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President: Mr. Alfred CLAEYS BOUAERT (Belgium).

Present:

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

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

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration:

- (i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for the year 1957 (T/1388, T/1397, T/1398, T/L.858);
- (ii) Petitions raising general questions (T/COM.11/L.298 to 303, T/PET.GEN/L.2, T/PET.11/L.26, T/PET.11/L.27);
- (iii) Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, (T/1344, T/1396);
- (iv) Economic advancement of Somaliland under Italian administration (General Assembly resolution 1206 (XII));
- (v) Report of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration (T/1372)

[Agenda items 3 (e), 4, 5, 15, and 17]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Holte Castello (Colombia) and Mr. Baradi (Philippines, representatives of States members of the United Nations

Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration, took places at the Council table.

OPENING STATEMENTS

1. Mr. PLAJA (Italy) introduced the annual report of the Italian Government on the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration for the year 1957¹ and the supplementary information covering the period from 1 January to 31 May 1958 (T/1397). He recalled that a United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, had visited the Trust Territory in July. Its visit and the objective report it was submitting to the Council (T/1344) represented a valuable contribution to the efforts of the United Nations, the Administering Authority and the Somali people to achieve the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

2. The Council also had before it the report of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration covering the period from 1 April 1957 to 31 March 1958 (T/1372). That report recorded the close and fruitful co-operation established between the Administering Authority and the Advisory Council, which was a matter of gratification to the Italian Government.

3. With regard to political advancement, the Council would doubtless note with satisfaction that order had prevailed in the Territory throughout the period under review and that the political institutions had been strengthened. A ministry of justice had been established to co-ordinate the administrative organization of the courts. District courts with civil and penal jurisdiction to which qualified Somali judges would be appointed had been set up. In exercising its wider responsibilities, the Somali Government had given further proof of its political maturity. By their regular activity, the democratic institutions of the Territory had shown their vitality, and, within that framework, the political parties had continued to be active. The process of "Somalization" had continued. In that connexion, it might be appropriate to recall that the process of "Somalization" did not mean replacing Italians by Somalis in the Italian administration but referred rather to the appointing of Somalis to posts which already came within the competence of the Somali Government. The results attained thus far were paving the way for the further steps in the constitutional development of the Territory which the Administering Authority intended to take in 1958, namely, the election of members to the Constituent Assembly, consideration and approval of a constitution by the new assembly, and the election of the Chief of

¹ Rapport du Gouvernement italien à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration de tutelle de la Somalie, 1957, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato P. V., 1958). Transmitted to members of the Trusteeship Council by a note of the Secretary-General (T/1388).

State. In the meantime it was intended to carry out a census of the nomadic population, draft a constitution, and prepare and submit to the Legislative Assembly a new electoral bill.

4. The Italian delegation had previously given the Council the reasons for not undertaking a complete census of the population, namely, geographical factors, the peculiar distribution of the population, and the reluctance of a large part of the population to supply the information required for statistics. Nevertheless, taking into account the Council's recommendations, the Administering Authority had begun the registration of nomads, which was the only practical means of ascertaining what nomads were entitled to vote in the 1958 elections. That project had been started on 10 January 1957 and was to have been completed by the end of the year. It had been clear from the outset that it could only be successful if the Territorial Government had the full and whole-hearted co-operation of the chiefs. However, accurate information could only be obtained in three regions, and in the case of the others the figures obtained could not be accepted. In the circumstances, the Somali Government had had to prepare a new electoral bill which provided that the elections would be held before a complete census could be taken. When the bill had been submitted to the Legislative Assembly, the Assembly had decided, by an overwhelming majority, to refer it back to the Government with the request that it be reintroduced after the adoption of the law on citizenship and after a complete census of the population had been made. At the same time, the Assembly had adopted a motion asking the Government to extend its term of office until December 1959. The result of the action taken by the Assembly was, of course, to create a new situation which required careful consideration by the Administering Authority and the Territorial Government.

