independence by the Trust Territories and to continue to exploit them indefinitely.

7. An official of the State Department of the United States, speaking at Columbia University in May 1958, had expressed the view that premature independence might lead to greater dangers than the temporary continuation of a dependent status. Such an attitude was easily explained in view of the enormous profits realized by United States monopolies in Africa. Naturally the United States, United Kingdom and other monopolies did not desire any change in the existing colonial conditions and were therefore opposed to the African peoples' aspirations to independence. The role of the United Nations, however, was not to discourage the aspirations of the colonial peoples but to facilitate their realization in the shortest possible time. In that spirit his delegation was ready to support any proposal for the fixing of target dates for the attainment of independence by the Trust Territories.

8. As in the previous year, the Cameroons under French administration was the Territory which gave rise to the greatest anxiety. Despite the resolutions adopted and the measures proposed at the twelfth session of the General Assembly with a view to the early restoration of a normal situation in the Territory, and in particular to the ending of persecution and the granting of an amnesty, the Administering

Authority had followed an entirely different course of action. According to the petitioners who had appeared before the Committee, it had sent fresh reinforcements into the Territory in May 1958, and it held the Territory in what was in effect a state of siege. It was continuing to make arrests and was keeping 50,000 Cameroonians in concentration camps. The petitioners had informed the Committee that there had been innumerable summary executions. The newspapers had reported the news of the murder of Mr. Ruben Um Nyobé, the General Secretary of the Union des populations du Cameroun (UPC), which though outlawed was still the party of the Cameroonian people. The petitioners had informed the Committee of the complicity of the British authorities in the Western Cameroons in those repressive actions.

9. In the light of the French representative's statement at the 774th meeting, it would seem that if France really wished to grant independence to the Cameroons it should stop repressive measures against those who were struggling for independence. The people must be given the opportunity freely to express their views and to elect their representatives under United Nations supervision. A genuine popular consultation was impossible in the present circumstances. For that reason his delegation regarded as justified the requests of the petitioners for the immediate withdrawal of French troops, the re-establishment of political liberties, the raising of the ban on the UPC and the other popular organizations and a full and unconditional amnesty. It would support any proposal which took account of the facts he had cited.

10. The question of the independence of the Cameroons under French administration was linked with that of the unification of the two parts of the Cameroons. He would not go into the details of that situation but would merely say that his delegation would support any proposal designed to give the people of both parts of the Cameroons the opportunity freely to express their views on the question of unification.

11. Turning to the Trust Territory of New Guinea, he said that his delegation had been struck by the backward state in which the Territory was kept by the Administering Authority. The indigenous population was deprived of the most elementary political rights. The report of the Trusteeship Council showed that even at the lowest level, that of local bodies, the role of the population was negligible. There were no secondary schools in the Territory and only twenty-six indigenous children had the privilege of studying in Australia. Those facts showed that the Administering Authority was making no effort to develop the Territory or to assist it to advance toward the realization of the aims of the International Trusteeship System, but was endeavouring to prolong its colonial domination over the Territory for an indefinite period. To that end it had attempted, in conjunction with the Netherlands, to integrate the administration of the two parts of the island, which was contrary to the Charter and to Indonesia's sovereign rights over West Irian (Netherlands New Guinea).

12. He would also draw attention to the very backward state in which the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi was kept by the Belgian Administration. The Administering Authority had made no effort to put into

effect the recommendations in General Assembly resolution 1064 (XI). It did not allow the establishment of political organizations, trade unions or a free Press. There was not even a distant prospect of the introduction of universal suffrage or the establishment of a genuine elected legislative organ or executive body.

13. In conclusion he expressed the hope that during the present session the United Nations would take steps to ensure the rapid achievement of the aims of the Trusteeship System in all the Trust Territories, thus satisfying their peoples' aspirations to independence.

14. Mr. NAJJAR (Lebanon) said that the United Nations was gradually building up a world public opinion which should be the real guardian of peace and security in solving international disputes. Such a world opinion, as distinct from national public opinion, should be cultivated; he would contribute to it in making certain comments concerning the Trust Territories.

