

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 284th

MEETING

Friday, 28 November 1952, at 10.30 a.m.

Headquarters, New York

CONTENTS

	Page
Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2150) (<i>continued</i>)	247

Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2150)
(*continued*)

[Item 12]*

1. Mr. YURANS (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) observed that, under the provisions of Article 76 of the Charter, the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System were, *inter alia*, to further international peace and security and 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.

2. In examining the report of the Trusteeship Council for the period from 18 December 1951 to 24 July 1952 (A/2150), it was important to determine whether the provisions of the Charter relating to the Trusteeship System had been observed. It was evident from that report that the Council had failed to take the necessary measures to prevail upon the Administering Authorities to fulfil the task incumbent upon them under the Charter. Moreover, the report of the Council failed to indicate the difficult position in which the Trust Territories were placed and the fact that the colonial exploitation imposed upon them in violation of the principles of the Charter was primarily responsible for that position.

3. Although the Trusteeship System had been in existence for seven years, no Trust Territory had as yet attained self-government or independence. The Administering Authorities might have been expected to comply more fully with General Assembly resolution 558 (VI), relating to the attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence.

4. Failure by the Administering Authorities to mention that point was more than symptomatic. They wished, in fact, to prolong their presence in the Trust Territories as long as possible and were therefore disinclined to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

5. On the political level, they failed to take any legislative or other measures to ensure the participation of the indigenous population in the activities of the legislative, executive or judicial organs in the Territories. They were maintaining and even strengthening the tribal system instead of progressively replacing it with a system based upon democratic principles. The present system was therefore no different from the colonial system which had existed prior to the establishment of the Trusteeship System.

6. In Somaliland under Italian administration, the legislation in force under the pre-war fascist administration had been restored. As had been admitted by the special representative of Italy at the eleventh session of the Trusteeship Council, there were even a number of former fascist officials in the administrative services. Far from increasing the number of Somalis on the administrative staff, the Administering Authority was inclined to replace Somali officials by Italians. The Administering Authority had failed, therefore, to take any measure to further the advancement of the inhabitants towards self-government so as to enable them to attain independence in 1960, the date fixed by the General Assembly. The representative of Italy, in a statement made at the 282nd meeting, had simply asserted that all was well in the Trust Territory of Somaliland and that the Administering Authority was preparing plans the details of which were unfortunately as yet unknown. He had added that, if matters developed normally, the administration of the Territory might be entrusted to the Somalis in 1960. It might be doubted, however, whether, when the time came, the Administering Authority would deem it possible to entrust the Somalis with the administration of the Territory.

7. With regard to the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, the Administering Authority had violated the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement by incorporating the Territory in the East African inter-territorial organization. As a result of that incorporation, close administrative, political and economic ties had been formed between the Territory and the adjacent territories of Uganda and Kenya. Those ties were so close as to make it impossible for the Trust Territory to develop

towards self-government and independence as a separate entity.

8. Moreover, administrative unions between Trust Territories and adjacent colonies had become a common practice, of which the Trust Territories of the Cameroons and of Togoland under British administration furnished examples. The United Kingdom representative in the Trusteeship Council had himself stated that his Government did not propose to establish autonomous legislative, executive and judicial organs in those Territories. In the same way, the Trust Territories of the Cameroons and of Togoland under French administration had been made part of the French Union. The position of those Territories was therefore no different from that of the French colonies. The Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi had for all practical purposes become an annex of the Belgian Congo. Its administration had been entrusted to a Governor responsible to the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo. Moreover, indigenous inhabitants were not allowed to take the slightest part in the administration of the Territory. That was evident from the annual report of the Administering Authority.¹

9. In the Pacific Islands under United States administration, the Administering Authority had failed to take any measure to ensure the development of the inhabitants towards self-government or independence. The indigenous inhabitants had not been entrusted with a single post in the administrative services and authority remained fully vested in the High Commissioner through administrative officers appointed by him. Moreover, the Administering Authority, despite the desire expressed by the indigenous inhabitants, had failed as yet to take any measures to ensure the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the activities of the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Territory. Finally, the Administering Authority was acting against the basic interests of the indigenous inhabitants by establishing major military bases in the Territory.

10. In the Trust Territory of New Guinea, which was linked to the adjacent colony of Papua by an administrative union, the Administering Authority was strengthening the tribal system and was not taking any measure to replace it with a system based on democratic principles.