5. Although the reasons given by the Legislative Assembly to justify its position might be logical and understandable, they did not seem valid in view of existing circumstances and the facts of the situation in the Territory. First, with regard to the census, it was clear that the attempt made in 1957 had encountered determined opposition from a large part of the population of certain regions and that the results obtained in those regions could not be accepted. In the circumstances, there was cause to doubt the success of a further attempt to take a census. On the other hand, the new electoral law prepared by the Somali Government provided adequate safeguards to ensure the fairness of the voting operations and equitable representation of opinions and trends among the voters. In the view of the Administering Authority, it represented a considerable step forward.

6. While it was true that the Legislative Assembly had not been able to consider the chapter of the law on citizenship dealing with the naturalization of persons not born in the Territory, those provisions of the law already adopted and in force which dealt with persons born in the Territory were sufficient to ensure democratic representation for the overwhelming majority of the Territory's population. In any event, the franchise could have been extended on a provisional basis to those persons who had no other nationality. That situation deserved the closest attention from the Administration, and it did, after all, speak of the keen

interest which the Somali people had in the question and was the result of the free play of democratic institutions. There was therefore reason for hoping that the problem could be settled in the near future, and that the Territorial Government within a few months could reintroduce an electoral bill in the Legislative Assembly. For its part, the Administering Authority, with a view to having the minimum delay in the implementation of its constitutional plans, would endeavour to have the elections held in the spring of 1959.

7. Before concluding his remarks on political conditions in the Territory, he informed the Council that the technical committee of experts engaged in the preparation of a draft constitution had completed its work and that the draft would shortly be submitted to the political committee.

8. With regard to economic advancement, the Administering Authority had continued to devote all its attention to the matter, having particularly in mind the recommendations made by the Council at its twentieth session (A/3595, pp. 86 to 89) and also General Assembly resolution 1206 (XII). It had, in co-operation with the Somali Government, undertaken a survey of the requirements of an independent Somaliland. The survey was contained in a document entitled Economic Requirements of the Territory of Somalia on the Expiration of the Trusteeship Mandate,^{2/} which dealt in particular with the requirements of the Territory in the period 1961-1962. The Italian delegation would give the Council members any supplementary information on that subject that they might require.

9. As to agriculture, there had been an increase in production as the result not only of favourable climatic conditions but also of various irrigation and reclamation projects.

10. The Territorial budget showed an increase in revenue. During the period under review, the implementation of the seven-year plan had been vigorously pursued, and the volume of investment had largely exceeded the amount predicted. The foreign trade balance had shown further improvements in spite of the fact that for the first four months of the year foreign trade activity had been limited by the unavailability of the Suez Canal. The deficit in the balance of trade had dropped to 21 million somalos in 1957, in comparison with 27 million somalos for 1956. The establishment of a new branch of the Somali Credit Institute had made possible an extension of credit facilities for housing construction. During the year the income tax system had been reviewed in order to enlarge the basis of direct contribution. The Somali Government had, in addition, applied for associate membership in the Economic Commission for Africa, and the Administering Authority had conveyed that request to the Economic and Social Council.

11. In the field of social advancement, spectacular progress would be made by granting the franchise to women. The administrative elections bill, which was now being considered by the Assembly, granted the right to vote to women, and a similar provision was contemplated in the political elections bill. The Council would surely acknowledge the importance of those

^{2/} Rome, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato P. V., 1958.

measures. Another significant achievement in the social field was the preparation of a labour code which had been drafted with the aid of experts from the International Labour Organisation and was now awaiting the approval of the Council of Ministers.

12. With regard to public health, the Administering Authority and the Somali Government wished to express their appreciation to the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) for their valuable contribution to the betterment of health conditions in Somaliland. As a result of the assistance furnished by those organizations, the anti-malaria campaign had been successfully pursued and an anti-tuberculosis campaign was being prepared. Studies were also being undertaken to combat other diseases, such as venereal diseases and bilharziasis. The Territorial Government was also attempting, within the limits of the funds available, to improve sanitary establishments and supplies of medicines and was devoting itself to the training of auxiliary medical personnel.