15. France had the strongest cultural ties with his country but nothing had done them greater harm than France's military intervention when a Mandatory Power in his country. That phase was now forgotten, but it was clear that in Trust Territories the educationalist should replace the militarist.

16. It was held against the United Nations that the Trusteeship System at the time of its introduction had been a surrender to the colonial system. That was not a criticism of the Charter, which had of necessity represented a compromise. It was, however, essential that the stigma of colonialism should be removed from the Trusteeship System. Indeed, history proved that existence based on the exploitation of other peoples was doomed to end in such political and economic crises as the world was witnessing at the present time.

17. Under the new French Constitution General de Gaulle had full powers to adopt a policy consonant with the spirit of the times; in that he would have the support of world opinion.

18. The petitioners had expressed the demand of a people that France should honour the pledge it has made to the United Nations. Delaying tactics would merely aggravate a situation which might develop beyond hope of conciliation. The Committee had before it a vague statement by the French Government and a statement by Mr. Ahidjo, the Prime Minister of the Cameroons, which should be considered in the light of the conditions prevailing in the Cameroons under French administration and of Mr. Ahidjo's subordination to alien rule. The report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1958, would not be available until 1959, which meant that no plebiscite could take place before 1960. Such delay did great harm to both parties. It was reported that French military forces in the Cameroons had been increased and there was no reason to doubt the petitioners' statements about persecution, concentration camps and martial law in the Cameroons under French administration. It was in the light of that situation that the conversations between the French Government and the Cameroonian Administration should be considered. It not infrequently occurred that nations were not in accord with their Governments when the latter fell under foreign influence.

19. In raising the hopes of peoples aspiring to independence, the United Nations bore the responsibility of ensuring the fulfilment of those hopes. Their frustration would simply transfer the movement towards independence from the political level to the battlefield.

20. In conclusion, he said that his statement constituted an appeal to one of the founders of the United Nations to deal with the inevitable in a manner consonant with its obligations and its contributions to human knowledge and culture.

21. Mr. TURKSON (Ghana) said that for obvious reasons his delegation was particularly concerned with trusteeship questions. The year 1960 would be an important one in the history of Africa and of the United Nations, since four Trust Territories would achieve independence. When that happened the Ghana delegation would join with other delegations in expressing profound thanks to the Administering Authorities.

22. His delegation had taken note of what the French representative had said at the 774th meeting concerning the future of the Cameroons, as well as of the resolution adopted by the Cameroonian Legislative Assembly on 24 October 1958 and the statement of the French Government quoted by the French representative. In his delegation's view the statements of the Cameroonian Government and of the representative of France marked the beginning of a new phase in the political evolution of the Cameroons. While emphasizing its deep concern for the Cameroonian people and reaffirming the principle of independence from colonial rule of all the peoples of Africa, his delegation would prefer to await the arrival of Mr. Ahidjo, the publication of the French memorandum mentioned by the French representative and the statement of the United Kingdom representative before defining its attitude regarding the present circumstances in the Cameroons. It was, however, already clear that the future of the Cameroons under British administration should be decided in a way which would be completely consistent with the expressed will of all the inhabitants of the Territory.

23. Turning to the question of political advancement in the Trust Territories, he expressed his delegation's conviction that political advancement must not lag behind economic and social advancement. It shared the views of the representative of Haiti on that point.

24. The Conference of Independent African States held at Accra in April 1958 had resolved that a date should be set for the attainment of independence by each dependent territory. It had further called upon the administering Powers to refrain from repression and arbitrary rule in those territories and to respect all human rights in accordance with the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

25. It was not only the eight independent African States which held the setting of target dates to be desirable, as witness the various resolutions on the subject adopted by the General Assembly. The Ghana delegation was glad to note that target dates had been set for some of the Trust Territories but there were still others whose future was undecided. He would appeal to the Governments of Belgium and the United Kingdom once more to take into account the result of the deliberations of the Fourth Committee and of the General Assembly. It was true that progress towards

independence was discernible in the Trust Territories, but in some Territories it would seem to be rather the result of chance pressures than of a purposeful design based upon conviction.

