



TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Seventeenth Session

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at 10.45 a.m.

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President: Mr. Mason SEARS
(United States of America)

Present:

The representatives of the following States: Australia, Belgium, Burma, China, France, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Italy, New Zealand, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Health Organization.

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika (*continued*):

- (i) **Annual report of the Administering Authority for 1954 (T/1205, T/1221, T/1223);**
- (ii) **Petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council (T/PET.2/L.4, T/PET.2/L.6)**

[Agenda items 3 (a) and 4]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Grattan-Bellew, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, took a place at the Council table.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TRUST TERRITORY AND REPLIES OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

Political advancement

1. Mr. BARGUES (France), referring to the statement in paragraph 61 of the annual report¹ that pro-

vision had been made for increasing the number of African assistant district officers to fifteen, asked how African district officers and assistant district officers were selected and whether the same qualifications were required of them as of European officials.

2. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special Representative) replied that there had been twenty-three African assistant district officers at the end of 1955 and it was hoped that the number would increase from year to year. They were selected by a locally appointed Board from members of the existing service, on the basis of their past record, their standard of education and their general ability to fulfil the duties of an assistant district officer, which were at times the same as those of a district officer.

3. There was so far only one African district officer; he had the same qualifications and met the same requirements as a European recruit to a similar post.

4. The Administration did not consider that it would be in the interests of the future of the Territory to lower the standard of district officers. It was felt, on the contrary, that as the Territory developed the standard of the higher grades of the Administration should, if possible, be raised slightly.

5. Mr. BARGUES (France), referring to paragraph 90 of the annual report, asked whether the magistrates who had superseded chiefs in judicial work were for the most part Europeans or Africans. He wished also to know whether the indigenous inhabitants were ready to accept the idea of the separation of functions, since it was usually the feeling in relatively underdeveloped societies that failure to obey orders should be punished by the person who had issued the orders.

6. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special Representative) replied that in some areas there was a dislike of the change but that the Administration was gradually bringing the people round to the idea that the judicial function should be separated from the executive. That was already the case in the districts mentioned in the annual report, and the system would gradually be extended throughout the Territory. The people appointed to the local courts were all Africans; the local inhabitants had confidence in them and in their knowledge and experience of indigenous law and custom. The same separation of functions was taking place in the ordinary courts. At one time the district officer or district commissioner had always been the magistrate, since no one else had been available. There were now twenty-nine resident magistrates, all qualified lawyers, who had no connexion with the executive Government. Unfortunately there were not yet enough

¹ Report by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on Tanganyika under United Kingdom Administration for the year 1954, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955. (Transmitted to members of the Trusteeship Council by the Secretary-General under cover of document T/1205).

of them to make a complete separation of the functions possible.

7. Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) wondered whether the people of one tribe would be willing to welcome a district officer who was a member of another tribe.

8. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special Representative) said that in appointing assistant district officers the question of tribe was not considered at all. He had never heard of a tribe refusing to accept an African assistant district officer or any other official because of his tribe and he thought it unlikely that such a situation would arise. Nevertheless, it might happen, and he thought that if the Administration saw any danger of the kind mentioned it would undoubtedly try to avoid such a situation, which might aggravate the differences between the tribes.

Mr. Grattan-Bellew, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, withdrew.

Attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence (General Assembly resolution 946 (X)) (T/L.640, T/L.641, T/L.642) (continued)

[Agenda item 9]

9. Mr. GERIG (United States of America) reminded the Council that at the 665th meeting he had proposed that it should take note of General Assembly resolution 946 (X).

10. Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of self-government or independence was one of the most important questions on the Council's agenda. It deserved particularly serious consideration at the current session because of resolution 946 (X), adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth session, which noted with regret the omission from the Council's report (A/2933) of a separate section on the attainment of independence or self-government and stressed the importance which it continued to attach to the subject. The peoples of the dependent territories looked to the United Nations for decisions that would at long last free them from the colonial yoke and give them independence as equal members of the community of nations. In subscribing to Article 76 of the Charter the Members of the United Nations had committed themselves to furthering that objective.