13. Progress had been made in education despite the basic difficulties inherent in the geographic, economic and social situation of Somaliland. The number of elementary schools had increased, and attendance at those schools had risen from 25,000 to 31,000 pupils. The number of young Somali scholarship students abroad was now 300, including 168 who were studying in Italy.

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

14. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti), Chairman of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, submitted the Mission's report on the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration (T/1344). As the views of the Visiting Mission were clearly stated in the report, he saw no need to comment on them in the Council.

15. The geographic situation of Somaliland was undeniably unique. In many respects the environment was adverse to human settlement; yet, surprisingly enough, the Somalis had been able to survive by means of a socio-economic system combining pastoral nomadism and agriculture. The immense task of developing the economy of the Territory could not fail to arouse some apprehension, but the efforts and intelligence of the Somali people, supported by an effective programme of outside assistance, would surely make it possible to overcome all obstacles.

16. Since the establishment of the Trusteeship System, the most important progress had been made in the political and administrative fields. Through the abundant aid and advice provided by the Administering Authority to Somali youth, a solid political and administrative foundation for an independent Somaliland had been established during the past eight years. Advancement in the field of education had been slower. Although the Territorial Government made the best use of existing facilities, there was need for more schools, particularly in the countryside, and for more qualified teachers.

17. In view of the heavy responsibilities that the Somali people would have to shoulder after 1960, a

great effort, in the form of a mass education programme, would have to be made to integrate the various elements of the population into the national community. Another crucial question was the matter of the foreign aid that the Territory would need after 1960. In that respect he drew the Council's attention to the statements that had been made by Mr. Issa, the Prime Minister, and were mentioned in paragraphs 83 and 84 of the Visiting Mission's report.

18. Mr. de HOLTE CASTELLO (Colombia), speaking as Chairman of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration, announced that the Advisory Council would hold an important meeting the following day with one of the Somali ministers for the purpose of examining the resolution of the Somali Legislative Assembly to which the Italian representative had referred. He could not therefore introduce the report of the Advisory Council at the present time.

19. Mr. JAIPAL (India) pointed out that a report from the Advisory Council on the situation in Somaliland was already before the Trusteeship Council. The Trusteeship Council could therefore continue its consideration of the question without waiting for the Advisory Council to submit an additional report on recent events in the Territory.

20. The PRESIDENT suggested that the Council defer further consideration of the situation in Somaliland to a later meeting.

It was so decided.

Mr. de Holte Castello (Colombia) and Mr. Baradi (Philippines), representatives of States members of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration, and Mr. Gasbarri, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory, withdrew.

The meeting was suspended at 3.10 p.m. and resumed at 3.30 p.m.

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Western Samoa (continued):

(i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for the year 1957 (T/1387, T/1394, T/L.857);

(ii) Petitions raising general questions (T/PET.1/L.4 and Add.1)

[Agenda items 3 (f) and 4]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Powles and Mr. Tamasese, special representatives of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, took places at the Council table.

GENERAL DEBATE

21. Mr. SMOLDEREN (Belgium) said that the New Zealand delegation had wished, by including among its members representative indigenous leaders, to enable the Council to learn directly the real feelings and aspirations of the Samoan people.

22. In his introductory statement (910th meeting) Mr. Tamasese had reminded the Council of the remarkable political organization of the Samoans. The survival of the matai system in the face of increasing foreign influence proved that no system, however perfect, could be established if it had little support from public

opinion, and also that tried and tested traditional structures, the removal of which would leave a dangerous gap, could not be altered with impunity. It would be unwise to try to accomplish too much at once. The matai system would undoubtedly have to be adapted, but it would keep its place if it continued to show itself to be a living institution. It was flexible enough to allow the number of clans to increase as the population grew. Furthermore, the heads of families had been able to adjust to the requirements of centralization by delegating some of their number to the various councils and to the Legislative Assembly. No question arose as to whether that development was democratic or not, for the matai were directly elected by the family groups whose interests they were to protect, and formed a large proportion of the adult population. The matai would nevertheless have to take a fairly broad view of their own functions if the officials of the central Government and the members of the new intellectual élite were not to escape their influence: they would have to give those new forces their rightful place in the scheme of existing institutions.

