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Chairman: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).

Requests for hearings (A/C.4/279) (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the Secretary-General had received a telegram from the Natural Rulers of the Buem-Krachi District, Togoland under British administration, who asked to send their own spokesman to the Fourth Committee.
2. Mr. BOURDILLON (United Kingdom) did not object to the granting of the request for a hearing.
In the absence of any objection, it was decided to grant the request.
3. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Secretary-General had received a communication dated 12 November 1954, relating to a memorandum entitled "The Cocoa Price Policy of the Gold Coast Government in British Togoland", from Mr. Theodore O. Asare, representative in New York of several organizations in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. Mr. Asare stated that the Togoland Farmers' Council and other organizations in the Trust Territory intended to bring the matter before the Fourth Committee, and he therefore asked that the memorandum should be distributed to the Committee as a document.
4. Mr. BOURDILLON (United Kingdom) said he would like time to consider the matter, of which he had had no notice.
5. The CHAIRMAN announced that Mr. Ruben Um Nyobé, who would shortly represent the Union des populations du Cameroun before the Committee, had sent him a letter dated 9 November 1954. In the letter, Mr. Um Nyobé made a number of complaints to which he would certainly refer when he spoke before the Committee.
6. Mr. PIGNON (France) said he would like to see the letter before the Committee decided whether it should be distributed as a document.

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2680, A/C.4/277, A/C.4/L.364) (*continued*)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

7. Mr. RAMADAN (Egypt) stressed the importance of disseminating information on the United Nations in the Trust Territories, inasmuch as one of the principal purposes of the United Nations was to promote the

development of the Territories. Dissemination of such information should be on a large enough scale and might be effected by means of a system of mobile exhibitions explaining the powers and functions of the various United Nations organs by posters and statistics. Courses might be arranged to supplement that information and give the inhabitants an opportunity to see from what achievements they might benefit. The Egyptian delegation was pleased with the Secretary-General's interim report to the Council at its thirteenth session (T/1100) and hoped the consultations with the special representatives of the Administering Authorities referred to in the report would be continued.

8. Recalling the first paragraph of the preamble of resolution 752 (VIII), Mr. Ramadan said that, in describing the measures taken or contemplated towards self-government of the Territories, the Administering Authorities should make it possible to assess political advancement and determine what action should be taken.

9. In political matters, it was essential to expedite the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the administration of Territories which were to become independent. A clear distinction must be drawn between the legislature and the executive. It was no less important to give all the inhabitants an opportunity freely to express their views. Political advancement also required an independent judicial organization, based on legislation which barred all collective penalties and was founded on the principle of individual responsibility.

10. In the matter of land ownership, vigorous action should be taken to prevent the alienation of land from the indigenous inhabitants. The economic structure of the Territories would be undermined if the owners of the land were dispossessed.

11. The report seemed to show that not enough use had been made of scholarships and that the inhabitants of the Territories had been unable to derive full benefit from them.

12. With regard to the Trust Territory of Somaliland, it was to be hoped that the question of the frontier with Ethiopia would be settled quickly. It was satisfactory to learn that the Administering Authority had informed the Trusteeship Council that it was considering transforming the Territorial Council into an elective assembly, elected by universal suffrage in the case of representatives of the settled population. The Egyptian delegation noted that some of the inhabitants who had gone to Italy for political training had proved their ability on their return. The Administering Authority's difficulty in interesting the nomads in public affairs could be remedied by demonstrating the importance of such matters to the population. The Territorial Council should be given legislative powers so that the inhabitants could learn how such powers worked. It would also be good to have universal suffrage and to authorize political parties freely to present their programmes.

The Administering Authority's moves in the administration of justice were gratifying. The establishment of an independent judiciary was a step towards the creation of a supreme court with power to review sentences. Participation of the Somalis in the administrative services should be accelerated and increased. In economic matters, a general development plan should be prepared, taking account of the needs of the inhabitants, the Territory's resources, the means of exploiting them and the ways foreign capital could be associated with the Territory's development. Liberal provision should be made in the plan for the development of the country's rural economy, taking into account the general principles already referred to in connexion with land tenure. The Administering Authority should also revise the oil concessions to protect the interests of the future Somali State.

