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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentina), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 44

Question of the future of Western Samoa (A/4404, part I, chap. VI, sect. I and part II, chap. V; A/C.4/454 and Add.1; A/C.4/L.663) (continued)

1. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) expressed his satisfaction at the forthcoming attainment of independence by Western Samoa, one of Australia's neighbours, whose progress he had been following with interest for a long time. He had been struck in particular by the closeness and cordiality of the relations between the Administering Authority and the indigenous population; difficult problems had been settled through joint action. The Australian Government wished to commend New Zealand for the way it had carried out its duties under the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement and to congratulate the Samoan Government and people, to which it wished happiness and prosperity.

2. With regard to the question of the transfer of powers to the new independent State, he appreciated the way in which the Prime Minister of Western Samoa had presented his views and thus simplified the Committee's work. There was no doubt that the Samoan population had been very well prepared and was in a position to assume the responsibilities of independence and to decide upon its Constitution. The Prime Minister had stated that, while he did not consider a plebiscite indispensable, in view of the population's unanimous wish for independence, he was not opposed to the holding of one in order to remove any possible trace of doubt. In those circumstances, the Australian delegation would raise no objection and would vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/L.663.

3. Mr. HUSAIN (Pakistan) extended his delegation's congratulations to New Zealand and Western Samoa on the efforts they had made and the results they had achieved. The Administering Authority had indeed fulfilled its trusteeship functions in an admirable fashion and the example of Western Samoa provided evidence of what could be accomplished by an Administering Authority and a Trust Territory through close collaboration. He was convinced that the Prime Minister of Western Samoa, by his personality, abilities and energy, would carry through the difficult task of piloting his country through the process of assuming independ-

ence; he asked the Prime Minister to convey the best wishes of the Pakistan people and Government to Western Samoa, which he hoped to welcome to the United Nations in the not too distant future.

4. Mr. KUDRYAVTSEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the Samoan people were weary of the colonial yoke and impatiently awaiting independence. He emphasized the importance of draft resolution A/C.4/L.663, to which he wished to propose three amendments.

5. In the second preambular paragraph he proposed the deletion of the words "and the resolutions adopted by that Convention". One of those resolutions concerned the treaty of friendship which was to be concluded between New Zealand and Western Samoa after the latter's attainment of independence; the United Nations should not in any way give the impression of prejudging the conclusion of that treaty, which was essentially a matter within the competence of the new State.

6. In operative paragraph 2, question 2, he proposed the deletion of the words "on the basis of that Constitution". As the Philippine representative had pointed out at the previous meeting, it was imperative not to rule out the possibility of the electors' rejecting the Constitution proposed to them, in which case the Samoan people must not be deprived of their independence, the existence of which seemed to be based upon that Constitution. If voting for the Constitution was the sole means of acquiring independence, the people would not have a free choice.

7. In operative paragraph 4, he proposed the insertion of the words "appointed also by the General Assembly" after the word "observers". The appointment of those observers was a matter of great importance since upon their activities depended the efficient organization of the plebiscite and in particular the authenticity of its result. In such a serious matter it was the General Assembly acting as a body which should make the appointments and not the Secretary-General acting in a personal capacity, for experience had shown that the Secretary-General showed partiality towards a particular group of countries, whereas all countries, socialist, capitalist or neutralist, should have an equal say.

8. He asked the sponsors of the draft resolution to accept his amendments, which would put the draft resolution into the most appropriate form for the best possible protection of the Samoan people's interests.

9. Mr. KIANG (China) said that the statements by the Prime Minister of Western Samoa and the New Zealand representative confirmed the opinion expressed by the Chinese delegation in the Trusteeship Council that there was every reason to believe that the Territory would proceed smoothly towards independence. Western Samoa had a highly individual social and political system and the problems arising there should be studied pragmatically.