11. The characteristic phenomenon of contemporary history was the advance of all peoples to self-government and independence. Many countries were still suffering under the colonial yoke and in them economic and social progress were practically at a standstill. History showed that a country must throw off the colonial yoke if the natural genius of its people was to be given full scope and if it was to progress economically, educationally and culturally. For many years the colonial Powers had contended that the dependent peoples were unfit to manage their own affairs and that they were not ready to decide their own fate, a contention that was not borne out by those countries which had achieved independence. In his delegation's view, all men were capable of achieving an equal degree of development, given the same opportunities.

12. Colonization took various forms, all equally bad for the colonized. The colonial peoples' struggle for independence was becoming ever more intense and

colonialism was being increasingly condemned. The Asian-African Conference at Bandung had declared that colonialism in all its manifestations was an evil which should speedily be brought to an end. It had declared its full support of the principle of self-determination and had called upon the Powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to all dependent peoples. The Conference had further deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which formed the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world, maintaining that such conduct was not only a gross violation of human rights, but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and the dignity of man.

13. The tensions and divisions which the colonial Powers had fostered and were fostering between the countries of Asia and Africa ran directly counter to the peoples' desire for peace and international co-operation. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constituted a denial of fundamental human rights, was contrary to the United Nations Charter and was an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

14. The deep desire of the peoples of the Trust Territories for independence emerged clearly from the many petitions received by the United Nations from parties, organizations and individuals in the most varied walks of life in all the Trust Territories. On legal, moral and political grounds the United Nations could not ignore their appeal.

15. Nevertheless, the Administering Authorities' annual reports showed that far from taking the necessary steps to lead the dependent peoples to self-government and independence, they were doing their utmost to maintain the *status quo*. The old colonial administrations were still functioning and the indigenous inhabitants being virtually excluded from the direction of the Territories' affairs. The Council's recommendations on the introduction of universal suffrage and democratic organs of self-government went unheeded. The old tribal institutions were maintained, and militated against the awakening of a sense of national unity and statehood. Furthermore, under cover of the administrative unions the Administering Authorities were extending colonial legislation to the Trust Territories and preventing those Territories from setting up their own legislative, executive and judicial organs. The Territories retained the typical colonial economy adapted only to satisfying the needs of the metropolitan country. Little was being done to educate the people, most of whom were still illiterate. It was apparent therefore that the Administering Authorities had done nothing so far to promote speedy attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

16. The General Assembly's concern at that situation had been reflected in its resolution 558 (VI), inviting the Administering Authorities to include in each annual report information about, first, the measures taken or contemplated which were intended to lead the Trust Territories, in the shortest possible time, to the objective of self-government or independence and, secondly, about the period of time in which it was expected that the Trust Territories would attain that objective. In calling on the Administering Authorities to set a date for independence, the General Assembly had sought to hasten attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System. The setting of such a date was the more essential since the Trusteeship System's significance

lay in the fact that it was only a transitory stage, under United Nations supervision, on the road to self-government and independence.

17. The Administering Authorities had apparently decided not to comply with the General Assembly resolution; they did not even refer in their reports to the possibility that the Trust Territories would attain independence. Their representatives in the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee advanced completely unconvincing arguments against the fixing of a definite date and cast a slur on the peoples of the Trust Territories by contending that they were incapable of managing their own affairs. In that connexion, he reminded the Council of the hostile reception that the Administering Authorities had given to the suggestions made by certain members of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, that some Trust Territories might be ready for self-government and independence in about twenty-five years. The New Zealand representative on the Visiting Mission had contended, with regard to Ruanda-Urundi, that it might have an adverse effect on the Africans to set a twenty-five years' time-limit for independence (T/1141, para. 135) and the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo had said that the people of Ruanda-Urundi would be ready for self-government only in three or four generations (T/1141, para. 122). Apparently, therefore, some colonial Powers counted on keeping the dependent peoples in colonial bondage for at least another hundred years. On the other hand, there was already one example in the Trusteeship System of a Territory where a definite date for independence had been set and where the setting of such a date had proved both feasible and useful.