11. In the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, the Administering Authority was ignoring the desire for full autonomy expressed by the indigenous inhabitants as early as 1946 (T/Pet.1/1). Moreover, the Trusteeship Council had failed, for its part, to take any measure to that effect.

12. It could therefore be stated that the policy of the Administering Authorities was in no way aimed at the creation and development of democratic institutions in the Trust Territories but, on the contrary, at strengthening the colonial system in violation of the provisions of the Charter.

13. The Trusteeship Council, acting under pressure from the Administering Authorities, had failed to take any measure to give the necessary effect to the num-

erous petitions it had received from the indigenous inhabitants. It had even refused to consider a large number of petitions relating to questions of vital interest to the Trust Territories.

14. The Council had thus been seized of numerous complaints concerning the wholesale alienation of land belonging to the indigenous inhabitants. A most striking case was that of the Wa-Meru tribe (T/Pet.2/99 and Add.1 to 7) in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, where 3,000 Meru families had been deprived of their land. The Trusteeship Council had likewise received a petition from the Bakweri Land Committee (T/Pet.4/76 and Add.1) protesting against alienation of the land owned by the tribe for the benefit of the Cameroons Development Corporation.

15. The Trusteeship Council had also received numerous petitions complaining of arbitrary arrests carried out in the Trust Territories of Togoland under French administration, Somaliland under Italian administration and Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration.

16. Other petitions protested against discrimination in all fields of activity as, for instance, in the case of wages, education, the filling of posts in the public administration, the attitude of the police and, more generally, the observance of fundamental human rights. In that connexion, Mr. Yurans briefly reviewed the petitions contained in documents T/Pet.2/103, T/Pet.11/39, T/Pet.11/114 and T/Pet.11/116.

17. In most cases the Trusteeship Council's decisions took no account whatever of the interests of the petitioners. Thus, in the case of the Wa-Meru tribe, it had confined itself to a hypocritical expression of sympathy and to the statement that the transfer of the Meru people formed part of a larger scheme already in an advanced stage of implementation which was advantageous to the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the Arusha-Moshi area. The USSR representative on the Trusteeship Council had already pointed out that the Council, by its action on the Wa-Meru petition, had added a shameful page to its history.²

18. It should be pointed out that the Trusteeship Council's procedure in considering petitions was entirely unsatisfactory. In fact, the Standing Committee on Petitions classified those documents into two categories: petitions, and communications. As a result, most of the petitions were filed in the archives of the Trusteeship Council as mere "communications". That had been done in the case of various petitions from the Trust Territories of Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and Somaliland. In a number of cases, the Trusteeship Council had failed to consider petitions on the ground that they dealt with general questions. In others, it had merely drawn the attention of the petitioners to the observations of the Administering Authority. In still others, it had merely addressed optimistic hopes to the Administering Authorities. The Trusteeship Council, by adopting that procedure, failed to fulfil one of the important tasks entrusted to it under the Charter. If the interests of the indigenous inhabitants were to be effectively protected, the Council should adopt a procedure which would enable it to give due consideration to their written or oral petitions.

¹ See *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1951*, Brussels, 1952.

² See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Eleventh Session, 452nd meeting*.

19. With regard to the question of visiting missions, Mr. Yurans considered them to be completely ineffective, mainly because of their composition. They were at present composed of an equal number of members representing Administering Authorities and non-administering Powers; as a result, they could not act with the required objectivity. Their recommendations were generally favourable to the Administering Authorities instead of being based only upon the interests of the indigenous inhabitants. Thus, the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, had considered on the spot the Ewe and Togoland unification question. Despite the fact that an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants desired the unification or independence of Togoland, the Visiting Mission had reached the conclusion, given in paragraph 422 of its special report (T/1034), that there was not present in the two Territories wide enough support for any particular form of unification to warrant alteration of the existing administrative arrangements. Mr. Yurans recalled that the question of the organization and methods of functioning of visiting missions had been dealt with in General Assembly resolution 553 (VI).

