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AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3170, A/C.4/350, A/C.4/L.472, A/C.4/L.476, A/C.4/L.477, A/C.4/L.479/Rev.1) (*continued*)

GENERAL DEBATE (*concluded*)

Chairman: Mr. Enrique de MARCHENA
(Dominican Republic).

Requests for hearings (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Secretariat had received a number of communications concerning the hearings granted by the Committee. In a letter dated 4 February 1957, written from Togoland under British administration, Mr. V. K. Seneadza stated that he had not yet obtained a passport to enable him to travel to New York. Two letters from the Jeunesse démocratique du Cameroun (JDC), both dated 30 January 1957, stated that Mr. Abel Kingué would be unable to come to New York for reasons of health, and that the representatives of the Union des populations du Cameroun were empowered to speak on behalf of the JDC. In a letter dated 25 January 1957, Mr. Tchoumba, who had been designated to speak on behalf of the Association Bamiléké, stated that he was imprisoned at Nkongsamba after having been arrested in the Cameroons under British administration and extradited to the authorities in the Cameroons under French administration. The Association des étudiants camerounais had informed the Fourth Committee by telegram that it had so far been unable to raise enough money to send a representative to New York. He suggested that, in accordance with the usual practice, the texts of the communications in question should be circulated to the Committee.

*It was so decided.*¹

2. The CHAIRMAN said that the Secretariat had also received nineteen letters and telegrams from organizations and individuals in the Cameroons complaining that the authorities had failed to issue travel documents to persons to whom the Fourth Committee had granted hearings. As the texts of the letters and telegrams were very similar, he suggested that the Secretariat should circulate a summary indicating in each case the origin, date and type of communication.

*It was so decided.*²

3. The CHAIRMAN announced that two petitioners, Messrs. Anatole Kaminyi and Marcel Bebel-Eyidi, representatives of the Association des notables kame-runais, were in New York and would make their statements the following day.

¹ The communications were subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/330/Add.27.

² The summary was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/330/Add.28.

4. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) said that he would not comment in detail on the Council's report (A/3170), which his delegation had helped to prepare and on the various points of which it had already expressed its views.

5. He was anxious to stress, as the President of the Trusteeship Council had done at the Committee's 627th meeting, that the Trusteeship System had so far operated satisfactorily and that the changes undergone by the areas to which it applied might not have been effected with the same harmony and speed had it not been established. It had thus achieved a degree of success, particularly when compared with the Mandates System, but the spirit of the age had undoubtedly played an important part in the changes which had occurred. The forces of the times had ensured that the notion of a sacred trust could not be used to justify colonialism and had caused an irresistible upsurge for freedom among long-neglected dependent peoples. Nevertheless, it might be asked whether the successes of the Trusteeship System were keeping pace with the march of events. Peaceful changes could not take place if the promises symbolized in the Trusteeship System were still very far from being realized, as was the case in some Trust Territories, where independence was still not in sight.

6. He did not deny that the Administering Authorities had to an appreciable degree co-operated with the United Nations, with beneficial results in the fields of educational, social and economic advancement and, to a lesser degree, in the political field. It was regrettable, however, that except in the case of Somaliland under Italian administration, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly were not being informed of the Administering Authorities' intentions regarding the achievement by the Territories of self-government or independence, the ultimate aims of the Trusteeship System. He was not questioning the judgement of the Administering Authorities, but the other Member States had their share of responsibility in supervising the advancement of the Trust Territories, and the announcement that a particular Territory was about to become independent should not be left until the eleventh hour, as had happened in the case of Togoland under British administration. If the parties concerned did not work and plan together, it would be difficult to maintain an objective approach, and it might be thought that an Administering Authority's decision whether or not to recognize the independence of a Territory reflected interests alien to the Territory. Thus a Territory such as Togoland under British administration, which was by no means the most advanced of all the West

African Trust Territories, would become independent while more advanced Territories would remain under trusteeship for no reason except that of the interests of the Administering Authority. That was why the General Assembly had adopted various resolutions asking the Administering Authorities to endeavour to set target dates for the realization of the objectives of the Trusteeship System. In the past those resolutions had had little or no effect, as the Administering Authorities had declared them unrealistic and unwise. Fortunately, the Trusteeship Council had not supported that view and had adopted recommendations concerning the setting of target dates for Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and other Territories.