23. The Trusteeship Council should note that the programme of constitutional reforms prepared by the Administering Authority had been implemented with striking consistency and had enabled the Samoans to take a larger share in the management of their own affairs. The composition of the Executive Council had been broadened and the number of elected Samoan members of the Legislative Assembly had been increased. In addition both organs had been given more powers. New Zealand had to retain some prerogatives if it was to continue discharging its duties under the Trusteeship Agreement until the end, but it should be noted that the High Commissioner's powers were mainly negative and that in most fields the initiative lay with the Samoans themselves.

24. Local government had not developed at the desired rate but, since the area of the Territory was fairly small, there was perhaps no pressing need for the reforms planned by the Council to ensure a better distribution of financial burdens and to decentralize some public services. In the circumstances, the Administering Authority had therefore wisely decided to leave it to the Samoans to adopt the necessary solutions. Generally speaking, the Council should commend the liberal spirit of the Administering Authority, which had encouraged the establishment of democratic institutions while respecting the traditional Samoan structures so far as possible.

25. With regard to economic conditions, the extraordinarily rapid increase in population, which had not been balanced by an equal rise in production, the absence of workable mineral resources, the increase in public expenditure and the drop in export prices showed that the country could no longer support itself. It was important for the Samoan people to grasp that in order to enjoy the benefits of modern civilization they would have to increase their output and abandon some of the easy-going ways inherent in a subsistence economy. It was for the people to choose between retrogression and progress; the Administering Authority could only attend to the immediate needs.

26. The introduction of two bills on increasing customs duties and authorizing the Government to lend or borrow money and to participate in a Bank of Western Samoa indicated the efforts that were being made to

hold the crisis in check. It was a pity, however, that the Assembly's rejection of the former bill had considerably reduced the effectiveness of the latter. The Trusteeship Council should note the size of the subsidy granted by the Administering Authority to reduce the difficulties of the present period of adjustment.

27. As a result of the economic depression, several development projects had had to be suspended and severe economies had had to be made in the public services. It was therefore important to develop to the full the Territory's agricultural potential, which at present represented its only major resource. The considerable increase in the banana output effected through the efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Samoan planters deserved special mention; it was to be hoped that the output of hides or skins and of rubber would be developed in the same way.

28. As in the past, the Council should congratulate the Administering Authority and the Samoan people on the striking development of co-operative societies during the period under review. Reference should also be made to the progress made in the implementation of the road construction programme, especially on the island of Savai'i, and in the pilot scheme to reduce congestion in the urban area of Apia. He also noted with interest the appointment of a Minister of Economic Development to prepare a long-term plan.

29. Despite the budgetary economies, all the essential posts in the health service had been maintained and a large number of fellowship-holders had been able to continue their studies abroad. The considerable efforts made by the Administering Authority to improve the inhabitants' living conditions and health went some way to explain the extraordinary increase in the population, but note should also be taken of the very high birth rate. He wondered if it would not be worth-while to undertake a study of the causes of that curious demographic phenomenon.

30. The reduction in teaching staff due to budgetary limitations had had the advantage of making it possible to reorganize the primary schools. The Council would note with satisfaction that the Government of New Zealand, by a generous contribution, had made it possible to open the Avelo Agricultural College. The construction of one boys' and one girls' secondary school showed what an important part the missions were playing in the development of education. Lastly, some Samoans had successfully continued their university studies.

31. In conclusion he expressed the hope that the Council would comply with the request made by New Zealand in its memorandum on the future of the Territory (T/1387) and send to the Territory a special visiting mission with extended terms of reference.

32. Mr. KIANG (China) said he had studied very carefully the memorandum on the future of the Trust Territory of Western Samoa and had noted with satisfaction that the rate of political progress in the Territory had increased considerably since 1956. It would be necessary for the 1959 Visiting Mission to take that into account in studying the problems which would have to be solved if, as the High Commissioner had indicated in his message of 15 April 1958 to the Legislative Assembly, the aim was to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement before 1962.

