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**Chairman: Mr. Luciano JOUBLANC RIVAS
 (Mexico).**

AGENDA ITEM 13

**Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2933, T/
 L.500, T/L.579 and Add.1, T/L.591, T/L.602,
 T/L.609, T/L.617) (*continued*)**

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. TAZHIBAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) felt that it would be appropriate at the present stage to take stock of the Trusteeship Council's ten years of work and see how near the Trust Territories were to attaining the goals set out in Article 76 of the Charter. In its resolutions 558 (VI) and 752 (VIII) the General Assembly had called for precise information on the steps being taken to prepare the Trust Territories for self-government or independence and on the earliest date at which they would be ripe for the one or the other. But no such information was to be found in the Trusteeship Council's report (A/2933), an omission which suggested a failure on the part of the Trusteeship Council to carry out its tasks properly.

2. It appeared from the replies of the Administering Authorities and other documents that there was a growing tendency for Trust Territories to become merged with neighbouring colonies and subject to the colonies' administrations, a process which was not likely to help their advance towards self-government or independence. In the case of the Cameroons, for instance, the natural unity of the Cameroonian people had already been destroyed by the division of the country into two Trust Territories; the process of disruption had been taken a step further when the Northern and Southern Cameroons under British administration had in different ways been brought into union with the colony of Nigeria, while the Cameroons under French administration had been absorbed into the French Union. Togoland under British administration had been united with the colony of the Gold Coast while Tanganyika, through the East African inter-territorial organization, had been made dependent on the colonies of Kenya and Uganda. Similar events were occurring in other Trust Territories. Thus the Administering Authorities, far from fulfilling the purposes of Chapter XII of the Charter and the trusteeship agreements, were deliberately placing obstacles in the way of the progress of the Trust Territories towards independence. In practice

the Administering Authorities in many Territories were taking certain measures which, by making the Trust Territories completely dependent—politically, economically and socially—on the administration of neighbouring colonies, created artificial obstacles to their independent development.

3. Furthermore, the General Assembly's directives in resolution 224 (III) on the subject of administrative unions were being ignored. It was clear from the reports of the Visiting Missions and from the petitions received from indigenous inhabitants that representative organs of local self-government had not been created, that universal suffrage had not been introduced and that, in spite of their high-flown names, the legislative and executive councils did not give the local populations a real opportunity of participating in the administration of their countries. The Cameroons under British administration, for example, had no administrative body of its own in which the indigenous inhabitants were represented. He had already pointed out that the Northern Cameroons had been brought into union with the colony of Nigeria; in the Southern Cameroons a House of Assembly had been set up in which the indigenous inhabitants had only six representatives from the six districts in the Southern Cameroons. In Tanganyika, of the thirteen members of the Executive Council, only two represented the indigenous population, while in the Legislative Council, whereas the ten European members represented only 20,000 European inhabitants, the ten African members represented 8 million African inhabitants. In the Ruanda-Urundi Council of the Vice-Government-General, which was appointed by the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo, only three members represented the local population, but even of those one was a European. New Guinea, too, lacked separate organs of government; the Legislative Council which it shared with Papua and which was situated in Papuan territory included only two representatives of the Trust Territory. The situation was the same in other Territories. All those facts showed that the Administering Authorities were neglecting to educate the inhabitants of the Trust Territories politically and to train them for independence or self-government. The General Assembly should request them to take positive steps to remedy the situation, for instance, by introducing universal suffrage and by appointing local inhabitants to responsible government and administrative posts.

4. Much of the Trusteeship Council's report was devoted to economic questions, but the Council appeared to be more interested in the balance sheets of European firms than in the standards of living of the local inhabitants. The economies of the Trust Territories remained typically colonial in structure: exports consisted mainly of agricultural products and raw materials; industrial production was negligible, the Territories depending on imports for their manu-

factured goods, while foreign firms monopolized the production and marketing of export goods.

5. The problem of land tenure remained acute, for although all the land belonged of right to the indigenous inhabitants, the most fertile areas were systematically alienated for exploitation by foreign firms. In the Cameroons under British administration, for instance, as the Council's previous report showed (A/2680, p. 133), approximately 460 square miles of land had already been alienated, and the process was continuing; the peasants thus starved of land provided the Cameroons Development Corporation with an army of cheap labour. The same applied to the Cameroons under French administration, to Tanganyika—the tragic story of the Meru tribe was known to all—and to Ruanda-Urundi, where land alienation had made possible the creation of the vast estates owned by European settlers. The General Assembly ought to adopt resolutions calling on the Administering Authorities to put a stop to land alienation, to take measures to improve the soil, to provide farmers with modern equipment and to develop local industry to meet the needs of the people. Such measures should not be taken just to increase the profits of foreign firms, but to raise the standards of living of the people and promote their social and cultural development.