7. The position of the Italian representative, who, at the 634th meeting, had reiterated the difficulties involved in fixing target dates in the political sphere, was surprising, as Italy had agreed that a target date should be set for the independence of the Territory under its administration.

8. The success of the Trusteeship System depended in large measure on its ability to adjust the development of the Trust Territories to the tempo of the age. If it moved too slowly or in directions other than those consonant with the objectives of the Charter and the will of humanity, the result would be cataclysmic failure.

9. Mr. GRILLO (Italy) said that he proposed to deal only with Somaliland under Italian administration and to answer the comments of various delegations on that Territory.

10. He fully agreed with the views expressed at the Committee's 628th meeting by the Chairman of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration, whose co-operation with the Administering Authority had been most fruitful. In that connexion, he paid a personal tribute to Mr. de Holte-Costello, whose wise counsel had been of assistance to the authorities of the Territory during the past seven years.

11. He noted with satisfaction that the Trusteeship Council had been generous in its report in its recommendations and suggestions to the Administering Authority, as well as in its congratulations on the progress of Somaliland towards independence. He listed the specific points dealt with by the Council.

12. Commenting on the views expressed during the general debate, he said that he took note of the statements of the representatives of Poland, El Salvador and Nepal, and thanked the representative of Burma. He was particularly gratified by the objectivity of the Iraqi representative, who had drawn attention to the importance of not widening the gap between East and West, and had pointed to the progress made in Somaliland under Italian administration. He was particularly satisfied that he had not drawn any direct comment from the USSR delegation.

13. By setting up the Legislative Assembly, the Administering Authority intended to give the Somali Government an increasing share in the management of its own affairs. He explained to the representative of India, who had made a suggestion on the subject (A/3170, p. 97), that the posts of counsellors to the various ministers had been eliminated and that the ministers' powers had been correspondingly increased. The municipal councils had elected their mayors. The Somali Government was entirely responsible for education and

for social matters. Those achievements might well have been impossible without the co-operation of the Somali people and the public spirit displayed by its representatives, to whom he paid a tribute.

14. Two questions were of concern to both the Italian Government and the Trusteeship Council. They were the question of the frontier with Ethiopia, which the Committee would shortly be studying, and the economic situation, which was unfavourable. The Administering Authority endorsed almost all the conclusions in the report³ of the Mission sent to the Territory by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: the Territory was poor and could not increase its national income sufficiently before 1960 to do without help from Italy; it would need foreign capital both before and after 1960; the end of political uncertainty would be the best form of aid. Replying to the Burmese representative who had appeared to have the impression that the International Bank was contemplating aid to Somaliland (A/3170, p. 105), he observed that the sole task of the Mission sent by the Bank had been to study the economic situation and to submit opinions which might be of assistance to the competent authorities.

15. At the 629th meeting the Indian representative had regretted that the submission of the Bank's report had been delayed for reasons that were not clear to him. The Italian delegation was also unaware of the reasons but considered that the delay was justified by the importance of the report and that there was reason to be grateful to the Bank for having undertaken it. He expressed the Italian Government's gratitude to the specialized agencies which had co-operated with the Administering Authority in Somaliland and he assured the Committee that the report would be studied with the attention it deserved.

16. Mr. BARGUES (France) explained that France had abstained from voting on the Trusteeship Council's report because it could not accept the recommendations regarding the setting of target dates for the attainment of self-government or independence. He would revert to that question when the Committee examined the USSR draft resolution (A/C.4/L.472).

17. Togoland under French administration had already been the subject of a lengthy discussion and there would appear to be no need for further comment on the subject. Several delegations had, on the other hand, requested information regarding the political conditions in the Cameroons under French administration where rapid progress was being made. He outlined the measures taken by the Administering Authority to give effect to the Council's recommendations regarding that Territory.