33. Reviewing the various constitutional reforms which had been introduced in recent years, he said that he was glad to note that the passage of the Samoa Amendment Act 1957 had afforded the occasion for a reduction in reserved legislation, and that the member system continued to function satisfactorily. The Chinese delegation had listened very attentively to Mr. Tamasese's remarks to the effect that the Samoan people were not ready for universal suffrage, which would undermine the traditional matai system. However, there was every reason to believe that, as education spread and the traditional system of land tenure evolved, a more modern and democratic electoral system would become acceptable to the Samoans. It would therefore be useful for the 1959 Visiting Mission to consider whether universal suffrage should be used, at least when the people had to decide their political future.

34. With regard to local government, the Chinese delegation had noted with concern that the people still gave no sign of a desire to discard the traditional system although the Administering Authority had made every effort to induce them to adopt a system of decentralized administration. It was to be hoped that the appointment of the new Minister in charge of local government would pave the way for progress in that direction. It was also regrettable that the Legislative Assembly had not given constructive consideration to the question of according a common status to all the inhabitants of the Territory; it was to be hoped that a Samoan citizenship law would be enacted before the Territory attained independence or self-government. With regard to the Public Service, he noted with interest that the New Zealand Government had proposed to assist in the review of staff salary scales and in training a Samoan for the post of Public Service Commissioner.

35. Economic conditions in the Territory were on the whole fairly satisfactory, but the output of cash crops and foodstuffs was still insufficient to meet the growing needs imposed by the rapid increase in population and to yield an adequate revenue. With regard to long-term economic development he welcomed the establishment of a Ministry of Economic Development, which was to formulate a development plan for Western Samoa, and the formation of a Bank of Western Samoa, which would assist in the economic development of land. On the other hand, the Legislative Assembly's rejection of the Customs Amendment Bill, designed to secure additional customs revenue for the Territory, was bound to have an adverse effect on economic advancement and on the development of the public services, including education. Economic and social advancement were also hampered by the Samoan people's continued attachment to the traditional system of land tenure; the Administering Authority should renew its efforts to persuade them to adopt a more efficient system, especially with regard to the consolidation of land holdings and the organization of agricultural co-operatives.

36. Mr. TORNETTA (Italy) congratulated the Administering Authority and the Samoan people on the notable progress achieved in the Territory, especially in political matters.

37. With regard to the future of the Territory, the debates in the Council had shown that there were three vital problems. The first was that of the future

constitutional structure of the Territory. In that connexion, his delegation had noted with satisfaction that the New Zealand Government had secured the services of an outstanding expert in constitutional law and was glad that the Administering Authority had asked the United Nations to send a special visiting mission to the Territory to study the political problems arising there and the aspirations of the Samoans and to submit suggestions concerning the directions in which Western Samoa should develop in order that the objectives of the Trusteeship System might be attained as rapidly as possible.

38. With regard to the second problem, that of future relations between Western Samoa and New Zealand, he noted with satisfaction the New Zealand representative's statement that those relations would be freely discussed and decided upon with representatives of the Samoan people.

39. With regard to the political structure of Samoan society, the Italian delegation did not share the prejudices which appeared to exist concerning the matai system and believed that every Territory should be free to choose the system of political organization best suited to its needs, provided that the fundamental individual rights were respected. The matai system was in any case flexible enough to develop side by side with Samoan society. It was also noteworthy that the Samoan Assembly already had very broad powers with regard to nearly all the problems arising in the Territory.

40. In economic matters, the problems which Western Samoa would have to face in the immediate future were similar to those of many other countries in the world, especially the under-developed countries, but they were apparently arising in an aggravated form, owing to the very high rate of population growth, the lack of natural resources and the isolation of the Territory. The debates in the Legislative Assembly, although disappointing in some respects, bore witness to the attention and care with which economic and financial problems had been examined. With regard to long-term problems, it should be noted that the need for an economic development plan had recently been recognized and that a Minister of Economic Development had been appointed. It was to be hoped that a detailed plan of economic development would be prepared for the time, now no longer distant, when the Territory would attain independence, and that fresh efforts would be made to diversify crops, which would make the Samoan economy less vulnerable to fluctuations of prices on the international market.