26. The growth and development of political consciousness in Tanganyika had been a subject of considerable interest to the delegation of Ghana. Incidentally, it had on occasion been surprised by the cavalier treatment meted out to Mr. Julius Nyerere, the President of the Tanganyika African National Union, by the Administration. Mr. Nyerere, who was well known to the members of the Committee as a moderate and reasonable leader, had recently been put on trial and fined, following his comments on certain matters. Mr. Turkson would say nothing more on that subject, in view of the fact that a new Governor had recently been appointed in Tanganyika, but his delegation would like it to be known that it was concerned over the maltreatment of some petitioners upon their return to their own countries. There was much talk of the rights of the Administering Authorities but in his delegation's view not enough attention was paid to their obligations, which should also be borne in mind.

27. His delegation would also like to call into question the curious perversion of democracy that had been introduced into Tanganyika and was known as the system of parity. He was at a loss to understand why racialism should be thus enshrined in the voting system of a Trust Territory. The principle of "one man, one vote" seemed to him to be fair and he could not see what reason the Administering Authority could have for establishing a system which obliged one man to divide his vote into three and to give each part of it to a man of a different race. The explanation that the parity system had been devised as a transitional measure to full racial harmony and democracy was difficult to accept. His delegation was afraid that the parity system would not lead to the truly multiracial society which all members of the Committee desired to see in Tanganyika.

28. There had been some progress at the political level during the past year but his delegation would not be satisfied until elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage became the normal practice, on the principle of "one man, one vote" in all the constituencies of Tanganyika.

29. His delegation had noted the progress made in the establishment of local government and hoped that the Administering Authority would be able to accelerate that development.

30. The establishment of target dates for the attainment of independence was nowhere more necessary than in Tanganyika. It would be tragic if, as had happened in the Cameroons, outworn concepts were permitted to turn the constructive aspirations of the people into the paths of frustration. A heavy responsibility lay upon the Committee to encourage the Administering Authorities to modernize their ideas. If Tanganyika was backward it was not because the people were incapable of advancing but because the opportunities afforded them had not been equal to those afforded to most other African Territories. He urged the Administering Authority to make a new start in Tanganyika. After 1960 Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi would be the only two Trust Territories left in Africa. There was a great opportunity for the International

Trusteeship System to culminate in a lasting fulfilment. Such an opportunity should not be lost.

31. With regard to Ruanda-Urundi, his delegation shared the view that development there was slower than it should be. Some modest progress had been made in the social, economic and political field but much remained to be done. The gravest problem in the Territory was that of the rapid increase in population; unless that was tackled with boldness the country might find itself faced with a serious crisis in the years which lay ahead. That problem could not be solved in isolation; it called for bold and imaginative long-range economic planning. The pace of political development in the Territory had for some time caused concern to his delegation. While the Administering Authority was to be congratulated on the introduction of universal suffrage to the sub-chieftdom level he considered that universal adult suffrage should be extended immediately to all councils at the local and the national levels. In his delegation's view the speed of the development of national institutions was unsatisfactory. Of the forty-three members of the General Council, whose function was only advisory, only twenty were Africans. That Council should be transformed immediately and endowed with legislative powers. The present system of nomination and *ex officio* representation should be abolished and Africans should be given positions of responsibility. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, had noted that the Africans in the General Council desired to participate more closely in the drafting of legislation applicable to the Territory and there was every indication that the Africans would shoulder with efficiency any responsibility entrusted to them. Even if the Administering Authority was unwilling to encourage the creation of political parties, it should at least not inhibit their growth. It should also do its utmost to lessen the differences between the Bahutu and the Batutsi sections of the population. Through progressive education the Administering Authority could impress upon the people that their future lay in unity and the acceptance of the concept of a Ruanda-Urundi nation.

32. The Administering Authority for Somaliland under Italian administration was to be praised for the way it had carried out its mission, making substantial progress in the face of many obstacles. The Somalis, too, should be congratulated on their devotion to the task of building their country. The next few months, during which the transfer of power from the Administering Authority to a legally constituted Somali Government would take place, would be important. His delegation had noted with deep appreciation the offers the Governments of the United Kingdom, Italy and the United States had made of assistance to the Somali Government after 1960.