10. On the question of independence, he was satisfied by the Prime Minister's statement that the Constitution had the support of the country's most representative organ; there was therefore no doubt that it conformed to the Samoan people's wishes and aspirations. He was also satisfied with the agreement concluded by Western Samoa with the New Zealand Government concerning its diplomatic representation, an agreement that was quite natural in view of the country's area, population and resources and which proved the two countries' identity of views and their friendship. After the Constitution of the future State had been adopted by the Constitutional Convention, the Administering Authority had made the necessary arrangements to hold a plebiscite in 1961. Since there was no difference of opinion on the procedure for attaining independence and the constitutional questions had been finally settled, the plebiscite could be regarded as a matter of principle and would give the whole population an opportunity of freely expressing its wishes.

11. The international community should be grateful to New Zealand for all the assistance which it had generously furnished and was still prepared to furnish to Western Samoa.

12. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) extended his delegation's congratulations to the New Zealand people and Government on the way in which they had carried out their task and to the Samoan people and Government on the courage and tenacity which they had shown in their march towards independence. When setting up the Trusteeship System, the United Nations, to forestall any reproach that the System might be a kind of benevolent colonialism, had worked out the doctrine of the sacred trust governing the relations between the General Assembly and the Administering Authorities. In the case of Western Samoa, three main questions had arisen: the attainment of independence, the Constitution, relations with New Zealand. The Liberian delegation wanted all dependent territories to attain independence and it was glad that Western Samoa's Constitutional Convention had adopted a Constitution which would be ratified by the whole Samoan people. It did not think, however, that there was any need to go into the question of the future State's relations with New Zealand; under the provisions of the Charter, which was a living, juridical instrument, New Zealand was the trusteeship Power responsible for protecting the indigenous population's interests, not its own; when the trusteeship came to an end, it would be for the indigenous population to decide upon its relations with New Zealand. His delegation shared the Byelorussian representative's opinion on that point.

13. Mr. NEJEDLY (Czechoslovakia) said he was convinced that in the plebiscite the population of Western Samoa would call for independence by 1962. Every effort should be made to ensure that such independence was real independence. Yet the draft resolution before the Committee included provisions which threatened the sovereignty of Western Samoa even before it was proclaimed.

14. The inclusion of the words "and the resolutions adopted by that Convention" in the second preambular paragraph was a circuitous manoeuvre by the Administering Authority to impose on the Territory, after it gained independence, the so-called treaty of friendship which it had been unable to impose upon it before.

The Czechoslovak delegation vigorously protested against the process of concluding treaties with States before they even existed. Nor did it understand the meaning and scope of the words "on the basis of that Constitution" in operative paragraph 2, question 2, since the independence of Western Samoa should not depend upon the adoption of a constitution. Lastly, there was no reason why it should be the Secretary-General who appointed the plebiscite observers; the United Nations alone was competent to appoint them, in the General Assembly for example, with the help of the Fourth Committee.

15. The Czechoslovak delegation would be happy to vote in favour of the draft resolution, but its vote would depend upon the attitude of the sponsors to the Byelorussian amendments, which it fully supported.

16. Mr. GASSOU (Togo) said he was reluctant to take a stand on the draft resolution because the Constitution and the resolutions referred to in it had not been translated into French and he had accordingly not been able to study them carefully.

17. With regard to the essential part of the draft resolution, i.e., the referendum—a word which would be more appropriate than the word "plebiscite" used in the document—he shared the view of the Philippine representative and he would be very grateful to the sponsors of the draft resolution, to the representative of the Administering Authority and to the Prime Minister of Western Samoa if they would tell him what would happen if the population voted No on the first question and Yes on the second. The draft resolution had another unusual feature: whereas hitherto the General Assembly had usually called for elections to be held in a Territory before its accession to independence, the intention in the present case seemed to be to have a Constitution, drafted by a Constitutional Convention the procedure for whose election was not even known, adopted before the proclamation of independence.