20. With regard to the question of the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territories in the work of the Trusteeship Council, he recalled that the General Assembly had adopted resolution 554 (VI), which sought to associate the inhabitants of the Trust Territories more closely in the work of the Council. Moreover, the delegation of the Soviet Union in the Trusteeship Council had submitted a proposal (T/L.239), which had been rejected, to the effect that the indigenous inhabitants should be granted the right to participate in the work of the Council without the right to vote. At its tenth session, the Council had merely adopted resolution 426 (X), establishing a committee to study that question. In its report (T/L.317) the Committee had recommended the adoption by the Council of a resolution expressing the hope that the Administering Authorities would find it appropriate to associate suitably qualified indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territories in the work of the Council, as part of their delegations or in any other manner which they might deem desirable. During its eleventh session, at the 454th meeting, the Council had adopted the draft resolution proposed by the Committee. It had preferred a resolution placing the matter in the hands of the Administering Authorities over the clear and definite resolution of the USSR.

21. From the economic standpoint, the Administering Authorities considered the Trust Territories colonies, i.e., sources of raw material. They therefore failed to take any measures to ensure the industrial development of the Trust Territories. As the Polish representative had already pointed out (283rd meeting), there was not a single textile factory in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi; all the cotton, which was grown on a large scale in that Territory, was earmarked for export. In the Trust Territory of Somaliland, the Administering Authority had gone so far as to close some of the existing factories.

22. The inevitable result of the systematic exploitation of the Trust Territories by the Administering Authorities was to keep the living standard of the peoples at a very low level. That was what was happening, in

particular, in the Trust Territory of Somaliland; in that connexion, he read out a passage from paragraph 179 of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1951, on Somaliland (T/947 and Corr.1). The Administering Authorities promoted in every way possible the development of large plantations and were carrying out mass alienation of land belonging to the indigenous populations for that purpose. He recalled the mass alienation of land at the expense of the Wa-Meru tribe in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, and of the Bakweris in the Cameroons under British administration. In the Cameroons under French administration, the authorities had arbitrarily undertaken a classification of forests. In New Guinea, 940,000 acres had been alienated in 1951. In the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Administering Authority had still not returned to the indigenous inhabitants the lands taken away by the German and Japanese colonizers, to say nothing of the land that had been alienated since then by the Administering Authority itself. In the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, ex-enemy land continued to be held by the New Zealanders, who received the entire profit from it. The whole economic and political life of the Trust Territory of Nauru was controlled by the British Phosphate Commissioners, through whom New Zealand and Australia derived enormous profits from the export of phosphates. In Togoland and the Cameroons under British administration, the entire cocoa output was bought by the Administration at very low prices.

23. In the social field, the situation in the Trust Territories was not more satisfactory. In Ruanda-Urundi, the wages of indigenous workers were inadequate to support them and their families; a farm labourer, for example, received only five Belgian francs a day. The indigenous population was subjected to all kinds of discrimination. Corporal punishment, although repeatedly condemned by the United Nations, had still not been abolished. The situation was equally disastrous with regard to public health: the Administration did not train indigenous physicians and the appropriations for public health in 1950 equalled twenty-eight United States cents per inhabitant per year. Public education was in an equally deplorable condition. In New Guinea too, wages were extremely low. The mortality rate had risen from 9.1 per cent in 1950 to 13.3 per cent in 1951 and the Administering Authority's annual report³ contained no explanation of why that had happened. In Somaliland, the average wage of a worker was 1.4 somalos a day. It would be found that indigenous workers in the Trust Territories received a much lower wage for the same work than European workers.

24. Health conditions in the Trust Territories were as unsatisfactory. In Tanganyika, there was one physician per 160,000 inhabitants. In 1951 there had been an epidemic of smallpox and plague, and very few of the stricken population had received adequate medical care. At Ho, in Togoland under British administration, infant mortality had increased in 1951 to 208 per 1,000. In New Guinea, a demographic survey had shown

³ See *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea from 1st July, 1950, to 30th June, 1951*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1951.

that the population of New Ireland had decreased by 27.1 per cent since 1929-1930. From page 56 of the Administering Authority's annual report for 1950-1951, it could be seen that the mortality rate had also considerably increased in New Guinea.

25. In the field of education, there was obvious discrimination between the indigenous inhabitants and Europeans. For example, in Tanganyika the appropriations for the education of Europeans were twenty-nine times greater in 1951 than those for the education of Africans. Moreover, the salaries of indigenous teachers were ten times less than those of European teachers. In the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the salaries of indigenous teachers were twenty times lower than those of American teachers. Appropriations for education had amounted to only 385,509 dollars whereas the recruitment of civilian staff alone to replace military personnel had cost 386,400 dollars.

26. All that went to show that the Administering Authorities did nothing to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the populations of the Trust Territories. The policy of the Administering Authorities obviously tended to strengthen the colonial system which had existed before the establishment of the Trusteeship System and failed to fulfil their obligations under the Charter.