33. The authors of the Charter had probably not foreseen that in little more than a decade the objectives of the International Trusteeship System would have been fulfilled in the case of six Trust Territories. He felt sure that in 1960 those countries would be co-operating with the ex-Administering Authorities and the United Nations and that a new era in mutual confidence and respect would have been opened.

34. He emphasized that any criticisms he had made of the Administering Authorities had been offered in a spirit of good will. He looked forward to the day, in the

not far-distant future, when the objectives of the Trusteeship System would have been achieved in the case of all Trust Territories.

35. His delegation would at a later date make separate statements on Togoland and the Cameroons under French administration and on the Cameroons under British administration.

36. Mr. KIANG (China) expressed his pleasure at the presence as Chilean representative of Mr. Cohen, whose long experience in the Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories made it particularly fitting that he should serve as his country's representative in the Fourth Committee.

37. He went on to pay a tribute to the work of the 1957 Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories in East Africa. His delegation would be guided by the valuable and constructive findings in the Mission's reports^{1/} in its examination of conditions in those Territories.

38. At the present time there were more than 7 million people in Africa and the Pacific who could look forward to the early attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

39. It had been reassuring to hear the Italian representative state at the 782nd meeting that in the years immediately following the accession of Somaliland to independence his Government would continue to give that country substantial technical and, if desired, financial assistance and that it would continue to purchase Somaliland's banana output. The fact that the Somali Government had accepted the United States Government's offer of substantial contribution to Somalia's needs after 1960 was equally welcome. He hoped it would not be taken amiss if his delegation suggested that it might be well to establish in the near future a system of consultation among the Governments providing such technical and economic assistance, as also a single national economic development agency to administer and co-ordinate foreign aid. The Somali Government would be in a position to know whether it would be desirable to transform the present Agency for Economic Development of Somalia (ASES) into a national economic development organization.

40. In the Pacific, the special mission which was to be dispatched to Western Samoa would be able to ascertain the reaction of the people of that Territory to the High Commissioner's statement to the Legislative Assembly that there might well be no further visiting missions if the Trusteeship Agreement were to be terminated before 1962. The other important question which the mission would have to study would be the desirability of applying universal suffrage at least in the case of the consultation in which the Samoan people would decide their political future.

41. In West Africa the fact that three countries were to become independent in 1960 confronted the United Nations with the problem of consulting the population of the Cameroons under British administration with regard to their future. In devising a formula whereby the people in both the northern and southern parts of that Territory would have an opportunity to express their wishes the Committee should not forget that

there had been agitation recently in the Southern Cameroons for unification with the Cameroons under French administration.

42. In Ruanda-Urundi it was to be hoped that the General Council would soon become an elective legislative organ with increased African membership and that its powers would be extended. Now that the direct election of sub-chiefdom councillors had been scheduled for 1959 his delegation looked forward to the progressive application of direct elections on the basis of universal suffrage to all councils in the Territory. The process of Africanization which the Administering Authority was seeking to promote might conceivably entail the merging of the separate administrations in Ruanda-Urundi. Integration of the Batutsi and Bahutu communities would be greatly accelerated by the wider dissemination of education and the consequent breakdown of the traditional political structures. In view of the economic problems caused by the population increase, the land shortage and the surplus of livestock, it was encouraging to hear that the Administering Authority was making vigorous efforts to implement the ten-year plan. He was particularly interested to note the thorough and systematic revision of present methods of developing the country's natural resources and the practical measures adopted in connexion with the indigenous agricultural settlements, the pilot sectors experiment and the rural engineering mission.

43. Among the most important recent developments in Tanganyika was the emergence of a vigorous trade-union movement. In education, the efforts of the past ten years had borne fruit. The development of co-operatives was contributing to the Territory's economic advancement and it was to be hoped that the formation of the Tanganyika Sugar Company would offer a real opportunity for partnership. As his delegation was particularly interested in the land question, which was an explosive one in that part of Africa, it looked forward to the early publication of the Administration's land policy statement on individual African land tenure as a positive step towards removal of a major barrier to the Territory's prosperity. With regard to political advancement, he thought it hardly necessary to emphasize why the principle of parity representation could not be accepted by the Africans, who made up 98 per cent of the population. It was difficult to see how that principle could constitute a sound foundation for the political development of the Territory. As it was bound to be rendered obsolete by the rapid development of other parts of Africa it would be unwise to perpetuate it in any form, for it could only impair the mutual confidence and understanding now existing between the Africans and the immigrant minorities. It was for that reason that his delegation attached great importance to the appointment of the constitutional committee to be established in 1959 and felt that the position of the Africans in that body should be strengthened. He hoped that it would recommend the early introduction of universal adult suffrage in the Territory.

44. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Costa Rica) observed that notable progress had been made in the Trust Territories in the past year, thanks largely to the efforts of the Administering Authorities. The Trusteeship System was one of the best examples of the tangible

^{1/} T/1344, T/1345, T/1346.

results which the United Nations was capable of achieving. Nevertheless, there were certain minor omissions in the Trusteeship Council's report which it might be in the interests of the Administering Authorities themselves to remedy. For example, there was a notable lack of information about the efforts which the Administering Authorities had doubtless made with regard to housing, road construction and public safety. It would be particularly interesting, too, for the Committee to have detailed figures and percentages relating to the budgets of the Trust Territories so that it could see how much was invested respectively in primary and secondary education and vocational training, how much was earmarked for increased agricultural production, how much for the protection of industry and so forth. He therefore favoured the idea that a more detailed questionnaire should include requests for such information.

45. His delegation had observed that many of the economic difficulties encountered in the administration of the Trust Territories arose from the lack of sufficient funds for the establishment of social, education and health programmes, the development of industries and the mechanization of agriculture. If foreign investments did not provide those funds in sufficient quantity, loans from world organizations should be sought. Funds thus obtained should be invested in the importation of capital goods and in such productive enterprises as electric power if the Trust Territories were to be enabled to develop to their full capacity. The United Nations might therefore be well advised to encourage the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and similar organizations to study the possibilities of making investments in the Trust Territories.

46. With regard to the problem of agricultural wages, the seriousness of which was emphasized by the report, his delegation would urge that the recommendations and conventions of the International Labour Organisation should be applied.

Mr. Rodzinski (Poland) Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

47. Mr. LULO (Albania) said that colonialism was now completely discredited and the peoples of the Trust Territories were acquiring a growing political maturity. African nationalism was but the expression of the legitimate desire of the African peoples to achieve the recognition of such fundamental rights as self-determination, independence, non-interference by foreign nations and respect for national sovereignty. The essential purpose of the Trusteeship System, as stated in the Charter, was to promote the development of the peoples of the Trust Territories towards independence.

48. Yet in the twentieth century, at a moment when mankind was achieving progress which was without parallel in history, men were still suffering under the yoke of colonialism. The General Assembly had approved many resolutions, in particular those dealing with the establishment of target dates for the independence of the Trust Territories, but those resolutions had not been carried out in all the Territories. The Administering Authorities continued to pursue their colonialist policy, the aim of which was to amass profits from the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the dependent colonial countries. Twelve years of the Trusteeship System

showed that the efforts of the Administering Authorities were not directed towards helping the Trust Territories to achieve independence as soon as possible. If the Administering Authorities persisted in that attitude, the consequences for the peoples of those Territories would be serious. The United Nations, however, had not the right to allow such a state of affairs to continue.

49. The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference held at Cairo at the end of 1957 had taken decisions which expressed the unshakable resolve of the peoples of the two continents to fight against the shameful colonial system. In particular, the Conference had requested the United Nations to put an end to trusteeship in countries which were still subjected to it and to recognize their complete independence; it had called for an end to political persecution and for the release or return of those imprisoned or exiled by the Administering Authorities.

50. The real attitude of the Administering Authorities was shown by the existing state of affairs in the Trust Territories. In Tanganyika, the legitimate wishes of the indigenous inhabitants were not recognized and the electoral system in force favoured the 3,000 European inhabitants at the expense of the 8 million Africans. The number of cases of tuberculosis was disquieting. In some provinces, only 12 per cent of the children of school age received a primary education. The Administering Authority and the foreign minorities should promote the economic and social development of the Territory without trying to obtain political advantages from the assistance they gave.

