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Chairman: Miss Angie BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEMS 13, 50 AND 51

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/4818, A/C.4/L.689, A/C.4/L.692) (continued)

Dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/4864, A/C.4/L.691) (continued)

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/4876, A/C.4/L.690) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. MELNICHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) observed that in 1961 the Committee was examining the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/4818) in special circumstances, because of the death agony of the colonialist system and the accession of new countries to independence. That being the case, it should concern itself as a practical matter with the immediate granting of independence to peoples whom the colonialists were still trying to keep in a condition of servitude. Although the colonial empires were crumbling, no target dates had yet been fixed for the accession to independence of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, Nauru or New Guinea, despite the adoption by the General Assembly, in its resolution 1514 (XV), of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which applied *inter alia* to those three Territories. Indeed, the Administering Authorities were showing by their actions that they had not the slightest intention of taking the General Assembly's resolution into account. Their statements before the Trusteeship Council had revealed no intention of granting independence to those Territories. The United States delegation had avoided speaking of independence as an objective to be attained in the case of the Trust Territory of the Pacific

Islands, thus showing that the United States intended to make those islands part of its metropolitan territory. The United States delegation had affirmed that all was well in the Pacific Islands and had expressed its entire satisfaction with conditions in New Guinea and Nauru. That was, of course, the position of a colonial Power and it would be futile to expect the countries associated with it to express a different view.

2. As far as New Guinea was concerned, the Australian Government had told the Trusteeship Council that it was working on the preparation of a comprehensive programme of economic, social and educational advancement from which, when approved, it would be possible to derive intermediate target dates in the various fields. Considering that after forty years of Australian rule no such programme had as yet been drawn up it might well be asked how much more time must elapse before the promised programme could be worked out and adopted. Even supposing that such a programme should one day be adopted, the Administering Authority's statements showed that it was reserving the right to control the future destiny of the people of New Guinea, and there could be no doubt that it would exercise such control in accordance with the views and interests of the colonialists.

3. Some members of the Trusteeship Council who supported the colonialist Powers had, of course, welcomed Australia's promises concerning the comprehensive development plan for New Guinea. It might be noted in that connexion that the intentions attributed to Australia by the representative of New Zealand according to part I, chapter V, paragraph 12, of the Council's report, were not in accordance with the position of the Administering Authority as stated in paragraph 10 of that chapter. It could therefore be concluded that Australia was in fact guided by colonialist principles and that the ultimate aim of its policy was to make New Guinea part of its metropolitan territory.

4. The situation with regard to Nauru was most disturbing, for the three Governments which constituted the joint Administering Authority were seeking to destroy the national identity of the Nauruan people by transferring them to New Zealand or Australia, where they would be absorbed into the metropolitan populations, as the representative of New Zealand had stated at the Committee's 1163rd meeting. The colonialist Powers would no longer be interested in the island of Nauru once its natural wealth had been exhausted and would thereafter concern themselves only with bringing the Nauruans under some other form of servitude.

5. It was significant that those Powers never mentioned General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), as indicated by the statement of the adviser to the special representative which was recorded in part I, chapter V, paragraph 21, of the Trusteeship Council's report. The arguments which the colonialists advanced and the theories which they had expounded concerning

multiracial societies and the union of colonies with metropolitan countries would deceive no one. It was the sacred duty of the Committee to block the plans of the colonialists and to ensure that the principles enshrined in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples were implemented in their entirety. The Committee should recommend the Administering Authority to take immediate steps with a view to implementing the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), particularly paragraph 5. The Administering Authority should also be called upon to fix specific target dates for the accession of the Trust Territories to independence in 1962.

6. The colonial Powers were not content to do their utmost to retard the movement of the Trust Territories towards independence, but when the pressure of circumstances obliged them to yield, tried to retain their influence in formerly dependent countries by every possible means, including the imposition on them of so-called treaties of friendship. Thus countries which had just won their political freedom must continue to struggle to make themselves genuinely independent. In that connexion he found it difficult to understand why the constitutions of Territories about to attain independence should be drawn up in the metropolitan countries which controlled them.

7. He regretted that the Trusteeship Council should in fact have become an organ serving the colonial Powers. The stereotyped answers it addressed to indigenous inhabitants who sent petitions to it in the hope of obtaining protection against the abuses to which they were subjected was proof enough of that assertion. It was likewise significant that no USSR representative had ever been appointed to a visiting mission sent to a Trust Territory. The reason for that discriminatory practice was the Administering Authorities' fear that a representative of the USSR would insist on receiving exact information on the conditions actually prevailing in the Territories visited. The United Kingdom representative had stated at the Committee's 1163rd meeting that he was to be a member of a mission which would visit New Guinea and Nauru in 1962. There could be no doubt that as the representative of a colonial Power he would not be too critical of the manner in which those Trust Territories were being administered.

8. In adopting the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples the General Assembly had laid down the policy for the future: colonialism must disappear from the face of the earth. It was for the Committee to formulate specific recommendations with a view to the implementation of the principles and provisions set forth in that Declaration.