27. The Trusteeship Council, for its part, had not taken measures likely to improve the lot of the Trust Territories. It had wholly disregarded the fact that the Administering Authorities were not meeting their obligations. In the Trusteeship Council the Soviet Union had repeatedly proposed the creation in the Trust Territories of wholly self-governing legislative, executive and judicial organs, but such proposals had been rejected under pressure of the Administering Authorities. The USSR delegation's proposals to return to the indigenous populations the land which had been taken from them and to increase appropriations for health and education had proved equally vain.

28. Thus the Trusteeship Council, whose main task it was to see that the Administering Authorities faithfully observed the provisions of the Charter and the trusteeship agreements, had not fulfilled its obligations under the Charter.

29. Mr. KHATTAK (Pakistan) said that although the Trusteeship Council's report was a voluminous document, it did not always give a clear picture of the situation. In it, for example, the Council reported accusations and denials, but it was very difficult to say whether the accusations made by inhabitants of Trust Territories were well-founded or whether they came from irresponsible persons. He felt that a procedure should be worked out enabling the Council to give its views on such accusations.

30. Following the adoption of General Assembly resolution 554 (VI), the Trusteeship Council had established a committee to study the problem of the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territories in the work of the Council. In its report (T/L.317), the Committee had recommended the adoption by the Council of a draft resolution expressing the hope that the Administering Authorities would find it appropriate to associate suitably qualified indigenous inhabitants in the work of the Council. The

delegation of Pakistan could not emphasize too strongly the importance of that question because the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the work of the Council would not only be excellent training, but the best means of promoting co-operation between the Administering Authorities and the populations of the Trust Territories.

31. The Pakistan delegation also attached great importance to information concerning the implementation of Trusteeship Council and General Assembly resolutions dealing with the Trust Territories. It believed that the Administering Authorities should encourage the formation of African political associations and promote in the Trust Territories an awakening of national consciousness beyond matters of local concern. The indigenous inhabitants of Africa were barely emerging from the pastoral stage and they tended to approach all problems from the tribal angle. However, there was no need for those peoples to pass through all the evolutionary stages of other human societies. Their international consciousness could be assured before their national consciousness. The Trust Territories were particularly fertile soil for the application of the philosophy of the United Nations.

32. His delegation duly recognized the continued material progress in most of the Trust Territories, but it noted that political progress was not so uniform. In nearly all Trust Territories the inhabitants complained of open discrimination in the matter of wages. He was fully aware that it was necessary to offer certain material advantages to competent persons if they were to be brought to Africa, but the authorities should see to it that roughly the same wages were paid for the same work. They must endeavour to observe the principle of equal pay for equal work.

33. Somaliland under Italian administration was different from the other Trust Territories because it was in the last phase of the Trusteeship System. The preparation of the indigenous inhabitants of that Territory for independence must keep pace with the progressive transfer of powers so as to complete that transfer within the established time-limit. His delegation felt that the question of the frontier between that Territory and Ethiopia should be settled while the Territory was still under trusteeship so that the new government would not have to be concerned with such a complicated problem as soon as it was formed. He appealed to the Government of Ethiopia to spare no effort in assisting towards a friendly and satisfactory settlement of that problem.

34. Recalling that the Somali Youth League had complained that it was being subjected to political persecution, he expressed the hope that the Administering Authority would do everything possible to promote the political development of the Territory, especially as it was to become self-governing within a few years. The system of collective sanctions was primitive and very unjust, and it should be abolished as soon as possible. His delegation hoped that the Territory would be granted a system of elections without delay. It agreed with the United Kingdom representative that the fact that political parties, by their very existence, were ensured representation in legislative and advisory bodies was not a satisfactory situation because it might encourage political favoritism, of which some sections of the Somali population had already complained.

35. The Pakistani delegation did not share the Trusteeship Council's concern with regard to the Somali language. The Territory's population itself had expressed the wish that instruction should be given in Arabic and there was no reason why the Trusteeship Council should try to have a local dialect, which did not even have an alphabet, adopted as a national language.