18. Universal suffrage had been instituted in 1956 and had been applied for the first time in the Cameroons in the municipal elections held that year in the three *communes de plein exercice*. The elections held on 23 December 1956 for the Territorial Assembly were, of course, much more important. They were particularly significant because the new Assembly had to take a decision regarding the draft statute prepared for the Cameroons by the French Government. The election had been carried out throughout the Territory by direct universal suffrage of all adult men and women. It was interesting to note that the election had been the first of its kind in Central Africa. Over 55 per cent of the

³ Subsequently circulated as document T/1296.

population had registered as voters, a very high percentage indeed. Order had prevailed throughout the election, except in the Sanaga Maritime region, which was an opposition stronghold. In that region, some elements had tried to influence the population by means of terrorist activity.

19. The Trusteeship Council had requested the Administering Authority to endeavour to reduce the prevailing antagonism between the North and the South of the Territory (A/3170, p. 153). That antagonism was due to ethnical and religious differences which had long divided the populations of all West and Central Africa. The French Administration's task in that connexion was therefore a difficult one. However, the members of the Territorial Assembly, by working together, were already learning to forget their differences. They had, for example, unanimously elected their new President, a political leader who bridged the gap between conservative and progressive schools of thought.

20. With regard to the policy of pacification, he confirmed that an Amnesty Act introduced by Cameroonian members had been passed by the National Assembly on 12 December 1956 and was under consideration by the Council of the Republic.

21. With regard to the Africanization of the civil service, the Administration was proposing gradually to replace Europeans by Cameroonians in all key posts. In that connexion, it proposed to take the same measures as in Togoland: scholarships, higher age-limits for examinations, additional places reserved for indigenous inhabitants, shortened courses at the *Ecole nationale de la France d'outre-mer*.

22. The scope of the measures taken by France would ultimately depend on the attitude of the Cameroonian Assembly to the draft statute for the Territory. Before outlining the statute, he stressed that as it was still under examination it might be amended. The information he would supply to the Committee was therefore provisional and incomplete. In principle, the statute for the Cameroons resembled that of Togoland. It differed from the latter, however, in that Togoland was about to sever its trusteeship ties, whereas the status of the Cameroons was not expected to change in the immediate future. The statute for the Cameroons had therefore to be regarded essentially an intermediate stage.

23. The Cameroons would continue to be represented in the central organs of the French Republic. In accordance with the wishes of the Council, a Cameroonian citizenship had been established which took into account both the Trusteeship System and the Territory's ties with France. Cameroonian citizens enjoyed all the rights and freedoms specified in the preamble to the French Constitution.

24. The draft statute provided for a legislative assembly of seventy members elected for five years by direct universal suffrage and secret ballot. The members of the Assembly were to exercise legislative powers in respect of all questions interesting the Cameroons. A limited number of questions were to be reserved to the French Republic; civil liberties, foreign affairs, defence, the monetary system and foreign exchange, the credit system, financial aid, the labour code, examination syllabuses for secondary and higher education, the penal code, criminal procedure and jurisdiction over disputes arising from administrative measures. The Legislative Assembly could be dissolved by decision of the Council of Ministers of the French Republic

on the proposal of the High Commissioner. Such a proposal could only be made after consultation with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister was to be named by the High Commissioner and confirmed in his powers by the Legislative Assembly by a simple majority. The Cabinet was to be composed of six ministers appointed by the Prime Minister with the agreement of the High Commissioner. The Prime Minister was to ensure the implementation of the law and both he and the Assembly were to have the power to propose new legislation. The Prime Minister was to be responsible for organizing public services in the Territory.

25. The various administrative regions were to be grouped into provinces each having the status of a legal entity. Under the draft statute, the High Commissioner would appoint chiefs of province in consultation with the Prime Minister. Each province would have a provincial assembly.