18. Mr. BOUZIRI (Tunisia) welcomed the presence of the Prime Minister of Western Samoa at the time when the Committee was discussing the Territory's independence, which his delegation hoped would soon be proclaimed. In his view, it would be advisable to delete the phrase "and the resolutions adopted by that Convention" in the second preambular paragraph, since those resolutions might include texts which would be unacceptable if they affected the future of Western Samoa. The word "plebiscite", moreover, which was generally used for the election of an individual, should be replaced by the word "referendum", which was preferable when only texts were involved. Lastly, no relationship should be established between the adoption of the Constitution and the proclamation of independence; it would be difficult for the people to understand why the independence of Western Samoa should be delayed or even prevented by the rejection of the Constitution. He would therefore like to see the words "on the basis of that Constitution" deleted from question 2 in operative paragraph 2, unless the sponsors of the draft resolution could offer a satisfactory explanation or give the necessary reassurances.

19. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) said that his delegation had always followed the Territory's political development with keen interest and had on several occasions expressed its satisfaction at the Administering Authority's enlightened policy in guiding the population towards emancipation. He welcomed the statements

that had been made at the 1081st meeting by the Prime Minister of Western Samoa and the New Zealand representative; they had convinced him that the future State would be truly independent, in full conformity with the provisions of Article 76 of the Charter. In Samoa, incidentally, there was only one word for both self-government and independence.

20. It was now known that the proposed treaty of friendship between New Zealand and the Territory would be signed only after the achievement of independence, i.e., as between two equal partners. That treaty was to cover only the exercise in practice of certain attributes of sovereignty, such as diplomatic representation. He welcomed the assurance that the Administering Authority had given the Committee that, once the Territory became independent, it would have full responsibility for the formulation of its foreign policy and would be able to terminate the arrangements laid down in the treaty if they should be prejudicial to it.

21. The organization of a plebiscite to decide the question whether Samoan opinion supported the Territory's political development had given rise to many difficulties. It no longer did so, since draft resolution A/C.4/L.663 was concerned principally with the plebiscite. He hoped that the plebiscite commissioner to be appointed under that resolution would be satisfied with the conduct of the plebiscite and that the General Assembly would be in a position to welcome a new independent State at its sixteenth session. In that hope he wished the New Zealand representative and the Prime Minister of Western Samoa all success.

22. Mr. RASGOTRA (India) said that, in co-sponsoring the draft resolution, his delegation had wished to express to the Samoan people its confidence in and respect for their decisions and to show that it fully appreciated how much progress had been made in the Territory since the Trusteeship Council had first studied the situation there.

23. The draft resolution was clear and self-explanatory. In his view, the objections raised by certain delegations were unwarranted. His delegation considered that the two questions which the Samoan people would be asked to answer were in order in the form in which they appeared in operative paragraph 2. It was inconceivable that voters might answer No to the first question and Yes to the second, as some feared they would; if a voter answered No to the first question, he could only answer No to the second question also.

24. Some delegations considered that a constitution was a purely internal matter and would be out of place in a plebiscite that was to decide the question of accession to independence. The Constitution in question, however, was a good one and it was appropriate therefore that the population of Western Samoa, which had not yet had an opportunity to express its views as a whole, should be able to say what it thought of a constitution drafted by its representatives. It had been with that in mind that the sponsors of the draft resolution had added the words "on the basis of that Constitution" to the second plebiscite question. The sponsors of the draft resolution had informally consulted the Prime Minister of Western Samoa on the wording of the two questions and he had raised no objections.

25. The sponsors of the draft resolution merely recommended, without further insistence, that the plebiscite should be conducted on the basis of universal

franchise, in the belief that the inhabitants of Samoa should not be made to face too sharp a break with tradition.

26. With regard to the amendment by the Byelorussian SSR to operative paragraph 4, he explained that in the matter of the appointment of the plebiscite commissioner and of the observers and staff the sponsors had merely acted in accordance with tradition; the observers were part of the staff whose services were made available, as they should be, by the Secretariat; the General Assembly had never appointed staff itself; it had no means of doing so and the introduction of such a procedure might present difficulties.

27. He announced that Greece had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution. He trusted that the Committee would approve the draft resolution unanimously.