6. The situation was little better with regard to social conditions in the Trust Territories; that was largely due to the deplorable lack of educational facilities and the failure to provide adequate sums for educational purposes. In Somaliland under Italian administration, for instance, which was to attain independence in 1960, only 10,000 of the 252,000 children of school age actually attended schools. In Tanganyika, only 34 per cent of such children received any schooling, and then, in many cases, for one or two years only. Those were only a few of the truly alarming figures which could be quoted to illustrate the extent of illiteracy in the Trust Territories. The Administering Authorities ought to be urged immediately to increase budgetary appropriations for educational purposes, and to build enough schools to accommodate all children of school age. Education, as the participants at the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung had affirmed, was one of the basic human rights, and had a vital part to play in the general development of the peoples of those countries.

7. In the field of health, too, much remained to be done. Epidemic diseases were frequent in countries where, as in many of the Trust Territories, standards of living were low and the climate poor, so that preventive measures were therefore all the more necessary. But the data showed that the position was unsatisfactory with regard both to facilities and to personnel. In Togoland under British administration, for instance, there were only four government doctors, and the Government appropriated an amount equal to only sixty-five cents per person for health purposes. In Ruanda-Urundi there was only one dentist for every million people. In New Guinea, Somaliland under Italian administration, and Tanganyika there was as yet no indigenous doctor. There was a clear need everywhere for the Administering Authorities to multiply their appropriations for public health, increase the number of hospitals, dispensaries and medical personnel, and provide for the training in medicine of local inhabitants.

8. The evil of discrimination still vitiated many aspects of life in the Trust Territories, despite the fact that one of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System was, in the words of Article 76 of the Charter, to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. The colonial laws of the Belgian Congo, for instance, had been extended to the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and the indigenous inhabitants of the latter were numbered among the "registered" or uncivilized elements of the population and denied the advantages of normal citizens; they were restricted in all their actions and discriminated against in the matter of wages. It was clear from its report that the Trusteeship Council had not seen fit to make any specific recommendations designed to eliminate the evil in Trust Territories.

9. He had already referred to the discrimination practised by the Administering Authorities against the indigenous inhabitants through the establishment of separate administrative bodies in which the indigenous inhabitants played an insignificant part. In some Territories discrimination affected many aspects of the life of the people. In Tanganyika there were separate schools, hospitals, hotels and places of entertainment for Europeans and Africans. In Western Samoa indigenous inhabitants could not conclude contracts without the permission of the Administrator. Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely. Discrimination was practised in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres throughout the Trust Territories. The General Assembly would be failing in its task if it did not draw attention to that situation.

10. The United Nations received many petitions from inhabitants of the Trust Territories who turned to it for help and understanding. Unfortunately such petitioners rarely received satisfaction, and their faith in the organization which was called upon to defend their interests could not but be shaken in consequence. Every effort ought to be made to meet their legitimate demands.

11. As to the Trusteeship Council's report in general, he could only say that, in spite of its immense volume, it was defective in content, and tended to be descriptive rather than critical in nature. As he had pointed out, there was no special section in the report describing the development of Trust Territories towards self-government and independence. A striking feature of the report was the glowing language used in connexion with certain activities of the Administering Authorities in Trust Territories, although the information contained in the report showed that it was clearly unwarranted. There was also some disparity between the asseverations of the Administering Authorities regarding conditions in the Trust Territories and the facts as presented elsewhere in the documents.

12. The Soviet Union delegation was sensitive to the rights and needs of the peoples of the Trust Territories and would support any proposals which conformed to the provisions of the Charter and to the aims of the Trusteeship System and were designed to help the Trust Territories attain self-government or independence at the earliest possible date.

13. Mr. MALLI (Pakistan) pointed out that the Trust Territory of Somaliland was now halfway to the attainment of its independence in 1960. On perusing the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2933)

his delegation had been impressed by the magnitude, complexity and urgency of the tasks to be performed in order to secure that independence. In the political field little had been achieved during the year under review. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, had said in paragraph 38 of its report (T/1143 and Corr.1) that as yet there were no plans for the transfer of executive responsibility to Somalis; the Administration considered that until general elections were held in 1955 it was unable to bring Somalis into executive organs of government. In view of those comments, it was encouraging to note that, according to the Administering Authority (A/2933, p. 111), the development of Somali political life in an atmosphere of complete legality and growing security, calm and tolerance was reflected by the expansion both in the numbers and the activities of the representative political institutions and their legislative and administrative work. Municipal elections had been held throughout the Territory and draft reforms had been promulgated, together with legislation for the holding of national elections.