13. Mr. JOUBLANC RIVAS (Mexico) commented on the passages in the Trusteeship Council's report (A/2680) which his delegation had found particularly interesting.

14. In the first place, he noted with regret that the situation in most of the Trust Territories was hardly different from that in most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It even seemed as though conditions in some of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were better than in many Trust Territories. The Mexican delegation was aware of the Administering Authorities' difficulties. It understood the vastness of the problem and the enormous economic resources which would be needed for the material well-being and intellectual development of the inhabitants. Nevertheless, it was of the opinion that if the natural resources of the Territories were used for the exclusive benefit of the inhabitants and if new sources of wealth were created to be exploited by the indigenous inhabitants, their situation would greatly improve.

15. Of the four kinds of advancement dealt with by the Administering Authorities in the annual reports — political, economic, social and educational — the Mexican delegation would dwell chiefly on the first.

16. With regard to Tanganyika, the Mexican delegation noted that the Administering Authority had not yet been able to establish the status of "citizen of Tanganyika". The Territory was at present administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council consisting of eight official and five unofficial members, only one of whom was an African. The Legislative Council was to include twenty-one unofficial members appointed by the Governor and divided equally among the three communities inhabiting the Territory (Africans, Asians and Europeans). There were, however, 7,850,000 Africans in the Territory, 79,000 Asians and Arabs and 18,300 Europeans. Thus, the representation of the communities in the Councils was obviously disproportionate. It could be said that there were only eight Africans in the higher levels of the Administration, and that none of them had been elected by the people. Like the Trusteeship Council, the Mexican delegation hoped the Administering Authority would regard the principle of separate representation of the three groups of the population as a transitional measure and establish a joint electoral list as soon as possible, for which purpose the status of "citizen of Tanganyika" would probably first have to be created. It noted with satisfaction that the Special Commissioner had recommended that the members of central and local government bodies should in principle be elected. It deplored the opposition of cer-

tain groups in the African community to the Administration's efforts to establish the first county council and hoped that the Administering Authority would continue its attempts to reduce that resistance by persuasion and that it would succeed in laying the foundations of universal suffrage.

17. With regard to Ruanda-Urundi and the administrative union between that Territory and the Belgian Congo, Mr. Joubanc Rivas said that the Mexican delegation was disturbed to see that, according to the Trusteeship Council, the Act of 21 August 1925, which was one of the two texts governing the status of the Territory, was not fully consistent with present administrative practice. It noted that the Council had expressed the hope that the Belgian Government would inform the Council of the steps which might suitably be taken to adapt that Act. As that was the second occasion on which the Council had expressed such a hope, the Belgian Government would doubtless see no objection to communicating its views on such an essential question. The Mexican delegation noted with interest the statements made by several members of the Trusteeship Council on that subject. Moreover, it wished to stress that the Territory had some 4,100,000 indigenous inhabitants, of whom only six were members of the Advisory Council. They were the Mwami of Ruanda and the Mwami of Urundi, who were *ex officio* members, and three notables and one African priest designated by the Governor. There was no electoral system. The reform of the indigenous political structure, which consisted of the establishment of councils at the level of the subchiefdom, chiefdom, *territoire* and *pays* was an important measure and a first step towards making the indigenous institutions more democratic. An electoral system was also being gradually introduced in the so-called *centres extra-coutumiers* (extra-customary centres). However, all that was only a modest beginning, especially in view of the fact that the Territory had been under Belgian administration for thirty years.