26. The High Commissioner, appointed by decree of the President of the French Republic, was the representative of France in the Territory. He was to be responsible for the external defence and security of the Cameroons, as well as for communications between France and the Territory. Lastly, he was to be responsible for implementing France's obligations under the Trusteeship System. The Prime Minister was therefore required to inform the High Commissioner of all the laws, regulations and administrative measures adopted in the Cameroons, before they were enacted. The High Commissioner could require laws and decrees to be the subject of a second debate or second examination. Measures taken by the Cameroonian Government could be annulled by decree issued within three months.

27. The new statutes for both Togoland and the Cameroons thus provided for a division of powers between the organs of the French Republic and those of the Territory. France's responsibilities were, however, more extensive in the Cameroons than in Togoland. In Togoland, legislation was operative immediately and the Assembly could only be dissolved on the proposal of the Prime Minister. If the Cameroonian Assembly was dissolved, new elections had to take place after a period of not less than one and not more than three months. In Togoland, that question was within the jurisdiction of the Autonomous Republic itself. Moreover, the Prime Minister of Togoland was free to choose the members of his Cabinet. In the Cameroons, the High Commissioner had broader police powers and controlled external trade and broadcasting, whereas in Togoland those matters were the responsibility of the local authorities.

28. Mr. THORP (New Zealand) thanked the delegations which had commented favourably on the administration of Western Samoa.

29. Some misunderstanding appeared to have arisen regarding the proposed introduction of cabinet government in the Territory in 1960. As could be seen from page 292 of the Trusteeship Council's report, cabinet government was not the same as self-government.

30. He would vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.476, but regretted that he was unable to support the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.479/Rev.1, the wording of which he could not accept. New Zealand had voted in favour of resolution 753 (VIII), which had had the merit of recognizing that there were practical difficulties in putting the

scholarship scheme into full operation. The present draft ignored those difficulties and was being presented after only a three-year period, which was unreasonably short in view of the time it took to educate students to scholarship age and standards.

31. In practice, of course, New Zealand, as could be seen from the Trusteeship Council's report (p. 290), provided a large number of scholarships for students from Western Samoa.

32. Mr. HAMILTON (Australia) said that his Government would give careful consideration to the observations and constructive criticism offered during the discussion on the administration of New Guinea and Nauru. Several delegations had expressed surprise that the penetration of New Guinea should be proceeding so slowly at a time when such inaccessible areas as the North and South Poles were being explored. However, scientific expeditions had to contend with technical difficulties only whereas in New Guinea Australia had to deal with human as well as geographical obstacles: the population lacked cohesion and was often hostile or suspicious. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1956, had given a detailed account of those factors in its report on the Territory (T/1260), and conditions in New Guinea could not be objectively evaluated unless they were borne in mind.

33. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said, in reply to an observation by the Italian representative, that he had not criticized the Italian Government, which was not responsible for the delay in the International Bank's submission of its report on Somaliland.

34. He had listened with interest to the French representative's statement on the proposed statute for the Cameroons under French administration; his delegation hoped that the Administering Authority would submit a detailed report at the next session of the Trusteeship Council, and earnestly hoped that the political life of that Territory would rapidly return to normal.

35. He was also glad to learn that separatist tendencies had not become more pronounced in Ruanda-Urundi.

36. With regard to the activities of the Committee on Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories, the Indian delegation continued to believe that the progress made was unsatisfactory, but recognized that a first step had been taken, as the Secretariat had drafted studies on certain Territories. He hoped the Administering Authorities would provide every assistance to the Committee to enable it to carry out its task successfully.

37. Mr. BARGUES (France) pointed out that the proposed statute for the Cameroons was still at the drafting stage and would perhaps be modified by the Territorial Assembly. All the necessary information would be transmitted to the Trusteeship Council.

38. The CHAIRMAN declared the general debate closed.

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.4/L.479/REV.1) (*continued*)

39. On the proposal of Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia), supported by Mr. TAZHIBAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), the CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to take up first the draft resolution proposed

by Czechoslovakia, Syria and Yemen (A/C.4/L.479/Rev.1).