14. The repeated appreciative references in the Council's report to the constructive role of the political parties and the sense of responsibility shown by political leaders were also gratifying; but it should not be forgotten that the acknowledged political maturity of the Somalis would not have been achieved had the Somali people not been assured of independence within ten years. Fortified by that assurance, they had risen to the occasion—a fact on which those responsible for dependent peoples should reflect. Furthermore, the political responsibility and maturity developed by the Somalis themselves were not the only requisite. They must also be allowed to acquire experience, and it was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would pursue its plans to increase and broaden their responsibilities in matters of policy and administration, and encourage the nomadic population to take part in political life.

15. The Territory's economic resources were meagre. Ninety per cent of the population were engaged in traditional subsistence activity, and the marketing of small raw material surpluses in exchange for consumer goods was only a minor operation. Production for export was limited, there had been little industrial development, and no oil had yet been discovered in the Territory. The disquieting note struck by the Visiting Mission in paragraph 114 of its report, with regard to the prospective deficits in the budget and balance of payments, the absence of an export market for bananas, the undeveloped indigenous economy and the insufficiency of resources to maintain the water supplies and social and educational services established during the Trusteeship Administration, with which the new State was likely to be confronted in 1960, was only partly offset by the Mission's confidence that, despite the obstacles, a substantial improvement in living standards could be achieved. It was satisfying to note that an economic development plan was being applied energetically. However, the limitation of investment in works and undertakings which could be completed before the end of the period of trusteeship or which had a reasonable chance of support from outside the Territory after 1960, of which the Administering Authority had been obliged to inform the Trusteeship Council, might leave the future independent State in an economic vacuum. Plans must

be made immediately to enable Somaliland to make the transition to independence without a break in the continuity of its economic development. The Administering Authority's reluctance to take responsibility for economic planning beyond 1960 was understandable, and the remedy was to associate the indigenous inhabitants more closely in such planning. In addition it would be useful, as the Italian Observer had suggested at the 512th meeting, to associate the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with plans for the Territory. He was glad the Bank had now agreed to send a mission to Somaliland, and he looked forward to hearing its views at the next session.

16. Basic changes must be made in the existing social and cultural structure of the Territory before Somaliland could become an independent sovereign State. The nomadic two-thirds of the population required education in the responsibilities of independence. The frontier question was a particular cause for concern. It was vital that the bilateral negotiations which had proceeded inconclusively since 1952 should be brought to a successful conclusion before the Territory became independent. When proposals were made on the subject his delegation would support those best calculated to hasten a solution of the problem in the interests of both parties and especially of the frontier population.

17. Like Somaliland, Togoland under British administration was progressing rapidly towards self-government. He would refer to the urgent problems involved in such progress when that Trust Territory was under discussion. The Cameroons too showed rapid political advancement. The United Kingdom Government was to be congratulated on the progress made towards self-government in the Cameroons under British administration. It should be realized, however, that, as the Council pointed out on page 145 of its report, those arrangements might prejudice the progressive development of the Trust Territory towards a separate independent status as a whole. It was a matter for regret that there was no evidence of similar advances in the Cameroons under French administration, and it was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would remedy that situation.

18. In some respects the situation in the Cameroons was parallel with that in Togoland. In the case of both those divided territories, the part under British administration was developing towards integration with an adjoining British colonial territory while the part under French administration was developing towards integration with the French Union. Progress towards the objectives set by the Administering Authority was more rapid in the two Territories under British administration than in those under French administration. In both Togoland and the Cameroons there was some demand for unification. The Committee had grounds for anticipating that in the future it would face with regard to the Cameroons the exact situation it now faced with regard to Togoland, where the alternatives appeared to be either the unification of the two Trust Territories of Togoland or the absorption of Togoland under British administration into the French Union.

19. Without waiting to discuss the merits of the alternatives in Togoland's case, the Committee should consider without further delay the course which events were taking in the Cameroons, since otherwise they might reach a result which it would not have chosen.

The United Nations Visiting Mission now in West Africa had an admirable opportunity to assess local views on the alternative objectives for the two Trust Territories of the Cameroons, and his delegation hoped to hear its views on that point at the next session. His delegation associated itself fully with the Indian representative's remarks at the 513th meeting concerning the need for more information on the practical operation of administrative unions so that the General Assembly might obtain a better idea of their possible effect on the future development of the Trust Territories. He shared that representative's hope that the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions, with the experience it had gained during the past five years, would now be better qualified to make a detailed analysis of administrative unions and their probable effect on the Trust Territories concerned. Each Administering Authority doubtless had a clear idea of its own objectives for the Trust Territory under its administration, but the United Nations must also have a clear idea of the direction in which each Territory was progressing so as to be able to ensure that such progress was consistent with the objectives of Article 76 of the Charter.