28. Mr. FIAME (New Zealand) replied to a number of questions asked by members of the Committee.

29. At the 1083rd meeting the Bolivian representative had expressed surprise that under the constitutional provisions (A/C.4/454, Second Schedule) the "individual voters" representatives in the Parliament of Western Samoa were to represent three times the number of persons on the voters' roll. The calculation of the population of the territorial constituencies, which were to send forty-five members to Parliament, included not only the persons who would actually be called upon to vote but also women, children and persons who, though qualified to be on the roll, were perhaps not on it. The coefficient of three had been chosen because it had seemed best to err on the side of generosity. According to the demographic data available, the forty-five representatives of the territorial constituencies should each represent about 2,300 persons. If there were, for example, 700 persons on the individual voters' roll, that roll would be deemed to be representative of 2,100 persons and those electors would elect one member of Parliament. If the number of persons on the roll was 1,000, the roll would be deemed to be representative of 3,000 persons and, under the provisions of the electoral law, the electors would send two representatives to Parliament. The true number of registered voters would probably range between 700 and 1,000.

30. The Bolivian representative, referring to the resolutions adopted by the Constitutional Convention (A/C.4/454/Add.1), had said that the Committee should ignore the resolution on external relations. The Committee was not, however, being asked to endorse any of the resolutions of the Constitutional Convention. The Convention's resolutions had all been transmitted to the Committee in order that it should have complete information about the discussions that had been held in Western Samoa on the country's future. Those resolutions were directed to the Government and legislature of Western Samoa. Some of them concerned matters on which legislation should be enacted before independence. Others did not require action to be taken before independence and, by its very nature, the resolution on external relations was directed to the Government which would be in office after independence and was being brought to the present Government's attention only in so far as the problems involved had to be considered before independence.

31. The Bolivian representative had also implied that a policy based on that same resolution would make Western Samoa a protectorate. That was not correct.

Western Samoa was to retain complete responsibility for its foreign policy, but New Zealand would carry out certain functions in the matter of diplomatic and commercial representation, which would otherwise entail serious practical problems for a country as small as Western Samoa; such problems, moreover, confronted many independent States. The arrangement which would be entered into with New Zealand, and which might be changed if the need arose, would not, therefore, turn the country into a protectorate.

32. The Soviet Union representative feared that the New Zealand Government might mislead Western Samoa into signing a treaty of friendship which would restrict the country's independence; that fear was groundless.

33. The Soviet Union representative had also pointed out that the Bank of New Zealand held a majority of the stock of the Bank of Western Samoa. The arrangement was, however, a temporary one. The Bank of Western Samoa had been established under a law promulgated by the Samoan Government and its constitution could therefore be amended at any time by the Legislative Assembly of Western Samoa.

34. The representative of Togo had asked how the Constitutional Convention had been elected. That Convention had been composed of members of the Legislative Assembly, with three additional representatives from each Samoan constituency and some additional European representatives. The additional representatives had been elected by secret ballot in the same way as the members of the Legislative Assembly, special elections having been held for that purpose in July 1960.

35. The representative of Togo had observed also that in other Trust Territories general elections had been held shortly before independence. In Western Samoa, a parliamentary system had been in operation for several years and general elections were to be held in February 1961. In connexion with those elections, he explained the attitude of the Samoan people to universal suffrage. In Western Samoa, it was the traditional function of the "matai", the elected leader of each family group, to regulate the use of land, to sit with other "matai" in the village council and to be the usual spokesman for the group he represented in debates on questions of interest to a whole district or the whole country. The "matai" system was a system of representation, not one of domination. Consultations were constantly held and they enabled the "matai" to lead the group effectively and to maintain good relations with the family and the village. The system had shown itself to be both stable and flexible, for it had adjusted itself to modern life. There were, for example, land owners who were not "matai". Women were playing an increasingly large part in the field of public health. At the political level the Samoans required the "matai" to be educated or to have had a certain amount of business or administrative experience. Many very young representatives had been elected to the Constitutional Convention precisely because of their knowledge or experience. Some Samoans now felt that the system could develop even further and that the right to vote could be granted to all adults, leaving the privilege of standing for the Legislative Assembly to the "matai" alone. That was the position he himself took, but the great majority of Samoans still felt that such a change would endanger the social structure of the country; a proposal for introducing the system of universal suffrage had been rejected by the Constitu-

tional Convention. Between the years 1920 and 1930 the New Zealand Government had, in all good faith, endeavoured to impose reforms, but they had been violently opposed by 95 per cent of the Samoan people, who had felt that the reforms were not what they needed. Similarly the United Nations would be likely to paralyse the Samoan Government if it urged the adoption of practices for which the Samoan people did not consider themselves ready.