40. Mr. BARGUES (France) said that in the Trust Territories as in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, few of the scholarships offered by a number of countries were used. The main reason was probably the fact that scholarships offered by France offered more advantages, at least for students from the Territories under French administration, since they gave them the opportunity to study at a great and world-famous French university and reside in a great city such as Paris, with its intellectual and artistic activity. Moreover, there were material advantages such as free round-trip travel, holidays in the Territory and grants of \$100 a month. Lastly, scholarship-holders could use their knowledge of French and were not obliged to learn other foreign languages.

41. Linguistic difficulties were of great importance. True, where the language of the country offering the scholarships was neither English (which was generally taught in France) nor French, scholarship-holders were offered an extra year to learn the language; but that period might well be insufficient. Moreover, the material conditions offered by such countries were not so favourable: travel expenses were not paid, and the monthly grants were only about half those offered by France. From his own observation he was able to say that when students from overseas territories were given a choice between scholarships in France and elsewhere, they generally chose France. That was no reflection on other countries; but it was difficult to see what the Administering Authorities could do to respond to the invitation in the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.479/Rev.1).

42. Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) said that his delegation would not vote in favour of the draft resolution, since it could not accept the principle underlying it. If the draft resolution was adopted, each Administering Authority would be in duty bound to take all the necessary measures to ensure that scholarships were utilized, and would have to urge the inhabitants of Trust Territories to go to the countries offering such scholarships. His Government was convinced of the importance of education and did not underestimate the part scholarships could play. In Ruanda-Urundi, all young people possessing the necessary qualifications received grants to help them to pursue their studies and those grants were much larger than the scholarships offered by other countries.

43. He endorsed the observations on linguistic difficulties made by the French representative. Belgian policy in the matter was based on the principle that education must be integrated into the cultural and social evolution. Education must be brought to the people; any policy of isolating certain persons from their environment and sending them abroad to study, at the risk of uprooting them, should be avoided. Scholarships could be useful, but they were not a decisive factor for higher education in Trust Territories.

44. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that his country had offered about ten scholarships, of which only three had been used. The fact that seven had not been taken up was due not to reasons of language or convenience but to considerations of quite a different character. There were many foreign students in Yugoslavia who had arrived without any knowledge of Serbian and were nevertheless pursuing their studies. There was no reason to assume that Africans had less lin-

guistic talent than Europeans. The three students who had been at Belgrade since October 1955 came from the Cameroons under British administration. They had learned Serbian in six months; after one year, one of them had passed all of his examinations and the other two half of their examinations. He was aware of the attractions of Paris, but in view of the standards of comfort to which Africans in the Trust Territories were accustomed he did not think that they would be over-fastidious in that respect.

45. Mr. BARGUES (France) said that he had merely wished to contribute to the analysis of the problem by advancing a number of arguments whose soundness he knew from his own experience. He had not meant that African students lacked linguistic aptitude, but he still thought that they would always be somewhat reluctant or apprehensive at the thought of going to countries whose language they did not know. It was also incorrect to say that what they might find better conditions abroad than in their own Territory; many of them enjoyed greater comfort in Africa than in Paris. Lastly, the Administering Authorities were not guided by any political considerations; the difficulties were entirely due to the fact that the number of candidates did not correspond to the number of scholarships offered.

46. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said he regretted that events had compelled certain representatives to propose a draft resolution on a subject which had seemed unlikely to cause any difficulties. He would vote for the draft resolution, because he felt that exchanges of students should be encouraged and that students always benefited from visits to other countries. Language was no obstacle. If there were other obstacles, his delegation thought they should be removed.

47. Mr. HAMILTON (Australia) said that it was the duty of the Administering Authorities to offer the broadest possible educational facilities and to ensure that all facilities including scholarships were utilized to the fullest possible extent. Like the Belgian representative, however, he felt that they were under no obligation to see that all scholarships were utilized; they should not be made to bring pressure to bear on people who might have no desire to accept such scholarships. He suggested that the words "to the greatest possible advantage" should be added after the words "inhabitants of the Trust Territories" in operative paragraph 1, so as to cite the actual terms of resolution 753 (VIII). If the sponsors of the draft resolution did not accept his suggestion he would ask for the paragraph to be put to the vote separately.