41. He regretted that financial difficulties had hampered the development of education in the Territory, and hoped that the constitution now being drafted would embody the principle of compulsory education.

42. In conclusion, he was sure that the Administering Authority and the Samoan people would be able to overcome the difficulties confronting the Territory in the transitional period through which it was passing.

43. U AUNG THANT (Burma) noted with satisfaction the spectacular strides that had been made in the constitutional development of the Territory, particularly with regard to the composition of the Legislative Assembly, the introduction of direct elections by secret ballot and the reduction of the number of reserved enactments. He observed, however, that the powers in

the hands of the High Commissioner were a little more than those normally held by the executive and, as the proposed date for the Territory's independence was not far away, he considered that those powers should be gradually but substantially reduced. He believed that if the Territory was to become a true democratic State, adult universal suffrage and a more equitable electoral representation, on the basis of both area and population, should be introduced to replace the traditional matai system.

44. The Burmese delegation regretted that no progress had been made with regard to the status of the inhabitants of the Territory. It agreed with the 1947, 1950, 1953 and 1956 United Nations Visiting Missions to Western Samoa that a common status with equal rights and obligations for all should be established; it hoped that considerable progress could be made in that connexion before the Territory attained its independence.

45. With regard to local administration, he noted with satisfaction that the District and Village Government Board had continued to meet during the year under review and that progress had been made in establishing local administration organs. In view of the approaching target-date for self-government, the pace of development should, however, be much greater. It was also to be hoped that a larger number of indigenous inhabitants would be appointed to higher posts in the administration of the Territory.

46. The obligations which the Trusteeship Agreement imposed on the Administering Authority were not only political, but also economic. In that connexion, the future of the Territory, if regarded from the point of view of the existing situation, was not a happy one. The main prop of the economy was agriculture, which in turn depended mainly on copra and cocoa production. The price of cocoa and particularly of copra had fallen appreciably, and the situation in the Territory was most precarious, as was shown by the deficit of £211,000 in the public accounts for 1957. Systematic research should therefore be undertaken with a view to the introduction of new crops and encouraging the present trend towards the use of modern methods in plantations. It might also be wise to consider the possibility of setting up small industries, taking into account the raw materials available in the Territory, in order to make its economy less vulnerable to the fluctuations of foreign markets. The Burmese delegation noted with satisfaction that the Administering Authority was carefully studying those questions and it hoped that a comprehensive long-term economic development programme would soon be prepared. It also congratulated the Administering Authority on promoting the increase in the number of co-operative societies in 1957. That was a most encouraging sign in a country like Western Samoa, which had hardly any capital. It was regrettable, however, that the foreign commercial firms operating in the Territory could not provide figures of their investments; it would be more difficult to draw up an over-all economic development plan under those conditions. The Burmese delegation recognized the value of the projects undertaken by the Administering Authority, in particular the Aloao Hydro Scheme and the Trades Training School.

47. In social matters, a tribute should be paid to the spirit of co-operation shown by the Administering

Authority, the people and such specialized agencies as WHO, UNICEF and UNESCO, in spite of the many obstacles they had encountered, especially on the financial level.

48. On the whole, the Burmese delegation congratulated the Administering Authority on the work it had done in the Territory, and awaited with great interest news of further progress in years to come.