20. Turning to the Trust Territories which had been visited by a visiting mission and reported on more comprehensively during the year under review on the trial basis laid down in General Assembly resolution 856 (IX), he noted the main problem facing the Administering Authority in Tanganyika appeared to be the integration of the African, Asian and European population into one whole. The existing interracial harmony, while gratifying, was not an end in itself. The proper objective was the integration of the three races by the creation of a national identity, which could not be achieved if racial distinctions and privileges were maintained. Separate representation should be abolished as soon as possible, and he welcomed the assurance which the special representative for Tanganyika had given the Trusteeship Council at the fifteenth session (596th meeting) that the Administering Authority's policy was to weld the different tribes and races into one nation. With regard to the time and goodwill needed for that process, the goodwill was demonstrated by the existing interracial harmony and it was to be hoped that the time would not exceed the essential minimum.

21. In Ruanda-Urundi it was welcome news that, despite financing and price problems, implementation of the ten-year plan had in general proceeded satisfactorily and in education was ahead of schedule. It was a matter for regret, however, that political development had not kept pace with economic development. The Council of the Vice-Government-General, which afforded Africans an opportunity to gain experience in administration, was very limited both in functions and in African membership. In that connexion, the 1954 Visiting Mission had made some admirable suggestions in its report (T/1141), and he would urge the Administering Authority to reconsider them in the spirit in which they had been offered—i.e., with the best interests of the indigenous inhabitants in view—irrespective of whether or not the Mission, in making those suggestions, had gone beyond the letter of its terms of reference. In Ruanda-Urundi's case too, there was an administrative union, with the Belgian Congo. In view of what he had said concerning the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to such

unions, it was gratifying to note that the Council had asked the Administering Authority for a brief statement of the likely effects of the administrative union on the Territory's future political development (A/2933, p. 77). It was to be hoped that that statement, and the Council's comments, would be available at the eleventh session of the General Assembly.

22. The New Zealand Government was to be congratulated on the progress achieved in Western Samoa. The Administering Authority there was successfully encouraging the people of the Territory to work out for themselves, through a Constitutional Convention, the system of democratic self-government best suited to their needs, and was implementing the Convention's proposals with a minimum of disagreement. The Western Samoans were receiving more responsibility and more self-government as their capacity for them grew. It was to be hoped that progress would continue steadily until self-government was attained in the near future.

23. The retarded development of New Guinea was primarily due to natural causes largely outside the Administering Authority's control, but those obstacles should spur the Administration to redouble its efforts. His delegation agreed with the Council that at the present stage the system of village councils was perhaps best adapted to the people's needs and provided the best means of making them aware of the meaning of self-government. Action in that direction should be pursued vigorously, and the peoples of the mainland groups encouraged to undertake responsibility and participate directly in their own government.

24. His delegation noted that the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Nauru had the question of resettlement under constant study. That solution should not prove too difficult to apply if the worked-out phosphate lands could not be reclaimed.

25. Mr. ALTMAN (Poland) said that to assist the peoples of the Trust Territories towards the attainment of their independence, the main objective of the Trusteeship System, was one of the noblest aims of the United Nations. Independence was the aim of all colonial and dependent peoples, and the present time was characterized by a vigorous national liberation movement among colonial peoples. The need for action to assist the Trust Territories in the attainment of self-government or independence was reflected in General Assembly resolutions 558 (VI), 752 (VIII) and 858 (IX) concerning the attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence.

26. The Polish delegation had pointed out at previous sessions that the establishment of definite prospects for the attainment of independence would enable the peoples concerned to prepare themselves to play their part in achieving that objective. It also felt that the setting of dates for the attainment of independence would greatly increase the sense of security of the indigenous inhabitants, especially from the economic standpoint. It was regrettable that the Trusteeship Council's report gave no sign of appreciable progress in implementing the recommendations made in the General Assembly resolutions to which he had referred. On the contrary, some measures initiated during the previous year had been discontinued. In its previous report (A/2680) the Council had, in accordance with resolution 752 (VIII), devoted one part to attain-

ment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence; that part was missing from the present report, but it was to be hoped that it would be reinstated in future reports.

27. The Administering Authorities attached too little importance to the problems of implementing the Charter provisions concerning the Trust Territories. They opposed the fixing of dates for the attainment of self-government or independence. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, had found that it was possible and indeed indispensable to set early dates for the attainment of self-government or independence by Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi. The Administering Authorities had strenuously opposed that view and had proposed much later dates than the Mission—in the case of Ruanda-Urundi, three or four generations as against twenty to twenty-five years. The Administering Authorities failed to take into account the momentum of national liberation movements among colonial peoples and the attitude of African and Asian peoples to colonialism, which had been made manifest at the Bandung Conference.

28. It was plain from the Council's report and other documents that in most Territories political advancement was unsatisfactory. The participation of the indigenous inhabitants in political life and administration was developing very slowly. No appreciable progress had been made with regard to the democratization of the electoral system and the suppression of wide-spread racial discrimination—for example in the application of corporal punishment, which the United Nations had repeatedly condemned. A few examples from the many in the Council's report would suffice to support his contention.