18. The Mexican delegation noted with satisfaction that the Administering Authority of Somaliland under Italian administration was introducing universal suffrage for males of full age and the secret ballot. It noted that general elections would be held in 1955 to set up a new Territorial Council; the sedentary population would elect its representatives by direct and secret ballot and the nomadic population on the basis of indirect elections. It agreed with the Trusteeship Council's recommendation that the system of direct elections should be extended to the entire population as soon as possible and that the nine seats allocated to representatives of economic and cultural groups should be filled by direct suffrage during the 1955 elections. It also noted with satisfaction that the Administering Authority had appointed five Somali Vice-Residents and felt that, in view of the fact that the local population would be called upon to provide all the administrative services when the country attained its independence in 1960, the Trusteeship Council was justified in recommending to the Administering Authority that it should take steps to place a larger number of qualified Somalis in administrative posts and to recruit them at all levels of the administrative machinery. The attitude of the political parties, which were prepared to co-operate, was praiseworthy and would certainly facilitate the Administration's task.

19. In the Cameroons under British administration all adult males were eligible to vote, although they had to be taxpayers in order to exercise that right. It was

satisfactory that elections had been concluded in the Southern Cameroons in January 1954 and that the area had thereupon become a federal territory, still associated with Nigeria but with its own legislature and executive. The Mexican delegation welcomed the spirit of co-operation displayed on that occasion; after an inquiry had shown that for some time to come the Southern Cameroons could not be financially stable as a separate region, the federal government had decided to supplement the local budget by an annually voted grant. It was true that elected representatives did not account for the entire membership of the new legislature of the Southern Cameroons, but they formed the majority, being thirteen as against eleven *ex officio* members, of whom six represented the Native Authorities. With regard to the Northern Cameroons, the Mexican delegation noted that it would be represented in the Northern House of Assembly, in the Northern House of Chiefs and in the federal legislature, although it seemed that no elections similar to those in the Southern Cameroons had been held to determine public opinion.

20. The Mexican delegation noted with satisfaction the statement of the Administering Authority for the Cameroons under French administration that the peoples of the Trust Territories would, upon the termination of the trusteeship status of the Territory, be free to achieve their aspirations outside the French Union if they so desired. In the matter of political rights, it was disturbing that, although the number of electors with personal status had increased fourfold between 1946 and 1953, their right to vote was subject to certain restrictions. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, had believed that the people of the Cameroons had not yet reached electoral maturity (T/1110, para. 77). Nevertheless, in view of the progress apparently achieved since 1952, the Mexican delegation approved the Trusteeship Council's recommendation urging the Administering Authority to introduce the single electoral college system and universal adult suffrage, if possible, before the next elections.

21. The double electoral college system, which was very unsatisfactory, determined the composition of the Territorial Assembly, in which the electors forming the first college (Frenchmen and Cameroonians who had acquired French nationality by naturalization) were represented by eighteen members, while the electors of the second college (the majority of the indigenous population) were represented by only thirty-two members. Yet, according to the Trusteeship Council's report, the Territory had 3,065,000 inhabitants, of whom 13,173 were Europeans. There was no indication of the number of indigenous inhabitants who had been naturalized French and consequently belonged to the first college, nor whether the 13,173 Europeans were French, but there was a clear lack of proportion between the representation in the two colleges. The Mexican delegation noted with satisfaction the efforts made in France itself to extend the Territorial Assembly's powers and increase the number of African representatives, and hoped to learn in the near future that those reforms had been introduced. It also hoped that the Administering Authority would co-operate with the indigenous inhabitants, as the Trusteeship Council had asked, in order to develop in them a sense of national consciousness.

22. He reserved his right to comment on the political situation in Togoland under British administration and in Togoland under French administration when the

Fourth Committee studied the question of unification of the two Togolands.