49. Mr. SEARS (United States of America) observed that the people of the Territory would soon be called upon to inform the United Nations of their wishes in respect of independence or self-government. It was true that the Samoans had been self-governing for centuries, but at that time they had had no contact with the outside world. That was undoubtedly why the Government of New Zealand—to which the United States paid tribute for its work on behalf of the inhabitants of Western Samoa—had seen fit to include in its delegation three outstanding representatives of the Samoan people, who had helped the Trusteeship Council better to understand the wishes of their compatriots. The United States delegation noted Mr. Tamasese's statement (910th meeting) that the Samoan people asked no more than the right to choose freely for themselves a form of society and government not imposed by outsiders. Mr. Tamasese had also spoken in defence of the matai system. The matai administered the affairs of families composed on an average of less than twenty people; one male adult out of four was a matai, and his influence did not differ greatly from that exercised by parents or grandparents in other countries. In any case, it was for the next Visiting Mission to make recommendations on the matai system and to judge the extent to which the matai could reflect the freely expressed wishes of the population on its political future. It appeared that the system was capable of producing the body of responsible leaders which the Territory would need to make a success of government based on free elections. The United States delegation hoped, however, that the Samoans would keep under continuous study the advantages of broadening the individual liberties permitted by the matai system. The important point was that the system should be flexible enough to lend itself to any subsequent changes that the people might wish to make. He accordingly agreed with the New Zealand Government that it would be wrong to force more liberal voting rights on the Samoans against their will. He hoped that debate on the matai system would not impede the time-table being followed to achieve termination of trusteeship.

50. Nevertheless, economic considerations might have more effect than politics on the future of the Territory. The High Commissioner had stated that the Samoans themselves had decided that they needed modern development and modern progress and that, in order to maintain the existing level of living, the population increase must be balanced by an increase in production for export. He referred to a recent study by a survey team of New Zealand treasury and banking officials which stated that if present social services were to be maintained and enlarged, the Territory must increase its agricultural production. On the other hand, Mr. Tamasese had said that the rugged individualism of Europe and America had no great appeal for Samoans and, in fact, sometimes shocked and disgusted them. The problem of trying to support expanding populations was common to all islands. It was a difficult and cruel

one and could be solved either by increasing production or by preventing the population from growing too large, or by encouraging an exodus to other countries. He felt, however, that it could more effectively be solved in self-governing rather than independent status. At all events the Samoans were already developing answers to the many problems of building island self-government.

51. It was interesting that trusteeship would come to an end in Western Samoa at about the same time as in four African Territories. He hoped the experience acquired in those Territories would be helpful to the Administering Authorities and to the peoples still under trusteeship at that time.

52. In conclusion, he congratulated the Government of New Zealand and the people of Western Samoa on their determined efforts during the past few years in all fields of development to bring about successful constitutional and other advances which would enable Samoa to attain the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

53. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) paid a tribute to the work of the Administering Authority and the people of Western Samoa, as a result of which the Territory was developing under the best possible conditions. It was clear that the Samoans themselves, through their ministers and the Legislative Assembly, were now in effective control of economic, social and educational policy. The Samoan people were trying to overcome their present economic difficulties and to stimulate production; their efforts had already met with success in the banana industry. It was surely a comfort to the Samoans to know that they could continue to rely on the assistance of the Government and people of New Zealand, in the form of direct financial assistance, technical aid and the provision of skilled manpower. Important talks on the Economic Development Plan being drawn up by the Government of Western Samoa were scheduled to be held before the end of the year by the Western Samoan Minister of Economic Development and the New Zealand Government. The Administering Authority should be commended for the economic help it was giving, which was exactly what the Samoan people needed.

54. For the immediate future, the Government of Western Samoa was taking the only possible course in the face of the reduction in revenue by curtailing its expenditures and seeking new sources of revenue. It was unfortunate, though perfectly understandable, that the Legislative Assembly had rejected the Customs Amendment Bill. But long-term plans must be made, and the Council should welcome the appointment of a Minister of Economic Development. The Administering Authority should be commended for the steps taken to secure for the Samoan people an opportunity to use their lands effectively, as illustrated by the inauguration of the pilot land settlement project at Vaivase.

55. In the social field, the Government of Western Samoa was also following a sound policy. In 1957, it had enacted an ordinance which provided the legal basis for the establishment of wages councils. There was no reason for undue concern over the absence of trade unions, since the Territory was not industrialized and some of the functions normally assigned to trade unions were performed by the traditional authorities.

56. As for the very ticklish question of the inhabitants' dual status, the special representative had made the position very clear (910th meeting). He looked forward to the day when only two differential provisions remained, those regarding land rights and certain special arrangements in the case of elections. If the Trusteeship Council recognized the need to protect the Samoans' land rights and to make special provision towards that end, it should not take exception to the provisions necessary for those purposes. The Western Samoan people were well aware of the general views of the Council on that question, and reiteration of them might be "counter productive". The Council should therefore refrain from making any recommendations on that point during the present session.