36. Several members of the Council and of the Visiting Mission which had gone to Ruanda-Urundi in 1951 had been somewhat concerned about the slow political development of that Territory. The representative of New Zealand had stated, according to the report of the Trusteeship Council (p. 81), that the political education of the indigenous inhabitants was progressing very slowly; if some elements of the indigenous population seemed to have no desire to improve their lot, that did not mean that the task should not be attempted. The representative had added that it might well be that the population of the Territory would not attain its maximum economic potential if it was not at the same time encouraged to participate increasingly in the management of political affairs. The representative of the Dominican Republic, on the other hand, had considered that the laws regulating the whole political system of the Territory, its status and the status of its inhabitants should be revised and that the laws which protected freedom of expression must be made to exist not only on paper but in reality. He had also stated that the disappearance of the spectre of colonialism from the Territory would produce two significant results: the indigenous inhabitants could take part in the government side by side with the Europeans, and the right of petition could be exercised more freely and would be better protected.⁴

37. It thus seemed that Ruanda-Urundi was the Trust Territory achieving the least progress and that the Administering Authority was not making sufficient efforts to educate the population politically. The 1951 Visiting Mission had noted in its report (T/948, para. 89) that not all inhabitants were aware of the right of petition. Some indigenous inhabitants who had contacted the Mission had stated that, in expressing their views, they exposed themselves to direct or indirect reprisals. The delegation of Pakistan thought that the inhabitants of all Territories should be informed of the right of petition and that the Administering Authorities should give assurance to the population that they incurred no risk in exercising that right.

38. The delegation of Pakistan would explain its views in detail on the Trust Territories of the two Togolands when the Committee undertook the study of the question of the unification of those Territories. So far as the Cameroons under British administration was concerned, it noted that the new constitution had entered into force and that elections had been held in 1951 for the first time in that Territory. Those elections undoubtedly constituted a significant step forward in the political development of the population which should enable it to participate fully in the administration of the Territory. In the Cameroons under French administration the dual system of the electoral college was somewhat unsatisfactory, and it was to be hoped

that the Administering Authority would institute a single college.

39. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) was of the opinion that the liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa constituted the most significant political phenomenon of the present time and that it was the root of many of the difficulties confronting the world. Syria, which had experienced a colonial régime, was especially qualified to show the path to be followed in solving the problem.

40. All Members of the United Nations were agreed in considering that self-government and independence were the goals which Trust Territories must achieve. In considering the report of the Trusteeship Council, the Fourth Committee should therefore ascertain to what extent the Trust Territories had approached those goals.

41. The Syrian delegation attached very great importance to General Assembly resolution 558 (VI), relating to attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence. That question would inevitably become critical in almost all the Trust Territories in the coming years. It would be a mistake to believe that the population of those Territories would wait patiently until their standard of living had been raised, their social conditions bettered and illiteracy completely wiped out before demanding political freedom.

42. The four Trust Territories in West Africa—the two Cameroons and the two Togolands—were characterized by the same awakening of political consciousness as in the two United Kingdom colonies of the Gold Coast and Nigeria; that tendency had gained strength as a result of the contradiction between the policies of the United Kingdom and France. In East Africa, Somaliland under Italian administration was impatiently awaiting the independence it was to achieve in eight years. In the Pacific, the population of Western Samoa was calling for independence with increasing vigour. In the island of Nauru, there was the problem of the very existence of the Territory when the phosphate deposits were exhausted. In the case of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, it might well be asked how much longer the Belgian Administration would succeed in stifling all political consciousness in four million Africans. Finally, there was New Guinea, which was the least advanced of all Territories from every point of view.

43. With but few exceptions, the populations of the Trust Territories were awakening to political life and to national consciousness, were demanding respect for human rights and were impatient to manage their own destinies. It was not premature to ask the Administering Authorities, as the General Assembly had done in resolution 558 (VI), how and when they would guide those Territories to self-government or independence.

44. Unfortunately it was clear that considerable divergency existed among the various Administering Authorities regarding the methods of achieving those objectives as well as the actual nature of them. The meaning of the term "independence" varied from one Trust Territory to another, even when two Territories were administered by the same Power. In some cases, the population of a Trust Territory was completely and forcibly amalgamated with the population of neighbouring colonies. In another case, the inhabitants of a

⁴ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Eleventh Session, 429th meeting.*

Territory were obliged to take a place in a colonial empire from which they might perhaps never be able to gain their freedom by peaceful means. In the Territories under British administration the political emancipation of the indigenous inhabitants was as slow as the role played by Europeans was considerable. Where the Europeans were few in number, democracy made more rapid progress and the representative bodies developed further. Where there were many Europeans and their economic activity was on a large scale, political education was inadequate and a system of race segregation tended to appear. It that connexion he quoted the case of Tanganyika and said that the segregation policy adopted there could end only in disaster. If European and Asian immigrants were not prepared to be on an equal footing with Africans, they would eventually lose all rights to citizenship in the Territory.