36. He thanked all the members of the Fourth Committee for the understanding they had shown in regard to the people of the Territory and he was particularly grateful to the sponsors of the draft resolution. He hoped that Western Samoa would fully justify the confidence which the United Nations placed in it.

37. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand) said that the representative of the Soviet Union had remarked that the Bank of New Zealand held 55 per cent of the stock of the Bank of Western Samoa, which held only 45 per cent, and that he had expressed the wish that the position should be reversed. He would point out, as the Prime Minister of Western Samoa had already done, that the Bank of Western Samoa had been set up by the Samoan Government and that its statutes could therefore be altered before independence. The New Zealand Government would be perfectly ready to accept the change suggested by the Soviet Union representative, but the initiative must come from the Samoan Government.

38. He thanked the members of the Committee for the indulgence they had shown in their appraisals of New Zealand's administration of the Territory. His country had always tried to transmit to the United Nations the most detailed information it could obtain. It had sometimes been criticized and it had sometimes had difficulty in replying immediately during the meeting to some observations, as, for example, those of the Bolivian representative. But his Government had always given close study subsequently to the summary records, and had often been able to put suggested changes into practice. New Zealand had no pretensions to being one of the great civilizing nations of the world and it had contented itself with passing on certain technical and practical knowledge to an unusually receptive and intelligent people. Despite the fears expressed by the Soviet representative, it would be particularly difficult to play tricks on the Samoan people.

39. The representatives of the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian SSR and Czechoslovakia had sought assurances that the Territory would attain true independence. It would perhaps not be independence as those countries knew it, but it would nevertheless be true and genuine independence. He was very appreciative of the fact that the question of the future of Western Samoa had always been treated with objectivity by the United Nations and he hoped that the Territory would continue to remain outside the scope of the cold war.

*Mr. Pachachi (Iraq) took the Chair.*

40. Mr. KUDRYAVTSEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) and Mr. NEJEDLY (Czechoslovakia) objected to the comparisons which the New Zealand representative had made between their countries and Western Samoa. In the United Nations, all delegations represented sovereign States. The Byelorussian representative had simply said that the Territory must accede to true independence, not in the sense in which

New Zealand understood it, but in the sense recognized by all mankind. He had made no reference to the sense in which New Zealand used the word "independence".

41. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the item on the agenda concerned the future of Western Samoa.

42. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand) apologized for raising the issue.

43. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) observed that New Zealand, as the Administering Authority, had always borne in mind the suggestions of the Trusteeship Council and of the General Assembly, and that, in particular, to take account of the wishes expressed by certain delegations, it had agreed that the problem of the conclusion of a treaty of friendship should only be raised after the Territory's accession to independence. The Bolivian delegation nevertheless considered that that question ought never to have been raised and that the Fourth Committee was not entitled to pass judgement on a resolution adopted by the Constitutional Convention on the external relations of Western Samoa. His delegation would therefore like the representative of New Zealand and the Prime Minister of Western Samoa each to give him an assurance that no link would be established, in any form, between that resolution and approval of the Constitution, and that the question would not be mentioned either directly or indirectly during the plebiscite lest the population be improperly influenced.

44. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand) gave the Bolivian representative the assurance that, for its part, New Zealand considered that the resolution relating to the external relations of Western Samoa concerned a question which would be settled after the plebiscite and after accession to independence.

45. Mr. FIAME (New Zealand) said that he shared that opinion.

46. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) expressed confidence in the representative of the Administering Authority and in the Prime Minister of Western Samoa because he had no reason to doubt their word. Their response clarified the situation sufficiently to allow him to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

47. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the funds necessary for implementation of the resolution had already been included in the United Nations budget for 1961.