29. The so-called multi-racial society existing in Tanganyika was in itself a form of racial discrimination and an obvious impediment to the Territory's political development. In effect, 20,000 Europeans were governing 8 million Africans. The indigenous population had no elected representatives on legislative and judicial organs. The Legislative Council, a purely advisory body, was composed mainly of government officials, and the recent reform had not effectively changed its composition or functions. Parity representation of the different racial groups in the Legislative Council was a flagrant example of racial discrimination. Local administration was based on the tribal system, which often meant that the chief—a servant of the Administration—was the only local indigenous person with any authority. All the members of the central organs of administration were nominated by the Administering Authority. There was no established electoral system. The disqualification of indigenous civil servants from political activity testified to the obstacles placed in the way of the people's political advancement.

30. Political development was particularly slow in Ruanda-Urundi, where the people were disfranchised and took no part in political life. The Administration held sole legislative authority and excluded indigenous persons from higher administrative posts. The indigenous council of tribal chiefs were purely advisory in function. As in the nearby Belgian Congo, the Africans were divided into categories. The Administration pursued a policy of paternalism with a system of discriminatory legislation transplanted from the Congo, which paralyzed the people's initiative.

31. Progress in transferring power to the local population was too slow in Somaliland under Italian administration; there were too few Somalis in senior administrative posts. In view of the short time remaining before the attainment of Somaliland's independence, political development should be particularly rapid there. The Polish delegation shared the anxiety expressed by the Council in its report and by other representatives with regard to the economic and financial situation in that Territory.

32. The northern part of the Cameroons under British administration had been separated from the rest of the Trust Territory and attached to Nigeria, a United Kingdom colony. That transfer was in conflict with the Trusteeship Agreement and seriously impeded the independent development of the Territory. The whole Territory had long been dependent on Nigeria, but the recent measures, adopted in complete disregard of the population, tended to deprive the people of their privileges under the Trusteeship System. The inclusion of the Cameroons under French Administration in the French Union had reduced that Trust Territory to the status of a colony. The situation with regard to the people's basic political rights was a source of anxiety in both Togoland and the Cameroons under French administration.

33. After thirty-five years of Australian administration political progress in New Guinea was highly unsatisfactory. The Legislative Council consisted solely of Administration nominees and had so far done nothing to justify its name. The Territory's political development was greatly hampered by its steady absorption into the nearby colony of Papua. It was time the Administering Authority established in the Territory legislative and administrative organs independent of those of Papua.

34. In the field of economic advancement, some Territories showed a complete lack of real progress. The interests of the indigenous peoples were still subordinated to those of the metropolitan country: it was not the policy of the Administering Authorities to utilize the natural resources of the Territories for the benefit of the population or to create new sources of wealth to be worked on their behalf. It was plain from the report that in the field of social and educational advancement, many Trust Territories were in no better case than many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

35. The Trusteeship Council's attitude to petitions left much to be desired. Most members of the Committee would agree that petitions from the peoples of the Trust Territories called for scrupulous examination as an expression of those peoples' views on the situation of their particular Trust Territory and on the policy of the Administering Authority. The petitions which the Council considered, and which should be a valued source of information, seemed to receive insufficient attention. The method employed in analysing petitions and dealing with them was unsatisfactory: as a rule the Council merely noted the observations of the Administering Authority and transmitted them to the petitioner. Like all bureaucratic practices, that procedure evaded the vital problems often raised in petitions. The Council, through the Standing Committee on Petitions, should scrupulously analyse the information given in petitions, invite the petitioners and Administering Authorities to supply further in-

formation and instruct the visiting missions to study on the spot, and make recommendations upon, any important questions raised.

36. He hoped his remarks would assist the General Assembly in adopting constructive decisions with the aim of promoting the further development of the Trust Territories in accordance with the Charter.

37. Mr. KHADRA (Saudi Arabia) was glad to note that the Trust Territories were making slow but steady progress. That progress could be ascribed in part to the concept of trust with its corollary of international accountability and supervision, but was largely due to the spirit and good faith in which the relevant provisions of the Charter had been carried out by administering and non-administering Powers alike.

38. The Trusteeship Council's report grew longer each year. Although most of the material in it was relevant and helpful, more could be done to comply with General Assembly resolution 789 (VIII) on the control and limitation of documentation. The system of reporting comprehensively on each Trust Territory only every third year, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 856 (IX), could be further improved. That would both shorten the report and provide a better means of assessing the progress of a given Territory over a three-year period.