45. In the Territories of West Africa, the divergency between the political principles of the two Administering Authorities appeared clearly. The United Kingdom Government had, not without some pressure from the Africans, adopted a policy of withdrawal. That policy, however progressive and inevitable it might be, nevertheless placed the Trust Territories under British administration in a difficult position. The United Kingdom had frequently pointed out that union between Togoland and the Gold Coast and between the Cameroons and Nigeria was the natural destiny of those small Trust Territories. In any case, as the United Kingdom granted increasing powers to the Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, it was also transferring to them even greater responsibility for the Trust Territories. If that was the intention of the United Kingdom Government, it would seem that the time was rapidly approaching when it should notify the General Assembly of its wish to modify the terms of the Trusteeship Agreements for those Territories. He wondered if the inhabitants of those Trust Territories really wished to achieve self-government or independence by complete union with the Gold Coast or Nigeria. They had been given no other choice and, in the case of Togoland, the population themselves appeared to prefer another solution in the form of union with Togoland under French administration.

46. The problems arising in the Trust Territories under French administration were quite different. Togoland and the Cameroons had been incorporated in the French Union without their populations having been really consulted. It could be claimed that the Trusteeship Agreements prevented those Territories from being assimilated into the French Union as completely as the French colonies, but from the practical point of view, there was no distinction between the Trust Territories and the other members of the French Union. The inhabitants of Togoland and the Cameroons under French administration found that all political and legislative power was centred in Paris and was exercised to meet the needs of the French Union as a whole rather than to fulfil the aspirations of each Territory.

47. As regards Ruanda-Urundi, the Syrian Government shared the surprise felt by the Trusteeship Council on realizing how Belgium intended to discharge its obligation of preparing the inhabitants of that Territory for independence. The Belgian Government's policy seemed to be to maintain the tribal structure

rather than to recruit progressively larger numbers of Africans for the administration of the Territory. That policy was closely allied to the principle of indirect administration applied formerly by the United Kingdom, which had abandoned it in favour of the establishment of modern democratic institutions. He sincerely hoped that the Belgian Government would make an effort to bring the political progress of that Territory in line with its cultural, social and economic advancement. In that connexion it was alarming to note, as did the Council on page 81 of its report, that the indigenous inhabitants appeared to fear reprisals when they exercised the right of petition. Syria hoped that, in the reports which they would present that year, the Administering Authorities would set forth clearly and fully their action in the political field.

48. In the economic field, the period studied by the Trusteeship Council had been marked by no appreciable progress for the indigenous inhabitants. Wages, agricultural production and standards of living had in some cases been slightly improved, but there had been no modification in the general economic system, which was still based on the tradition of colonial exploitation. That system would have to be radically changed before the indigenous inhabitants could receive a fair share of the benefits of independence as well as of its responsibilities. The indigenous inhabitants must cease to be a more or less efficient economic mechanism in a system exploited primarily in the interests of communities of immigrants. As a striking example of that situation, he quoted the case of the Wa-Meru tribe in Tanganyika. It was a source of deep regret to his delegation that the Council had not in that case taken some measure in keeping with the fundamental principles of the Trusteeship System. He was glad that the Wa-Meru tribe had decided to address a further appeal to the General Assembly.

49. With regard to Somaliland under Italian administration, which was due to attain its independence in 1960, he recalled the provisions of articles 3 and 4 of the Trusteeship Agreement for that Territory and of article 2 of the Declaration of Constitutional Principles annexed to that Agreement. It would nevertheless appear from the Council's report that the status of citizenship of that Territory had not yet been formally defined, although the Visiting Mission which had visited the Territory in 1951 had felt that that was desirable. Syria thought that that clause of the Declaration of Constitutional Principles should be implemented without further delay and that the Administering Authority should not attach too much importance to the perplexity expressed by members of the Territorial Council in 1951.

50. The Syrian delegation was anxious to obtain details on the strength of the military forces at present stationed in Somaliland. It wondered why it was necessary, in the absence of any threat from outside, to maintain in that Territory a force of 4,328 men. It believed that the extensive credits which the Italian Government was devoting to the maintenance of those forces might be better employed in developing the Territory. A police force was necessary to maintain order, but his delegation saw no reason for the presence of an army in Somaliland.