51. In Ruanda-Urundi, too, political progress was very slow and the 1957 Visiting Mission had drawn attention to numerous cases of racial discrimination.

52. France had announced in the Committee (774th meeting) that it was ready to grant independence to the Cameroons under French Administration on 1 January 1960. At first sight, that seemed cause for congratulation; but the problem took on another aspect if the serious events taking place in that Territory were considered. Repression had increased; the Administering Authority had dissolved the political parties and had deported their leaders for the sole reason that they called for the unification of the two Territories of the Cameroons and their immediate independence. The statements of the petitioners had drawn attention to the serious situation in both the Cameroons and had made it clear that the Administering Authorities were coercing the indigenous inhabitants, whose firm desire was the unification and independence of the two Territories. The Administering Authorities merely allowed the semblance of autonomy, while attempting to annex those Territories to other colonies. In so doing they made a mockery of their obligations under the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements, by which they were bound to take into account the legitimate interests of the indigenous peoples. Those were facts to which the United Nations could not remain indifferent.

53. In the Cameroons under French administration there were three questions to be considered: first, the re-establishment of normal life throughout the Territory, the withdrawal of troops, a total amnesty and the suspension of the decree dissolving certain political organizations; secondly, the introduction of

constitutional reforms with a view to achieving autonomy or independence in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the population; thirdly, the unification of the two Cameroons once the inhabitants had been consulted by a referendum held under the proper safeguards.

54. With a few minor exceptions, social problems had seen no improvement. In practically all Trust Territories racial discrimination was legal. Similarly, there had been no progress in economic affairs; the African continent had vast reserves of minerals but access to them was denied to the indigenous inhabitants, while foreign companies made vast profits. The incorporation of their economy in the European Common Market would constitute a great danger for the Trust Territories and would be in flagrant violation of Article 76 of the Charter and of the Trusteeship Agreement. The General Assembly should take immediate steps to prevent that being brought about.

55. Africa called increasingly for liberty, independence and the end of colonial domination. The efforts of the colonial Powers to prevent the achievement of those objectives were doomed to failure. His delegation would support any action on the part of the General Assembly to ensure compliance with its resolutions calling for target dates for the independence of the Trust Territories.

AGENDA ITEM 40

The future of Togoland under French administration: report of the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections and report of the Trusteeship Council thereon (A/3957, A/3958, A/C.4/382) (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Dorsinville, United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections in Togoland under French Administration, took a place at the Committee table.

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

56. Mr. EINAAR (Netherlands) expressed his delegation's appreciation of the work done by Mr. Dorsinville, United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections, and his staff prior to and during the elections which had taken place in Togoland under French administration in April 1958. The people of the Territory were to be commended for the discipline and dignity which they had demonstrated on that occasion. A tribute was likewise due to the Administering Authority for the steps it had taken to prepare the inhabitants for the elections and to enable the Commissioner and his staff to perform their duties efficiently. The Commissioner's report (A/3957) showed that full freedom and complete secrecy had prevailed in the conduct of the elections and that the outcome faithfully reflected the wishes of the population. The statement made by the French representative during the eighth special session of the Trusteeship Council (937th meeting) concerning the further transfer of powers to the Togoland Government showed that France had faithfully carried out its obligations under Article 76 b of the Charter despite the many difficulties with which it had been confronted. His delegation hoped that the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System which was being made possible by co-operation between the French and

Togoland Governments would ensure the freedom and prosperity of the inhabitants of Togoland for many years to come.

57. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) recalled that it was only after much hesitation that France had decided in 1956 to introduce fundamental changes into its colonial policy. As a result of those reforms a considerable measure of internal autonomy had been granted to Togoland. At that time his delegation, while not considering the reforms sufficient to justify the termination of trusteeship, had nevertheless felt that they represented progress. Outright rejection would only have harmed the Togoland and his delegation had therefore tried to ensure the participation of the United Nations in the evolution of the Territory. It had taken the risk in confidence that danger would be avoided by co-operation between the Togoland people, the Administering Authority and the United Nations. Following on the debates during the eleventh session, good will between the three parties had grown and by general agreement elections had been held for a new Legislative Assembly. The result of those elections was now before the Committee, and before long Togoland would be an independent State. At that historic moment, he wished in the name of his country to congratulate the people and the Government of Togoland. France had once more given proof of its generosity and he hoped that, for France, Togoland would be but the first step.