18. To sum up, it was essential that a date for independence—and the earliest possible date—should be set for each Trust Territory and that steps should be taken to ensure that it was observed. The Council should therefore call upon the Administering Authorities to submit to the General Assembly a special report on the measures they had taken to comply with General Assembly resolution 558 (VI). He introduced a draft resolution (T/L.641) to that effect.

19. The Council was responsible for the fate of the Trust Territories and for ensuring that the objectives of the Trusteeship System were attained. It must therefore take the necessary steps to promote those objectives, including steps to protect the rights, lives and well-being of the indigenous population. It could not afford to ignore anything that happened in the Trust Territories, as everything that happened there directly affected the interests of the indigenous inhabitants and might influence the Territories' development and future fate. It was the Council's duty to remove obstacles that might delay the Territories' advance to self-government or independence.

20. In that connexion, he felt bound to draw the Council's attention to the fact recently reported in the Press, that the United States Government intended shortly to carry out nuclear tests in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Such tests endangered the lives and well-being of the indigenous inhabitants and violated their interests and fundamental rights, as was proved by the incident of that kind discussed by the Council at its fourteenth session, during its examination of conditions in that Trust Territory. In addition to immediate damage, nuclear tests could have serious repercussions in the future and might therefore prove

an obstacle to the attainment of self-government and independence. The carrying out of such tests in Trust Territories was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the International Trusteeship System as set out in Chapter XII of the Charter and with the obligations assumed by the Administering Authorities and defined in the Trusteeship Agreements. His delegation was therefore submitting a draft resolution (T/L.642) declaring the holding of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests in Trust Territories to be inadmissible.

21. Mr. GERIG (United States of America) observed that the present-day trend of colonialism had been clearly brought out at the Bandung Conference, to which the USSR representative had referred. A number of speakers at that Conference had rightly pointed out that, while colonialism was receding in some parts of the world, a new and worse form of colonialism was developing in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. He agreed with the USSR representative that the Trusteeship Council could not overlook the problem of colonialism, and that it had been and was still doing constructive work in connexion with one type of colonialism, though possibly not always with entire disinterestedness.

22. The Council had not yet had time to put into effect its own resolution 1254 (XVI); it therefore seemed somewhat premature to consider a new draft resolution on the same subject. He thought that it was quite possible for drafting committees to comply with the recommendation made by the Council in that resolution, and that the wishes expressed by the General Assembly at its tenth session would thereby be met. He therefore maintained that his delegation's draft resolution (T/L.640) met the case and should be adopted by the Council.

23. He had not had time to examine the details of the two draft resolutions laid before the Council by the representative of the Soviet Union and would only say for the time being that in his delegation's opinion the proposed nuclear tests in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had no relationship to the item under discussion.

24. Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom) endorsed the remarks of the United States representative and added that the procedure outlined in Council resolution 1254 (XVI) was the obvious and most useful line to follow. His delegation would therefore support the United States draft resolution and would oppose the first draft resolution (T/L.641) submitted by the Soviet Union representative.

25. The Soviet representative had said that colonialism was receding in Africa and Asia, but had not referred to the fact that it had actually increased in Europe and Central Asia.

26. Mr. CUTTS (Australia) was surprised that the Soviet Union representative had introduced his two extensive and far-reaching draft resolutions under the item of the agenda which was under consideration. The connexion between his second draft resolution and the item seemed to be particularly remote. Mr. Cutts said he would not be prepared to discuss that text until he had had an opportunity of studying it but, in view of its irrelevance, he did not think that it should be allowed to delay the Council's final consideration of agenda item 9 at the current session.

27. His delegation was prepared to support the United States draft resolution, which it considered

to be all that was needed at the present stage. It was not prepared to support the first USSR draft resolution because it represented an unbalanced and partial approach to the problem, and did not, in his delegation's view, reflect the attitude the Council should take on the question.

28. He felt that the tone of the USSR representative's statement proceeded from his assumption that nothing good could be said about an Administering Authority or any aspect of the Trusteeship System. Consequently he did not think it necessary to take issue with the USSR representative on the details of that statement.