51. His delegation had learned with concern that the Somali Youth League, which was one of the five politi-

cal parties active in the Territory, had complained to the Trusteeship Council that its members were subjected to persecution by the Administration. He wondered whether all possible measures had been taken to dispel the feelings of hostility and distrust which appeared to prevail amongst certain elements of the population. The Administering Authority should take advantage of every possible occasion to convince the Somali people and its leaders that it had only the interests of the future Somali State in view. In his opinion the best way of overcoming the distrust of nationalist groups would be to replace the Italians in the Administration by Somalis.

52. The Syrian delegation noted with satisfaction that local and territorial organs of government had been established. It wished to draw the Administering Authority's attention to the need to grant legislative powers to the Territorial Council step by step, but without delay. Measures to that end should be taken at the latest towards the middle of 1953. Furthermore, the principle of proportional representation of political parties on the Territorial Council should be replaced entirely by a system of direct elections in the towns and indirect elections in other districts. Syria was in favour of establishing technical committees of the Territorial Council and hoped that their action would progressively widen in scope.

53. As regards the judicial organization, he recalled article 7 of the Declaration of Constitutional Principles, relating to the independence of the judiciary. The draft judicial regulations mentioned in the Council's report, which provided that administrative officials who were invested with judicial functions should be placed outside of the administrative organization for the duration of their service as officers of the judiciary, did not appear to him very satisfactory. Measures should be taken to limit the period of preventive detention and the system of sentencing by "penal decree" should be completely abolished.

54. The economic development of Somaliland should be the subject of closer attention than hitherto. The stability of the future independent State would depend to a large extent on its economic progress. The Administering Authority should also examine land tenure policy and legislation with the greatest care. The Syrian delegation shared the Visiting Mission's doubts as to the advisability of granting further agricultural concessions. In the economic and social fields, it was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would produce a well co-ordinated general programme, based possibly on those adopted by certain Arab countries.

55. He reserved the right to speak later in the discussion on such important questions as the procedure for the examination of petitions, the revision of the Questionnaire and measures to associate the peoples of the Trust Territories in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

56. Mr. KOMZALA (Czechoslovakia) pointed out that under the International Trusteeship System established by the United Nations Charter, the Administering Authorities were responsible for furthering the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the Trust Territories so as to promote their progressive development towards independence and to enable them to obtain equal treatment with the other

peace-loving nations of the world. The Administering Authorities, however, were not the only countries responsible for the fate of the Trust Territories. All other Member States must supervise the application of the principles of the Trusteeship System and draw attention to any omissions or oversights by the Administering Authorities. The General Assembly, for its part, was called upon to take any necessary action to ensure the well-being of the indigenous inhabitants.

57. The Administering Authorities were endeavouring to conceal the policies they were pursuing in the Trust Territories and the Czechoslovak delegation had noted that they were not fulfilling their obligations under the Charter. They were seeking to interpret the Charter in their own interests, so as to maintain the old colonial system. The Trusteeship System, however, was not a variant of the colonial system; on the contrary, its object was to abolish colonialism completely by enabling the indigenous populations struggling for emancipation to attain self-government.

58. The Administering Authorities were exploiting the natural resources of the Trust Territories for their own benefit and were converting the Territories into strategic bases. The indigenous populations were suffering great privations and had no political rights. The metropolitan Powers were endeavouring to maintain the tribal system on the pretext of respecting tradition. The indigenous inhabitants were very inadequately represented in their Territory's legislative and judicial organs of government. Western Samoa, for example, was administered by a governor who received his instructions from the New Zealand Parliament. Similarly, New Guinea was governed by an administrator subordinate to the Papua Government since Papua and New Guinea were joined in an administrative union. The Trusteeship Council had recommended at its fifth session (A/933, p. 65) that the Administering Authority should study the possibility of establishing a separate legislative organ for the Territory of New Guinea; but the Administering Authority had not acted on that recommendation and the Council had been obliged to re-examine the question at subsequent sessions and to express the hope that the Administering Authority would study the possibility of extending the representation of the indigenous inhabitants in the legislative organs. There was no legislative organ in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The 1951 Visiting Mission had shown that Somaliland under Italian administration was not being governed in accordance with the basic principles of the Trusteeship System, for the indigenous inhabitants were not represented on the Territorial Council. If the Administering Authority did not change its policy, Somaliland would not be ready for independence in 1960.