57. The Council's main concern at present should be the arrangements which would soon have to be made to terminate trusteeship upon the attainment by Western Samoa of self-government in accordance with the objectives of the Charter. The Administering Authority and representatives of the people of Western Samoa had agreed upon a programme to that effect in 1956, and the programme was proceeding without a hitch. Power now rested with a Council of Ministers, the majority of whose members were Samoans. The scope of reserved legislation had been further reduced and was now confined to basic constitutional provisions and the areas of defence and foreign affairs. Those were important developments, upon which the people of Western Samoa and the Administering Authority should be congratulated. It would soon be necessary to determine the relationship which was to exist between New Zealand and the Territory after the latter achieved self-government. The Council would have to satisfy itself that such a relationship was in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the population. The New Zealand Government had stated, in its memorandum of 20 June 1958 (T/1387), that the Administering Authority hoped to be able to present suggestions to the next visiting mission concerning the lines which Samoan development might follow, and that realistic planning for the future progress of the Territory could result only from discussion and agreement among the three interested parties, i.e., the Trusteeship Council, the Administering Authority and Western Samoa itself. The members of the Council could not but approve those words.

58. Universal suffrage, which some thought the only appropriate method of voting, had been successful in some Trust Territories but had not proved to be the appropriate method in other parts of the world. In the United Kingdom they believed in adopting a flexible view and preferred to devise systems which suited the circumstances of the people concerned. Mr. Tamasese had stated that consulting the population of the Territory by means of universal suffrage would not be in accordance with the manner in which the people customarily expressed their views. As far as could be judged from the statements of the Administering Authority and the representatives of the Samoan Government, as well as from the reports of the Visiting Missions, the indigenous people were content with their institutions and methods. The Council should therefore be very cautious regarding the application of general principles concerning universal suffrage, although there was no reason to come to any conclusion about that now, and he would not argue one way or the other. Social customs and political institutions should

change at the rate desired by the Samoans, and the Council should take care not to prejudice the harmonious relations existing among the various sections of the population by artificially stimulating change. The Council had every reason to be confident that Samoan society would evolve steadily as a result of internal processes.

59. The Guatemalan representative had suggested that universal suffrage was a prerequisite for the development of political parties and a parliamentary system of government. It was doubtful whether history fully supported that contention. In the United Kingdom, to take one example, a cabinet government responsible directly to Parliament had begun to evolve about the middle of the eighteenth century, but universal adult suffrage had no been introduced until much later. The franchise existing in the eighteenth century had been much less democratic than that now enjoyed by the Samoans, but it had not prevented the development of political parties. During the nineteenth century, the social structure of Britain had undergone rapid change under the impact of industrialization, and the suffrage had been extended as a result. Changes in the suffrage had followed, rather than preceded, social changes.

60. Experience seemed to counsel against ruling out any particular method by which the Samoan people might wish to express their wishes on the ground that such a method was "undemocratic". The Trusteeship Council should merely satisfy itself that the method

employed permitted a genuine expression of the Samoan people's wishes and that the future constitutional arrangements were suitable for the Territory and its people. In each process, the views of the Samoan people would be of fundamental importance; both the future constitution itself and the way in which the Samoans expressed their views upon it would have to be acceptable to the people, to the Administering Authority, and to the United Nations.

61. There was every reason to believe that the agreement which had so far existed between the people and the Administering Authority would continue until the termination of trusteeship. When the time came to put the constitution in final form, the wishes of the people would, of course, have to be fully taken into account, as the Administering Authority had made clear. According to Mr. Tamasese, the Samoan people's traditional social system provided the appropriate way for the people to make their wishes known. For the present, however, the representatives of the people and the Administering Authority were agreed that all the questions raised by the termination of trusteeship should be examined by a visiting mission. The Administering Authority had therefore suggested in its memorandum that the Council send a mission to the Territory to make a report. The proposal was a sound one, and he hoped that it would be adopted.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.