23. The Mexican delegation noted that satisfactory progress had been made in democratizing institutions in Western Samoa. It gathered from the Council's report that the difficulties were due to the inhabitants themselves, who were attached to their customs and did not accept the proposed reforms. The Administering Authority had not succeeded in convincing them of the advantages of universal suffrage, which it would be prepared to introduce. By contrast, it was gratifying to note that two unofficial members of the Executive Council were associating in the work of different government departments, which represented some progress towards greater participation by the indigenous inhabitants in the administration of the Territory. The Mexican delegation welcomed the forthcoming meeting of the constitutional convention, at which the indigenous inhabitants would be able to formulate a plan for the attainment of self-government or independence. It hoped the Administering Authority would follow the recommendation of the Council, which considered the development of a corps of trained and experienced civil servants indispensable in order to enable the Samoan people to attain its political aspirations.

24. As regards New Guinea, the Mexican delegation noted from the Council's report that the Administering Authority was dealing with a very under-developed population. The Administering Authority was pursuing a policy of peaceful penetration, but 8,500 square miles of the 93,000 square miles of the Territory were not under administrative control or influence. The comments of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1953, in its report on the Territory (T/1078) led to the conclusion that it was still too early to hope for the introduction of a democratic system of government. The Council had suggested how institutions might be democratized in recommending that the Administering Authority should associate qualified indigenous representatives as observers in the work of the Legislative Council. The Mexican delegation noted with satisfaction that the Administering Authority intended to introduce a reform of the town advisory councils and district advisory councils, as soon as conditions made it possible to set them up on a multi-racial basis, and that it favoured the development of Native village councils. It wished to stress that the Administering Authority bore annually two-thirds of the burden of public expenditure in the Territory and to reiterate the commendation expressed by the Trusteeship Council.

25. In Nauru, the members of the Local Government Council were dissatisfied because the Council was still an advisory body, and objected to a number of clauses in the ordinance relating to its participation in the administration. The Trusteeship Council had apparently accepted the Administering Authority's explanation that the councillors protested because they did not understand the scope and use of their powers. The Trusteeship Council had urged the Local Government Council to make every effort fully to understand and exercise its present powers. It was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would follow the Trusteeship Council's recommendation and help the people concerned to achieve that end as rapidly as possible. He noted with satisfaction that out of a total indigenous population of 1,745 persons, 288 were employed by the Administration, but they apparently held very humble posts.

26. The Trust Territories' social progress in general resembled that of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in that the smaller the population the more satisfactory the picture.

27. In public health, for example, Nauru, with hardly more than 3,000 inhabitants, had a health service of one doctor, two nurses and twenty-two Nauruans, presumably assistants. The situation was equally satisfactory in Western Samoa, where there was one doctor for 2,276 inhabitants. On the other hand there were such deplorable cases as Ruanda-Urundi with one doctor per 65,000 inhabitants, Togoland under British administration with one doctor for 68,000 inhabitants, and the Cameroons under British administration—the most neglected of all—with only one doctor for 89,000 inhabitants. He was not counting assistants and unlicensed practitioners, but was citing only the figures given by the Administering Authority for licensed medical practitioners in the Territory, who alone would be recognized as such in other countries. It would be unfair not to say that there were 75 doctors, or one per 16,900 inhabitants, in Somaliland under Italian administration, a very poor Territory.

28. As regards the legal status of women, he noted that in most Territories women enjoyed equal rights with men and had access to public, political and administrative office. He hoped that the Administering Authorities would continue their efforts to combat the prejudices of the indigenous population in that regard and noted with satisfaction that the Administering Authority had prohibited polygamy in Ruanda-Urundi.

29. His delegation was deeply concerned to note that corporal punishment continued to be practiced in various Trust Territories as well as in many Non-Self-Governing Territories. In Nauru and in the Trust Territories under British administration it was applied generally, regardless of race. He was particularly concerned to note, however, that in Ruanda-Urundi it was used in the prisons on coloured persons only. He understood that in that Territory, as elsewhere, efforts were being made to abolish the practice, and he warmly supported the Trusteeship Council in its persistent appeals to Administering Authorities to abolish corporal punishment as soon as possible.

30. In Ruanda-Urundi freedom of movement was restricted by the system of transfer passports and curfew, and he supported the recommendation that the Administering Authority should remove restrictions on the individual freedom of the inhabitants.