48. Mr. VELANDO (Peru) said he agreed with the representative of France that students were more attracted to countries in which French or English was spoken. It must also be remembered that scholarships, however generous in intention, did not always cover students' travel or maintenance costs.

49. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) said that there was no point in dwelling on the respective merits of the various cultural centres, since the draft resolution merely asked the Administering Authorities not to prevent applicants from utilizing the scholarships offered. There was absolutely no question of compelling students to accept scholarships. On the other hand, it would be a pity to accept the view that a knowledge of the cultures and languages of other countries was not very desirable;

the Members of the United Nations had been asked to offer scholarships precisely to give the inhabitants of Trust Territories an opportunity to acquire such knowledge. He would vote in favour of the draft resolution.

50. Mr. BARGUES (France) said he did not agree that there was no point in going into the material difficulties involved; before they could be remedied, their causes must be understood. As the representative of Iraq had rightly pointed out, student exchanges should be encouraged. That would perhaps be easier if States offered fellowships for inhabitants of Trust Territories who had already completed their studies. In that case, fewer difficulties would be encountered.

51. Mr. TAZHIBAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the Administering Authorities were trying by all possible means to prevent the adoption of the draft resolution; they were even going so far as to promise that they would take all necessary measures, while in reality they were resisting the implementation of the earlier Assembly resolutions. In pursuance of the General Assembly's resolutions, the Government of the Soviet Union had offered inhabitants of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories scholarships for higher education in the Soviet Union. The scholarships included free instruction; the payment of travel costs from the place of residence to the site of the institute of higher education in the Soviet Union, and back, upon completion of the course of study; the payment of an allowance sufficient to cover students' maintenance costs and to meet their material and cultural needs; free equipment; a grant for the purchase of school-books and educational materials; free housing; free medical care; free accommodation at a rest home during holidays; and free travel to and from the rest home. The Administering Authorities asserted that the conditions offered were inadequate; yet the scholarships provided by the Soviet Union covered all the students' expenses. The Soviet Union had stipulated that students from Trust Territories should have a knowledge, not necessarily of Russian, but of one of the principal European languages. It had accepted candidates, but no student had been able to take advantage of the scholarships because the Administering Authorities of Togoland under British administration and the Cameroons under French administration had not issued necessary exit visas or passports. His delegation felt that the generous offers made by a number of countries deserved praise, and that everything necessary should be done to ensure that they were fully utilized. He hoped that a majority of the Committee would support the draft resolution.

52. Miss BROOKS (Liberia), referring to rule 118 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, asked for the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.479/Rev.1) to be put to the vote immediately.

It was so decided.

The preamble of the draft resolution was adopted by 46 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 42 votes to 5, with 9 abstentions.

Operative paragraphs 2 and 3 were adopted by 46 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 45 votes to 3, with 11 abstentions.

53. Mr. DE LOJENDIO (Spain) said that he had not opposed the draft resolution, because he was in favour of international cultural exchanges. He had abstained in the vote on the preamble, because the third paragraph of the preamble did not adhere strictly to the terms of resolution 753 (VIII). He had also abstained in the vote in operative paragraph 1, because the administration of education in the Trust Territories was primarily the responsibility of the Administering Authorities. He had voted for operative paragraphs 2 and 3 because he thought that the General Assembly should be kept informed of the situation.

54. Mr. GRILLO (Italy) said that he had been unable to vote for the draft resolution because the Australian representative's suggestion had not been accepted.

55. Mr. MATHUR (Nepal) said that he had voted in favour of the draft resolution; he would also have done so if the Australian suggestion had been adopted.

56. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that he had voted in favour of the draft resolution because he believed international co-operation to be as essential in education as in all other fields.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.