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration (continued):

- (i) **Annual report of the Administering Authority for 1954 (T/1202 and Add.1, T/1223, T/1232);**
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[Agenda items 3 (e), 4 and 5]

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

29. Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) said that in view of the French representative's statement that the Council would shortly be informed of the Administering Authority's plans with regard to a plebiscite, it would be premature to speculate for the time being on the form and scope of the popular consultation and the circumstances in which it would be held. All that could be said for the present was that if the Administering Authority did decide to hold the plebiscite in the near future, it would be acting in accordance with one of the fundamental principles of the Trusteeship System.

30. In that connexion the opinion had been expressed in the Trusteeship Council that the only goal of the Trusteeship System was independence, and that a Trust Territory's political evolution could never lead to its absorption by a neighbouring State or by some other and larger unit. To take that view was, in his opinion, to prejudice the freely expressed aspirations of the peoples and, so to speak, to make a choice on their behalf. The Charter laid down that the inhabitants of each Territory should be able freely to choose independence if they thought it appropriate to the circumstances of the Territory, but to interpret that to mean that they should choose independence whether they wished it or not was to distort the meaning of Chapter XII.

31. Turning to the particular circumstances of Togoland under French administration, he said that 1955 had been a period of intensive political development; the extension of adult suffrage, the widening of the functions of the Territorial Assembly and the establishment of a Government Council to assist the Commissioner of the Republic were positive achievements showing the rapid progress made by Togoland in the capacity to manage their own affairs.

32. It had been pointed out that there were still sixteen categories of electors and that universal suf-

frage had not been introduced. Those sixteen categories, however, largely overlapped and in practice enabled the great majority of the adult population in the Territory to exercise the franchise. As the French representative had explained, the present arrangement was a transitional one to be superseded shortly by the introduction of universal adult suffrage.

33. The Administering Authority's plans for the reform of the municipalities and the *conseils de circonscription* would be further stages in the establishment of a democratic political structure.

34. To sum up, the Territory's political development was rapid and entirely in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the purposes of the International Trusteeship System, and the Administering Authority should be congratulated.

35. Economic development was also proceeding in a satisfactory manner. Togoland was an agricultural country and likely to remain so. There seemed to be good prospects in connexion with mining, which if successful would enable the Territory to diversify its production.

36. The Belgian delegation considered that the Council should approve the Administering Authority's policy of concentrating on the increase of production in the second ten-year plan. In that connexion he emphasized the importance of the development of agricultural stations and pilot centres to teach methods of soil conservation, and also of the plan to increase cattle-breeding in various parts of the Territory. In Africa, as in more advanced agricultural countries, domestic animals should be a source of additional products, and their use should lighten the producers' work and help to maintain the fertility of the soil. The Council should encourage the Administering Authority to continue its efforts for the improvement of agriculture, which, in the Belgian delegation's view, were based on a wise and carefully considered policy.

37. It was natural that the system of land tenure should be brought gradually into line with that in more advanced countries and, in particular, towards the private ownership of land. Nevertheless the Belgian delegation considered that such development should not be unduly hastened, or outstrip African public opinion, especially in the rural areas. It did not consider that the traditional system of land occupation was inconsistent with a rational and progressive agriculture or with the security the cultivator should enjoy. The Belgian delegation had no doubts as to the care and wisdom with which the Administering Authority would supervise the future development of the system of land tenure.

38. Great strides had been made in the field of social advancement and education. A very large percentage of local resources was devoted to those two causes. No doubt there was still room for improvement, but the progress that had been made in the past was a promise for the future.

39. Many references had been made to the importance of improving the status of women in African society. In that connexion it was unfortunate that there had been an increase in polygamy among local officials as a consequence of the generous system of family allowances established by the Administering Authority. Since statistics showed that there were more men than women in Togoland, that tendency might have regrettable social consequences. He hoped that the Administering Authority would review its policy in that respect.

40. The increasing participation of the indigenous population in the direction of its own affairs and the general progress revealed in the documents submitted to the Council and by the French representative and

the special representatives inspired the greatest confidence in the future of Togoland under French administration and its inhabitants.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.