31. The state of education was perhaps even more disheartening than in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. He recognized the efforts made by the Administering Authorities and UNESCO to remedy the situation, and noted that budgetary allocations for education had increased in most of the Territories and that the number of pupils enrolled in primary schools was growing. Nevertheless, the situation could not be viewed without concern, especially as it was bound to delay the attainment of self-government and independence by Territories where the vast majority of the population was illiterate. Considering that the school-age population of a country constituted approximately 20 per cent of the total population, the figures were truly disquieting. There were however some exceptions: in Western Samoa the figure was over 20 per cent and in Nauru over 16 per cent. His delegation congratulated the New Zealand and Australian delegations on the praiseworthy efforts of their Governments. In New Guinea, on the other hand, the school population represented only 8

per cent of the total population; in the Cameroons and Togoland under French administration, 5 per cent; in Tanganyika, a little over 3 per cent; and in Ruanda-Urundi, Togoland and the Cameroons under British administration, 2.5 per cent. The level was lowest in Somaliland under Italian administration, with 0.75 per cent. In that case, however, account should be taken of the extreme poverty of the Territory, the high proportion of nomads in the population, and the limited resources of the Administering Authority. Seeing, however, that the Territory was soon to attain independence, it was obviously urgent that the population should be given some education, however rudimentary. It would be most regrettable if a population's accession to independence were perforce delayed because it had to be adjudged unable to manage its own affairs.

32. He concluded from the Council's report that the general situation in the Trust Territories was by no means favourable. He praised the efforts of the Administering Authorities in many instances to adjust the public expenditures of the Territories to their revenues, and to diversify production and exports so as to help them to become self-sufficient. The fullest possible use of a Territory's economic resources for the benefit of its indigenous inhabitants was indispensable to its political, social and cultural development, and he hoped that that condition could be satisfied in the near future. Only then would the inhabitants of the Territories become aware of their obligations as well as their rights, and hence become capable of self-government.

Mr. Rivas (Venezuela), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

33. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) said that he would propose a draft resolution relating to the frontier between the Trust Territory of Somaliland and Ethiopia and outlining various measures by means of which he hoped the problem could be solved.

34. Mr. QUIROS (El Salvador) stated that he too intended to propose a draft resolution designed to accelerate economic development in Somaliland.

35. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) considered that, now that eight years had elapsed since the introduction of the Trusteeship System, the situation in the Trust Territories should be examined objectively. Though in the beginning that situation had justified occasional sharp criticism, today it should be recognized that there had been some progress, on which the Administering Authorities should be congratulated. Nevertheless the progress was uneven, and the United Nations should see that a rate was maintained which would enable the principal objective of trusteeship—the accession of the Trust Territories to self-government or independence—to be attained as soon as possible.

36. Some Administering Authorities had replied to criticism by saying that they had to respect tribal traditions, which hampered the advancement of the Trust Territories. That seemed to be merely an excuse for their slowness in discharging their obligations. The interests of the Territories' inhabitants, which the Charter declared to be paramount, were often subordinated to the interests of the metropolitan country. That was the impression to be gained from those chapters of the report which dealt with the economic advancement of some Territories.

37. During the deliberations of the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council, and when with the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1950, he had noted that some Administering

Authorities were ready to do everything in their power to assure the proper operation of the Trusteeship System. The United States, for example, was making a generous effort to promote the development of the Territory it administered in the Pacific. Other Administering Authorities were apparently concerned over the rapid progress made there. It was none the less to be hoped that the United States would not slacken its efforts and that the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands would serve as an example.

38. Apparently the advancement of some Territories was delayed by the attitude of the Administration, which remained reactionary despite the official statements of the Administering Authority. There was reason to suspect that some officials in the African Territories, for example, were glad to revert to colonial methods.