58. As France and Togoland seemed to be in agreement, abrogation of the Trusteeship Agreement appeared to offer no difficulty and the General Assembly would be asked to agree to it at the moment when the Territory achieved its independence. The United Nations had every reason to be proud of that result but it should not be forgotten that the obligations of the United Nations and of the Administering Authority to help the new State of Togoland remained in force. The Togoland Chamber of Deputies had asked for the assistance of the General Assembly in providing experts to assist in the organization of the new State. That was a reasonable request; Togoland would face problems which were largely due to its past. It was the duty of the Administering Authority to consult Togoland with regard to the sending of experts there; similarly, the General Assembly could ask the specialized agencies to take into account requests received from the French Government on behalf of the Government of Togoland. It was not until then that the General Assembly would have completed its task.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

59. Mr. CHAMBERS (Australia) observed that the French representative, the Prime Minister of Togoland and the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections in Togoland under French Administration had each in his own way and in accordance with his own terms of reference assured the members of the Committee that in that Territory the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System had been achieved. It remained for the United Nations to complete the necessary formalities and to join France in signing what had been described as the birth certificate of a new nation. It was unthinkable that the United Nations should act otherwise; it had no option but to consent to the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement on the proclamation of the independence of Togoland, as requested by the

Administering Authority and the duly elected and authorized Government and legislature of the Republic of Togoland.

60. In the course of history France had made a great contribution to the growth and development of many independent and sovereign States and thus had enriched the world community. Like the United Kingdom, France had made a distinguished contribution to the operation of the International Trusteeship System. The presence in the Committee of the Prime Minister of Togoland was evidence not only of France's work in Africa but of Africa's role in the modern world. Without Africa the international community would be incomplete. In the chorus of mankind African voices would increasingly be heard, and not least among them would be that of the Republic of Togoland.

61. In the name of the Australian delegation he congratulated Mr. Olympio and the Government and people of Togoland.

62. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) said that the Prime Minister of Togoland had referred in the course of his speech at the 782nd meeting to the wish expressed by the Togoland Chamber of Deputies for the assistance of the United Nations in solving the difficult problems which confronted any new State. In full agreement with Mr. Olympio, he gave an undertaking that his country would promote the fulfilment of those wishes within the framework of United Nations technical assistance.

63. Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco) expressed pleasure at welcoming the true spokesmen of the Togoland people. Mr. Olympio was not unknown to the Committee, which had been able to appreciate his qualities and his devotion to the cause of his people. In the events leading to the birth of the new nation the role of the United Nations had been decisive. The example of Togoland confirmed that the future of Africa could be built on solid foundations only by those who truly represented their countries, as a result of free elections carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. The only way was that which led to emancipation and to self-determination; the colonialist spirit should disappear. Experience had shown that the policy by which African leaders were nominated led only to deadlock.

64. In conclusion, he congratulated Mr. Dorsinville on the way in which he had carried out his difficult task.

65. Mr. WESTERMAN (Panama) recalled the events at the twelfth session of the General Assembly which had led to the supervision of the elections in Togoland by the United Nations. The report of the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections had been submitted, and, during the eighth special session of the Trusteeship Council (937th meeting), the representative of France had stated that Togoland under French administration had reached the final stage. By agreement between the Togoland delegation, headed by Mr. Olympio, and the Administering Authority the year 1960 had been fixed for the independence of the Territory.

66. His delegation was glad to learn that the trusteeship would not be terminated before 1960, for political development was a necessary prerequisite for

economic and social progress. Close economic and cultural relations between the former Administering Authorities and the Territories should continue, so as to enable the former Trust Territories to develop their economies and raise their levels of living.