48. He invited the Fourth Committee to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it (A/C.4/L.663).

49. Mr. CABA (Guinea) requested a separate vote on the second preambular paragraph and on question 1 in operative paragraph 2, as well as on the words "Do you agree that on 1 January 1962 Western Samoa should become an independent State", which appeared in question 2 of operative paragraph 2.

50. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the Byelorussian amendment to the second paragraph of the preamble, calling for the deletion of the words "and the resolutions adopted by that Convention".

*That amendment was rejected by 31 votes to 26, with 12 abstentions.*

*The second preambular paragraph was adopted by 46 votes to 6, with 13 abstentions.*

*Question 1 in operative paragraph 2 was adopted by 64 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.*

51. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the Byelorussian amendment to the effect that the words "on the basis of that Constitution" should be deleted from question 2 in operative paragraph 2.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Gabon, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Liberia, Poland, Romania, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia.

*Against:* Ghana, Greece, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France.

*Abstaining:* Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Paraguay, Somalia, Sudan, United Arab Republic, Brazil, Central African Republic, Chad, Cyprus, Dahomey, El Salvador.

*That amendment was rejected by 35 votes to 22, with 15 abstentions.*

52. Mr. CABA (Guinea) thought that it would be unnecessary to put to a separate vote, as he had requested, the words "Do you agree that on 1 January 1962 Western Samoa should become an independent State", since the amendment designed to delete the rest of the paragraph had just been rejected.

53. Mr. GASSOU (Togo) requested, nevertheless, that those words should be put to a separate vote.

54. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the words "Do you agree that on 1 January 1962 Western Samoa should become an independent State", appearing in question 2 of operative paragraph 2.

*Those words were adopted unanimously.*

55. Mr. KUCHAVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) requested that operative paragraph 3 should be put to the vote separately.

*Operative paragraph 3 was adopted unanimously.*

56. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the Byelorussian amendment to operative paragraph 4, calling for the insertion of the words "appointed also by the General Assembly" after the word "observers".

*That amendment was rejected by 40 votes to 14, with 14 abstentions.*

*The draft resolution as a whole (A/C.4/L.663) was adopted by 59 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.*

57. Mr. CABA (Guinea) said that he had abstained in the vote on the draft resolution because his delegation had not had an opportunity to study closely the statements of the representative of New Zealand and the Prime Minister of Western Samoa, which had been communicated to the Committee in English only. Again, as the documents A/C.4/454 and Add.1 had likewise been distributed in English only, the Guinean delega-

tion had not had the necessary time to assure itself that the Constitution on which the people of Western Samoa were called upon to vote and the resolutions adopted by the Constitutional Convention were truly democratic. The Guinean delegation accordingly was bound to entertain doubts concerning the content of the documents mentioned in the second preambular paragraph and in questions 1 and 2 of operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. However, it had faith in the Samoan people, whose independence would crown the struggle against colonialism. Although it was unable to extend congratulations to New Zealand, since it was aware that, despite differences in method, the Administering Authorities all sought the same objectives and remained united with one another, Guinea extended its wishes for success to the people of Western Samoa. It was certain that, with their well-known intelligence and wisdom, they would bear in mind that the modern age was one of illusory independence, and that they would manage to thwart all schemes in which the Administering Authority might wish to engage. Guinea was convinced that Western Samoa would be able to become a truly independent nation, both domestically and internationally, and that after its independence it would be able to decide upon the content and real validity of a possible treaty of friendship with New Zealand.

58. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) said that he had voted for the Byelorussian amendment to the second preambular paragraph because the problem raised by the last resolution of the Constitutional Convention ought to be settled by the Samoan people after their accession to independence. It was a novelty to see an Administering Authority persuade the indigenous population of a Trust Territory to enter into a bilateral agreement with it before independence and to see the United Nations take cognizance of that agreement. The same procedure must not be followed in the African countries that were still to become independent. The Liberian delegation had also voted for the Byelorussian amendment to question 2 in operative paragraph 2 because it was contrary to the spirit of the Charter to provide for independence on the basis of a constitution. The Liberian delegation had voted for the draft resolution as a whole, however, because it was in favour of independence for the Samoan people and of its liberation from the imperialist Powers. It hoped that Western Samoa would be able to live in peace after independence and that it would be able to eliminate all the restrictions on its sovereignty.

59. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia) was happy again to be able to offer the people of Western Samoa and New Zealand his congratulations on the Territory's continued progress towards independence but he did not think that the questions of independence and the Constitution should be linked together. It should not be forgotten that, according to document A/C.4/454/Add.1, the Constitutional Convention had recommended that the Prime Minister of Western Samoa should inform the United Nations General Assembly that Western Samoa wished only one question to be asked in the plebiscite, namely, "Do you agree that Western Samoa should be independent or under foreign rule?" In the vote, the Ethiopian delegation had acted strictly in accordance with that consideration.

60. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) said that he had voted for the draft resolution because his Government

had confidence in the Samoan people and was sure that they would consolidate their independence and make rapid strides along the road of progress.

61. Mr. BOUZIRI (Tunisia) said that he had voted for the amendment of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the second paragraph of the preamble because it had seemed to him to be a constructive suggestion and the deletion of the words in question would not have harmed the text. He had also voted for the Byelorussian amendment to question 2 in operative paragraph 2 because there was no necessary link between the two questions framed. His delegation hoped that the observations made on that point would be borne in mind. He had abstained in the vote on the Byelorussian amendment to operative paragraph 4 because, while recognizing that the General Assembly could intervene in the appointment of observers, he had considered that the established practice was sound and should be maintained, and he had not shared the mistrust of the author of the amendment. Lastly, while considering it imperfect, he had voted for the draft resolution as a whole because he had thought it possible, in that particular case, to make a presumption in favour of the Administering Authority. He hoped that if the population rejected the proposed Constitution its refusal would not be an obstacle to its independence and that the Constitution would be quickly amended so that the population might thereafter opt freely for independence.

62. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) said that he had voted for the Byelorussian amendments but had abstained in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole. He was convinced that the Western Samoan people wanted total independence and that the United Nations ought to help them to achieve that aim. It was for the people of the Territory to decide their own fate. But his delegation was not sure that the draft resolution favoured the exercise of that right and it did not, for instance, understand the purpose of question 2 in operative paragraph 2. It was not by the will of the Administering Authority but as a result of the struggle of Western Samoa for its independence that the Samoan people would be called upon to decide their fate; a further reason was that in the present age anyone who opposed the liberation of colonial peoples would gain nothing. Albania had always been in favour of the accession of those peoples to total independence and could not vote for a draft resolution which did not give it complete satisfaction. It wished the Samoan people success against those who sought to prolong the colonial system of exploitation of the Territory.

63. Mr. MIYAZAKI (Japan) was not convinced of the need to conduct a plebiscite, for perfect harmony reigned between Western Samoa and New Zealand; he believed that the proposed plebiscite would offer proof of the population's total support. His delegation had nevertheless voted for the draft resolution and it offered the population of Western Samoa all its best wishes for the future.

64. Mr. GUARDADO (El Salvador) said that his delegation's vote had been determined both by the circumstances and by principle. In the first place, his delegation had not had sufficient time to examine the Constitution and the resolutions adopted by the Constitutional Convention, because they appeared in documents which had not been translated into Spanish. Furthermore, operative paragraph 2 provided that the plebiscite should include two questions, whereas the

Constitutional Convention had recommended only one. His delegation considered that the question which appeared in the resolution on the plebiscite adopted by the Constitutional Convention and reproduced in document A/C.4/454/Add.1 was the only one that should be put to a people which was not yet independent, and that the question of the adoption of a constitution did not arise until after accession to independence. Finally, from the point of view of principle, his delegation believed that it was for the people to decide their fate, as, indeed, had been recognized in the instructions given to the Prime Minister of Western Samoa.

65. Mr. ORBE (Ecuador) said that he had voted for the constructive amendments submitted by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic because in his view the independence of Western Samoa ought not to be subject either to the resolutions adopted by a Constitutional Convention or to the adoption of a Constitution. However, he had abstained in the vote on the text of the draft resolution for the reasons given by the representative of Ethiopia.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.