39. He had been struck by the rise in the number of petitions received. Apart from the dispatch of visiting missions, petitions were the only way of ascertaining the views of the indigenous inhabitants. But the way in which the Standing Committee on Petitions handled petitions left much to be desired. If the Standing Committee met more frequently, the Trusteeship Council would be in a better position to carry out the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

40. The manner in which the institution of administrative unions was developing was a matter of deep concern. Administrative unions admittedly presented many advantages, but, as the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions had concluded in its latest report (T/L.592) the four safeguards embodied in Trusteeship Council resolution 293 (VII) had lost some of their importance and actuality. It was to be hoped that the administrative unions would not lead to political mergers and integration.

41. The work of the Committee on Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories was of the utmost importance. The economic and material progress of most, if not all, of the Trust Territories was in one way or another linked to the land. The Committee on Rural Economic Development had been unable to produce its final report in time for consideration by the Council. He hoped that when it was forthcoming, it would place the General Assembly in a better position to assess the progress achieved on such a vital matter.

42. He was glad to note from page 26 of the Council's report that the number of fellowships, scholarships and internships had increased substantially. Nevertheless, forty-five was still too few and more grants were urgently needed. With increased fellowships, the tempo of political awakening and the growth of national consciousness would be accelerated.

43. Little progress had been made with regard to the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the

Trust Territories in the Council's work. He trusted that the Council would take further steps to implement General Assembly resolution 853 (IX), as the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the Council's work would help to hasten the attainment of self-government and independence.

44. In the last few years notable progress had been made in Tanganyika, not only in the political field, with the institution of the new Legislative Council, but also in local government administration. The Administering Authority was to be congratulated on its commendable accomplishments, although certain elements of its policy were less satisfactory. The principle of parity of representation, for instance, was weighted heavily in favour of the Europeans, and to a lesser degree of the Asians, as opposed to the indigenous population. While time was undoubtedly needed to ensure increased indigenous participation, attention should be paid to the distribution of seats on a more equitable basis. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, had been critical of the multi-racial theory as practised in Tanganyika and had felt that it was of crucial importance to the Territory's future to ensure political, economic and social integration. A policy based consciously or unconsciously on the concept of segregation was always dangerous. Racial discrimination could not be eliminated overnight, but measures must be taken progressively to end all discriminatory practices. The ultimate solution might lie in education, and it was gratifying to note that the public funds allocated to education had more than tripled between 1949 and 1953. The existence of separate school systems for the various races was to be deprecated, and he hoped that they would be superseded by a unified school system. Furthermore, greater attention should be paid to secondary or higher, as opposed to elementary, education. Steady progress had been made in such governmental services as health, housing and social welfare but much remained to be done and the rate of expansion should progressively increase.

45. He welcomed the numerous reforms introduced by the Italian Administration in the Trust Territory of Somaliland. During the past year co-operation between the United Nations Advisory Council and the Administering Authority had been at its best and had produced useful results. The institution of a territorial council with full powers of legislation subject only to the veto of the Administering Authority, the adoption of a national flag, and the introduction of legislation to define the national status of the inhabitants were steps in the right direction and helped to prepare the Territory for independence in 1960. It was to be hoped, however, that the Administering Authority would not make frequent use of its right of veto and would eventually rescind the provision for it. He had been happy to hear at the previous meeting that the Somali Youth League had decided in favour of Arabic as the national tongue and he was confident that the Administering Authority would not persist in refusing to grant the Arabic language official recognition. His delegation viewed with concern the continued tribal warfare, although it was heartening to note that the Administering Authority and the Somali leaders were agreed on the need for ending it. The delimitation of the frontier between Ethiopia and the Trust Territory of Somaliland was a difficult and complex question. The matter should be solved

in accordance with the spirit of General Assembly resolutions 392 (V) and 854 (IX), due attention being given to the identity and wishes of the tribes inhabiting the frontier areas. The Administering Authority's inability to balance the Territory's budget was cause for alarm: total expenditure was twice as high as total revenue. The Administering Authority should leave no stone unturned in its efforts to increase the Territory's income and to make investment more attractive to the Somali people and foreign capital. He had been happy to hear from the Italian Observer at the 512th meeting that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had accepted the Administering Authority's invitation to send a survey team to Somaliland.

46. With regard to Ruanda-Urundi, the 1954 Visiting Mission had observed that the Administering Authority was placing greater emphasis on economic progress than on political development. While it was important to pursue a policy aimed at creating equal economic opportunities for the indigenous population and the European settlers, it was still more important to train the people in the art of self-government. He felt that the administrative union between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo was being carried rather too far. Lastly, he regretted that the Administering Authority was following a policy based on the classification of citizens as civilized and non-civilized persons. Such stratification would undoubtedly lead to the establishment of a narrow *élite* and might in the long run be detrimental to the Territory as a whole.