59. The Administering Authorities' object in setting up administrative unions was merely to convert the Trust Territories belonging to those unions into ordinary colonies. The Secretary of State for the Colonies of the United Kingdom had declared, with regard to Tanganyika, that it was his Government's intention to continue administering that Territory in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement until it attained self-government; he had expressed the hope, however, that after it attained its independence it would become a full-fledged member of the British Commonwealth.

60. Such a policy served the interests of the Administering Authorities exclusively. They wished to give the impression that they were promoting the economic and social development of the Territories, whereas they were merely exploiting the raw materials they found in those Territories, without attempting to set up industries. The indigenous inhabitants were obliged to confine themselves to agriculture, but, there too, the Europeans took the best lands. The indigenous inhabitants had hoped that the Administering Authorities would restore the lands taken from them by the Germans and the Japanese, but those lands had not been given back to them and the Administering Authorities were continuing the policy of land alienation. In Togoland under British administration, for example, the production of foodstuffs had declined to the point where it had been insufficient to meet the needs of the population in 1950, whereas plantation production had increased substantially. Between 1950 and 1951, for example, the production of maize had declined from 42,215 tons to 38,740 tons, or rice from 7,000 to 6,300 tons, and of potatoes from 4,900 to 4,450 tons, whereas coffee production had increased from 1,500 to 4,500 tons, that of copra from 4,500 to 7,000 tons and that of cotton from 1,600 to 3,750 tons. In the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the indigenous inhabitants owned only a relatively small percentage of the land. The Administering Authorities had seized most of the lands alienated by the Japanese or Germans and were continuing the former expropriation policy of the Japanese and German settlers. In Tanganyika, for example, the Wa-Meru tribe had been driven from its lands on the pretext that they were particularly suitable for planned cattle-ranching. After examining the petition from the Wa-Meru tribe, the Trusteeship Council had, in its resolution 468 (XI), noted the action taken against the tribe and had recommended that the Administering Authority should ensure that such action was not repeated. It had added, however, that in such cases the position should be made perfectly clear to the people concerned. In short, the Council had been nothing more than a tool in the hands of the Administering Authority.

61. During the sixth session, at the 220th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the representative of the Dominican Republic had stated that the Administering Authorities co-operated closely with the other members of the Council. Mr. Komzala believed that that co-operation was designed not to ensure the application of the principles of the Trusteeship System, but, on the contrary, to protect the selfish interests of the Administering Authorities. The same was true of the

Committee on Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories.

62. The wages of indigenous workers were generally very low; in Ruanda-Urundi, for example, the maximum daily wage of an unskilled worker was 8 Belgian francs, while the average price of a normal ration of essential foodstuffs was not less than 7.50 francs. As a result, many Ruanda-Urundi workers went to work in Tanganyika or the Belgian Congo, hoping for better wages.

63. The Administering Authorities were doing nothing to improve health services. In 1951 there had been only fifty-three doctors in the Cameroons under French administration. In Togoland under French administration, there had been twelve doctors in 1932 and only eleven in 1951. In spite of General Assembly resolutions 440 (V) and 562 (VI), corporal punishment still existed in certain Trust Territories. The Administering Authorities wished it to be thought that in certain cases whipping was the best punishment; its particular advantage in their eyes was that it enabled the white population to maintain its authority.

64. Lastly, an essential factor had to be noted: for centuries millions of people had been subjected to the colonial yoke; they had now found themselves and were struggling for self-government and independence. The objectives of the Trusteeship System were their objectives. The Administering Authorities were merely hindering their development by asking them to be patient and to wait until they were ready to assume their own responsibilities. In actual fact, the situation was the result of a bad administration and an inadequate educational system. The sums appropriated for the education of the indigenous inhabitants were very small. In Tanganyika, for example, the sum was five pounds for each indigenous pupil, as against forty-two pounds for each European pupil. The peoples of the Trust Territories would never be able to develop towards self-government and independence if that state of affairs continued to be tolerated. The same conditions obtained in the economic sphere. Instead of discharging their obligations, the Administering Authorities were spending large sums on the construction of military bases in the Trust Territories.

65. The peoples of those Territories would one day achieve their aspirations, despite the obstructive tactics of the Administering Authorities. It was the General Assembly's duty to see that the Administering Authorities abided strictly by the obligations they had assumed under the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.