67. France was to be congratulated on having carried out the responsibilities of the Trusteeship System so well in Togoland, where it had left, as a permanent legacy, the attributes of stable government, peace, sound administration, law and order, the guarantee of fundamental freedoms, and democratic institutions. It was the fervent hope of his delegation that in due course France would also extend to other territories under French administration and their inhabitants its traditional principles of liberty, equality and fraternity.

68. Responsibility to dependent peoples was not discharged merely by recognizing their sovereignty and admitting them to nationhood. New States were often a prey to unfavourable economic conditions and Togoland was no exception. Its Government and people would need technical assistance to develop further the political and social institutions which they had inherited. His delegation would therefore recommend that the United Nations and its specialized agencies should be asked to give all possible technical, economic and social help to the Territory.

69. The advance of the Trust Territories was part of a greater movement resulting in the emergence of new nations to take their rightful place in the United Nations. That development would in all likelihood have taken place even without the encouragement of the Administering Authority; in so saying he did not wish to minimize the contribution France had made but merely to recognize that human progress was inevitable. The fact that in a short time only two Territories would remain under the Trusteeship System in Africa was eloquent testimony to the way in which the interests of dependent peoples had been protected.

70. Togoland was fortunate in having as its Prime Minister at that historic moment a man whose leadership and high purpose were well known to members of the Committee. The developments which had led to the new status of Togoland were eminently satisfactory, not only because they were in consonance with the objectives of the Charter, but because they had been achieved with the minimum of conflict and suffering.

71. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) said that the present situation in Togoland was proof that the Assembly had chosen the right course in adopting resolution 1182 (XII). His delegation, which had voted in favour of that resolution, was happy to see that the results achieved had won the approval even of those delegations which had abstained. The members of the Togoland Government when appearing as petitioners in the past, had impressed his delegation by their clarity of vision and statesmanlike attitude, and he wished to extend to them and to the people of Togoland his delegation's best wishes for their future success. In paying a well-deserved tribute to the French delegation for its part in the developments in the Territory he wished in particular to express his appreciation of the work of Mr. Kosciuszko-Morizet, whose efforts in the Committee had won the admiration even of some of

those who did not share his views. The chain of events resulting from the elections held in April 1958 bore witness to the impartiality, objectivity and perseverance with which Mr. Dorsinville had discharged his duties as United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections.

72. It was not necessary to go into the substance of the question, for the report of the Commissioner (A/3957), the Trusteeship Council's report (A/3958), the statements of the Administering Authority and Mr. Olympio (782nd meeting), and the documents which had been circulated at the request of the French delegation (A/C.4/382) showed that it was the wish of the people of Togoland that the Trusteeship Agreement should be terminated concurrently with the proclamation of independence in 1960. It was important to note in that connexion that Mr. Olympio had stressed the spirit of cordiality and mutual understanding which had prevailed in the course of his negotiations with the French Government in Paris and had stated that the results were entirely satisfactory to the Government of Togoland. In conclusion he wished to recall the part played by the Philippine representative in the developments in Togoland through the proposal which he had submitted to the Committee at its 595th meeting, held during the eleventh session.

73. Miss ANDERSON (United States of America) said that the Committee could not fail to note with pleasure the statement of the Prime Minister of Togoland giving the United Nations a large share

of the credit for the imminent attainment of independence by that Territory. Her delegation would like in reply to tell him how greatly it had been impressed by the sense of responsibility and spirit of compromise demonstrated by the Togoland independence movement. The smoothness with which the present transition was taken place bore witness to the political wisdom and maturity of the people of Togoland and the high calibre of their leadership. She wished also to congratulate the Administering Authority on the manner in which it was completing the mission entrusted to it. The success of the elections in Togoland was due in large part to the impartiality with which Mr. Dorsinville and his staff had carried out their task.

74. In view of the clearly expressed wishes of both the Administering Authority and the Togoland Government her delegation felt that there should be a large measure of agreement in the Committee on the resolution to be passed by the General Assembly regarding Togoland. It would therefore be prepared to support any resolution which, providing for the simultaneous termination of trusteeship and accession of Togoland to independence, had the support of the Government of France and the Prime Minister of Togoland. When such a resolution was put forward she hoped that the largest possible majority would mark the event for what it was, namely, one of the most important accomplishments in the history of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.