47. U ON SEIN (Burma) said that the discussions with the special representatives of the Administering Authorities, the consideration of reports and the examination of petitions were all detailed work which was only possible in a small expert body like the Trusteeship Council. At the same time, by virtue of Article 87 of the Charter, the Council functioned under the authority of the General Assembly; in a sense, it was more subordinate to the Assembly than the other two Councils for while the Charter provided. While the Assembly could often leave matters of detail to the Trusteeship Council, it must carefully examine important issues and general principles for in the Council such questions often led to a division of votes and the opinions expressed by the Fourth Committee or the General Assembly were neglected.

48. One example of the poor results achieved by the Council when discussing questions of general policy was the section of the report (A/2933, p. 26) dealing with the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the Council's work. That section merely summarized General Assembly resolution 853 (IX) and reported that the Council had taken note of it. A second example was the section (A/2933, p. 27 and 28) on the attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence. While it was true that the chapters on the different Territories contained valuable information on that point the Council had been unable to draft any statement of general principles. His delegation understood the reasons which often led the Council to deal solely with specific situations, but the Council might lose much of its influence if it failed to show that it followed a consistent philosophy.

49. The report had been prepared in accordance with General Assembly resolution 856 (IX) and was satisfactory. His delegation would always welcome shorter

and clearer United Nations reports. At the same time the main objective must be reports which would assist the General Assembly and inform the general public. While Trusteeship Council documentation could be reduced with advantage, the aim should be to provide a clearer picture of conditions in Trust Territories rather than merely to limit documentation as an end in itself.

50. The Trusteeship Council, the Italian Administration and, above all, the Somali people were to be congratulated on the advance in the development of free political institutions in Somaliland under Italian administration. Any doubts that some delegations might have had on the wisdom of conferring the administration of the Trust Territory on the State administering it before the Second World War had proved unfounded. The Administration would appear to be working actively and loyally to develop the political institutions that would enable Somaliland to achieve full independence at the time set by the General Assembly. Those countries which had attained independence in the midst of great economic difficulties were not unduly alarmed by the somewhat pessimistic comments on Somaliland's economic and financial possibilities. He hoped that, with the assistance of the International Bank or some other international agency, the Administration would be able to provide the people of Somaliland with a reasonable economic situation by the time they assumed responsibility for their country.

51. It was clear from the Council's report that the 1954 Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa had come under heavy fire for its report on Tanganyika (T/1142). Visiting missions should make suggestions for the most rapid advancement of the Trust Territories; no matter if their recommendations were controversial, provided the controversy related to the Territory's progress. The objections to the Visiting Mission's report had centred on its criticism of the multi-racial society in Tanganyika. He strongly endorsed the comments by the representatives of India, Syria, Haiti, El Salvador and the Soviet Union recorded on page 33 of the Council's report. The countries of Asia which had with difficulty acquired racial equality, could not recognize that a national consciousness could be built up on a division between races. During the ninth session, at the Committee's 445th meeting, his delegation had examined in detail Tanganyika's difficulties in connexion with economic development, land alienation, social conditions and education and had commented on the disparity between the high standard of living of the Europeans and the low standard of the Africans. The efforts of some Administering Authorities to improve conditions in the Trust Territories deserved wide recognition but in certain Trust Territories, and particularly in East Africa, a vigorous endeavour was needed to create African nations. He trusted that progress in that direction would be accelerated so that in future there would thus be less reason for controversy between visiting missions and the Administering Authorities.

52. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand) considered that the Committee's primary work was to survey the global situation in the Trust Territories and the developments which had taken place and to ascertain whether or not they were in conformity with the objectives embodied in Article 76 of the Charter, and notably sub-paragraphs b and c. He would therefore concentrate on some of the major problems emerging from

the Council's report and questions which presented common features in a number of Territories.

53. Generally speaking, progress had been made in most fields and no serious setback had been reported in any of the Trust Territories. That in itself was no mean achievement, since the task of ensuring stability and progress was not an easy one.

54. But progress was not evenly spread over all fields of development or over all the Territories. While that was undoubtedly due in part to the different conditions prevailing in the Territories it was also due in part to the national character of the Administering Authorities and their administrative methods. While some Administering Authorities laid greater stress on political development others emphasized economic and social services, with the result that political consciousness in their Territories was still embryonic. In other Territories, development was dependent on outside business enterprises with the inhabitants remaining at a rudimentary stage of advancement. He hoped the Trusteeship Council would intensify its efforts to equalize the irregular trend of progress in all fields. Difficulties undoubtedly existed, but if private concerns found it worth-while to operate in the Territories, the technical and material resources must be there.