39. Undeniably the application of the Trusteeship System required considerable financial sacrifice, but Administering Authorities should not shrink from it. As the United Nations was aware, Italy had taken over a very large share of Somaliland's expenditure, to the concern of certain Administering Authorities. That concern was as regrettable as it was unjustified. Furthermore, the specialized agencies could help greatly in promoting the advancement of the Trust Territories.

40. The Administering Authorities should realize that times had changed and that they must give up their old ideas. They must, in particular, develop a spirit of co-operation between the governors and the governed, take an interest in the lot of the indigenous peoples and respect their dignity. It was not to be tolerated that the indigenous inhabitants of some African regions should, because of the colour of their skin, be treated like animals, live isolated in their huts, and be unable to move about freely. He strongly protested against all forms of racial discrimination. Although the white race was ruling the world today, history showed that other races had made great contributions to civilization in the past, and they might resume that role in a not too distant future. Certain racial conceptions should therefore be amended.

41. As regards the frontier between the Trust Territory of Somaliland and Ethiopia, dealt with in a report submitted by the Secretary-General (A/C.4/277), he had had occasion to look into the matter on the spot and fervently wished that it might be settled as soon as possible. He was ready to endorse any draft resolution designed to achieve that end.

42. With regard to the Trust Territory of Somaliland, he felt that a special effort must be made to make the population self-sufficient when it had attained its independence. In particular, the Somalization of the Territory's administration must be increased more speedily. To promote a few Somali officials was not enough; the Administering Authority must train many more, either in the Territory itself or in Italy. Otherwise there would be ground for claiming in 1960 that the population was not yet ready for self-government and that the Trusteeship Agreement must be extended. The Somalis were intelligent and perfectly capable of preparing themselves for their duties in the next six years if the Administering Authority took steps enabling them to do so.

43. Mr. CARDIN (Canada) proposed a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.364) on the Trusteeship Council's report. The text was similar to that of resolutions adopted at previous sessions, and he therefore hoped that it would be favourably received.

44. Mrs. MENON (India) said that the Trust Territory of Somaliland had been placed under Italian administration four years previously, and in all that time the question of its frontier with Ethiopia had not been solved. Her delegation did not think it wise to wait for that question to be settled by negotiations between two Governments which had been enemies. Rather, the matter should be entrusted to a United Nations mediator. She was inclined to agree with Ethiopia that the crux of the problem lay less in the frontier dispute than in the indifference of the Administrations concerned to the fate of the Somalis. The Somalis were, in fact, scattered over Italian Somaliland, British Somaliland and Ethiopia, despite their desire to be united under a single administration. Moreover, the Somalis had been made even poorer by the establishment of artificial frontiers which in some cases deprived them of access to wells they had used for generations. Indeed, the water problem might well be the main cause of tribal conflicts. Consequently additional wells should be dug and both sides of the frontier should be more closely guarded to prevent raids. At the same time, nationalism among the Somalis was increasing; she cited the Territory's new flag as an example. She also noted that the Somali Youth League—the strongest party in the Territory—was asking the United Nations to organize a plebiscite in Ogaden to settle the frontier question.

45. In the circumstances her delegation suggested that steps should be taken to make sure that tribes were not divided by the frontier, that wells should be dug, that supervision in the conflict zone should be increased, and that the situation of the Somali people should be improved.

Mr. Asha (Syria) resumed the Chair.

46. Mr. BOURDILLON (United Kingdom) referred to the Mexican representative's remark that in Togoland under British administration only 2.5 per cent of the population attended school. The 1953 statistics showed that 43,881 children or 11 per cent of the population were registered in elementary and intermediate schools, and that figure did not include children attending secondary schools.

47. Mr. JOUBLANC RIVAS (Mexico) thanked the United Kingdom representative. The figures he had had dated back to 1952, and he congratulated the United Kingdom on the progress achieved since then.

48. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium), supported by Mr. PIGNON (France), deplored that the debate was proceeding so slowly and wondered whether representatives who did not wish to speak when their turn came should not be deemed to have waived their right to do so.

49. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that he for one would prefer to hear the petitioners before commenting on some Territories.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.