55. One of the greatest problems in the trusteeship field was that of the association of a Trust Territory with the metropolitan territory, or a neighbouring Non-Self-Governing Territory under the same administering Power. The forms of association varied: in some cases the association was on a political basis, in others on an administrative or economic basis or both. The problem was wide-spread and affected almost all the Trust Territories, with the exception of Western Samoa and Nauru. While the Administering Authorities maintained that association was not only permissible but also advantageous, the Trusteeship Council had doubts on the matter and had set up a special committee to study the problem. Unfortunately, that Committee had not functioned very satisfactorily.

56. With regard to the political and most important aspect of association, some Territories were allowed to participate in the political activities of the metropolitan territory by electing a few representatives to the latter's legislative assembly, but were not permitted to engage in similar activities locally, existing local bodies being only advisory and debarred from considering political matters. It would seem logical, however, that political education and training should start in the Territory itself. The same applied to cases of political association with a neighbouring Non-Self-Governing Territory. Such an association could undoubtedly have prejudicial effects upon a Territory which joined politically with another without first setting up its own political organs, if only in nucleus, for the association tended to prejudice the Territory's ultimate status. A wiser course had been adopted by the Southern Cameroons under British administration, which retained its own legislative body and executive council while maintaining a broader relationship with the neighbouring territory of Nigeria. The Southern Cameroonians could gain valuable experience in managing their own affairs and at the same time benefit from the larger association.

57. Similar considerations applied to cases of administrative association, which was justifiable only for

technical reasons, and where expensive services such as defence and communications were involved which the Territories themselves could not afford. The Charter gave the Trust Territories the possibility of becoming self-governing or independent entities, with the prerequisites of a modern State. Administrative or customs associations, on the other hand, tended to deprive them of the services and technical staffs which would be needed if they became independent; hence, they did not serve the Territories' long-term interests.

58. The broad principle of the "indigenization" of the political and executive organs and the administrative services in the Trust Territories had been endorsed by the Administering Authorities. Difficulties arose, however, in its application. They found their expression in parity of representation, the system of dual electoral colleges, and the absence or near-absence of elected indigenous representatives on political and executive bodies in certain Trust Territories. He was glad to note that the Administering Authority concerned regarded the system of parity of representation as only transitional. While it was an improvement over the previous system of representation in the Tanganyika Legislative Council, its replacement by an integrated system would be of definite advantage to the people of the Territory. He hoped that the Administering Authority would find it possible to abolish the dual electoral college system in the Cameroons under French administration, as it had already been abolished in Togoland under French administration. With regard to the absence or near-absence of elected indigenous representatives in higher political and executive organs, the explanation that few if any indigenous persons were qualified for such posts did not redound to the credit of the Administrations concerned. The question of readiness to participate in political life was linked to that of economic and educational advancement; however retarded certain Territories might be in comparison to others, it should have been possible to produce some local elements capable of useful participation in governmental and administrative responsibilities.

59. He shared the disappointment voiced by previous speakers that a separate section on the attainment of self-government or independence had not been included in the Council's report, as requested in General Assembly resolution 858 (IX). That situation was obviously the result of strong objections on the part of some Administering Authorities. They contended that until certain conditions had been met it would be dangerous to fix, *a priori*, the date by which a Territory would be ready to attain the objective, and that at a time when most countries were seeking to associate in wide unions, and were even sacrificing part of their sovereignty to that end, it would be paradoxical to exclude certain countries from ties of political interdependence and intentionally expose them to the formidable dangers of isolation.

60. He disagreed with the first objection: under the Charter and the trusteeship agreements, the Administering Authorities were committed to lead the peoples under their administration to the point where they could make up their own minds whether to be on their own or to join with any other political units. To try to determine an approximate date when the people could make their choice was no more dangerous than to fix a date for general elections in an inde-

pendent country. There were, moreover, precedents for setting such a date; the Philippines was one example. In any case, the Administering Authorities should be prepared to present the Council and the Assembly with an estimated time-table of political and administrative programmes with ever increasing indigenous participation. In the more retarded Territories, the Administering Authorities could estimate the time required to build up political organizations from the village to the territorial level. As regards the second objection, in speaking of the "date on which the populations of the Trust Territories would be prepared for self-government or independence", General Assembly resolution 858 (IX) referred primarily to the date when the populations would be in a position to choose their future status. Once the people had made their choice, no Member of the United Nations would think of opposing their clearly expressed wishes. Thus the Administering Authorities need have no fear that the

peoples of the Trust Territories would be prevented by some unforeseen force from remaining with them, if those peoples felt that it was in their interests to do so.

61. There were growing differences of opinion between the visiting missions and the Administering Authorities on a wide range of subjects, from matters of policy and principles to practical measures. Such differences were not confined to one Territory. While he did not think that they could impair the smooth working of either the Trusteeship Council or the visiting missions, they should not be left suspended in the air but should be investigated to their logical conclusion. He was sure that the Council and the next visiting mission would devote special attention to such contentious points.

The meeting rose at 11.15 p.m.