9. Mr. KATONA (Hungary) noted with satisfaction that one chapter of the Trusteeship Council's report was devoted to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and he quoted paragraph 5 of that Declaration. With the exception of the colonial Powers, which had not voted for resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration, all countries had proclaimed in that Declaration their intention of achieving the immediate and complete liquidation of the colonial system.

10. In its report the Council had described the actual situation and future prospects of Trust Territories, taking into consideration the negative attitude of the Administering Authorities towards the aspirations for independence of the peoples of those Territories. But it followed automatically from the composition of the Council that no unanimous proposal to enforce General

Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) without delay could be expected from it. The answer, as some representatives had already said, would be to dissolve the Trusteeship Council immediately and to grant independence to the remaining Trust Territories.

11. When resolution 1514 (XV) had been adopted, the colonial Powers could have been expected to understand that they would have to renounce their colonies. Unfortunately, however, some Member States were still hanging on to theirs. Tanganyika and Western Samoa would attain independence before long and the administering countries would then boast of having granted them independence; but the Territories in fact would have had to pay a tremendous price for it.

12. The success which the colonies, including the Trust Territories, had had in their fight for independence, together with the weakening of the colonial system as a whole, had created a new situation in which there was no place for the Trusteeship System which, for millions of people, had meant a new form of colonial exploitation. The Administering Authorities were now trying to make the granting of independence to Trust Territories dependent on the conclusion of economic and political agreements which would enable them to maintain their domination in those countries. A striking example was Western Samoa, where the Administering Authority, by concluding a so-called treaty of friendship, was trying to keep in its hands after 1 January 1962 all the essential powers which it now held; it was for the Committee to ensure that Western Samoa became independent without any strings attached. The Hungarian delegation also felt it necessary to emphasize, at that stage, its agreement with the views of other delegations that, in the case of Ruanda-Urundi, the Administering Authority was not fulfilling its obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement.

13. It was deplorable that certain Administering Authorities were not even fixing a date for the granting of independence to the Territories which they administered. That was the case, in particular, with the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, Nauru and New Guinea. In Nauru, where the British Phosphate Commissioners were pocketing enormous profits while the indigenous population was gradually losing the very ground under its feet, it was becoming essential to find some means of enabling the Nauruans to continue to live in their own country. In New Guinea, as the Council's report showed, the Administering Authority was taking no steps to transfer full powers to the population of the Territory in accordance with its obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement. The so-called reform of the Legislative Council of Papua and New Guinea had changed nothing, since the management of affairs remained in the hands of the Administering Authority. Like other members of the Committee he considered that New Guinea should be granted independence immediately.

14. Contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), some Administering Authorities were deliberately delaying the granting of independence to Trust Territories on the pretext that those Territories were backward and must first attain a certain degree of economic and cultural development. Before the age of colonialism, however, the great majority of colonial peoples had lived in well organized communities and all were mature enough to be given immediate independence, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Such independence

would be more helpful to their economic, political and cultural development than the time lost during a preparation of questionable value. The newly independent countries faced difficult tasks, especially as the colonialists sought to impose upon them, through economic, commercial and military commitments, a new form of colonialism, which they would have to fight off in order to safeguard their independence. The Committee would merely be fulfilling its obligations in connexion with the report of the Trusteeship Council and complying with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) if it decided, at the current session, that the last remaining Trust Territories should be granted independence in a short time.

15. Mr. ATIDEPE (Togo) said that in Nauru, after forty years of phosphate mining by which time the soil of the island could no longer feed the population, the three Governments which constituted the Administering Authority had proposed integrating the Nauruan people into their own populations. Unfortunately, such a step would take no account of the aspirations of colonized peoples for independence. In his view integration became possible only after a people had acquired its freedom. Until then integration would merely mean the absorption of a people by a State which that people could only look upon as the cause of its misfortunes. The problem of Nauru could not but touch the conscience of all members of the Committee; there were surely countries with territories large enough to be able to take in the entire population of the island.

16. Turning to another subject, he noted that the United Kingdom representative had rejoiced at the previous meeting at the solution found to the question of the Cameroons under British administration and at the fact that the Cameroonians had been integrated in the country of their choice. It was a matter for regret that at the eleventh session of the General Assembly, after the plebiscite held in conformity with General Assembly resolution 944 (X) to determine the wishes of the population of Togoland under British administration, the United Kingdom representative had insisted on the General Assembly examining the over-all results of that plebiscite, instead of the results obtained on a regional basis, as the resolution in question had envisaged. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Togo had called attention to that situation in his speech on 5 October (1026th plenary meeting). He asked the United Kingdom to change its attitude so that, when the Togolese question was again raised, past wrongs could be righted.

17. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) noted that the movement for national liberation, particularly in Africa, had reached the phase of the final liquidation of colonial supremacy in all its forms and manifestations. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted at the previous session by an overwhelming majority of Member States, specified that, immediate steps should be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which had not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom. Those provisions reproduced the terms of Article 76 of the Charter, which laid down the fundamental purposes of the Trusteeship System, and elaborated upon them in that they provided for the attainment of immediate independence by all Trust Territories, without any conditions or reservations on

the part of the Administering Authorities. Since the latter had shown that they did not intend to abandon their positions in the Territories under their administration, the General Assembly should come to grips with the urgent problem of the implementation of the Declaration. Indeed, for sixteen years, the Administering Authorities, using the Trusteeship System as a smoke-screen, had degraded the Territories for which they were responsible to the level of their other colonies, in violation of the obligations they had assumed. They were systematically sabotaging the implementation of the provisions of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements and often used the Trust Territories in order to repress national liberation movements of the colonial peoples, as shown by the example of Ruanda-Urundi. Not a single territory apart from the former Mandated Territories had been placed under the Trusteeship System, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 77 of the Charter. Moreover, the Administering Authorities had sought to incorporate the Trust Territories in their other colonies. For example, they had established so-called administrative unions, the purpose of which was to create political and economic units centrally administered as colonies and thus in practice to deprive the Trust Territories of their international status.

18. Now that the entire colonial system and the system of international trusteeship were about to collapse, it became manifest that the Trusteeship Council had failed in its function. Had it defended the rights of the peoples of the Trust Territories, those Territories would have been able to attain their independence long before, but its decisions had consistently been made in the interests of the colonialist Powers. Nevertheless, the subjugated peoples themselves, with the assistance of the socialist countries and all progressive and democratic forces, were bringing about the disintegration of the colonial system and its liquidation.

19. If General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were put fully into effect it could accelerate the progress of the peoples in the Territories still under trusteeship towards freedom and independence. At its current session, the Assembly should take positive and effective measures, such as those mentioned in the memorandum submitted by the USSR Government on 26 September 1961 (A/4889), to attain the objectives stated in that resolution and bring about the total liquidation of the colonial system in 1962. The Trusteeship Council should prove, in its last stage of existence, that it had at least partly fulfilled the task entrusted to it under the Charter. For the time being, however, it was to be noted with regret that no important change had taken place in the Trust Territories since the adoption of the Declaration on the granting of independence. Indeed, it would appear in some cases that the indigenous populations were not even aware of the existence of the Declaration. The Czechoslovak delegation wanted to know what steps the Secretariat had taken to make it known inasmuch as only recently, in July 1961, it had announced plans to distribute 13,000 copies. It was also to be regretted that the Soviet proposal that the Trusteeship Council should draft a separate report on the implementation of the Declaration^{1/} had been rejected as a result of the manoeuvres of the colonial Powers. Nevertheless, it was evident from the few pages of the Trusteeship Council's report devoted to the subject that those

^{1/} See Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Twenty-Seventh Session, 1136th and 1137th meetings.

Powers, having failed to prevent the adoption of the Declaration, were trying to ignore it and prevent it from being implemented.

20. There were only three Trust Territories left with no time-limit established for their independence. Implementation of the Declaration would enable them to attain independence, in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, in the course of 1962, and the Administering Authorities surely did not have to be reminded that the Declaration stipulated that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

21. With respect to the situation in certain Trust Territories, he cited the Pacific Islands under United States administration. The Administering Authority regarded that Territory as a strategic military base, had carried out nuclear tests there and planned to continue to do so; its policy had not changed. Its misuse of the Territory could not be tolerated because it was incompatible with the United Nations Charter. The Declaration on the granting of independence should also apply to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands despite the allegedly strategic nature of the Territory. The question should be brought to the Security Council, which had certain powers with regard to strategic areas and should exercise them in the spirit of the Declaration.

22. With regard to New Guinea under Australian administration, nothing in the Trusteeship Council's report indicated that adoption of the Declaration had brought about any changes in the Territory. The so-called Legislative Council was an instrument in the hands of the Administering Authority and the indigenous population had no way of expressing its views on the administration of its country. As for Nauru, it was a sad example of colonial exploitation; the Administration, in order to increase its profits from the phosphate industry, planned to resettle all the inhabitants of the island elsewhere and thereby destroy their national identity. The Czechoslovak delegation did not agree with that plan and considered that the only possible solution lay in the liquidation of the colonial administration and the transfer of economic powers to the indigenous population no later than 1962.

23. The Czechoslovak delegation noted with satisfaction that the gradual liberation of Trust Territories continued to narrow the field of action of the Trusteeship Council. It hoped that the Council's current report would be its last but one. Indeed, it could reasonably be expected that the Council would submit a report to the Assembly at its seventeenth session on the termination of the Trusteeship System in all the Territories. The Fourth Committee could contribute to the attainment of that objective to a considerable degree, and if positive decisions to that effect were taken in 1962, it would have accomplished its task.

24. With regard to the question of scholarships granted to students of Trust Territories by Member States, he noted that the assistance thus provided, the importance of which had often been emphasized, was wholly in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and with the interests of the indigenous peoples. He therefore protested against the attitude of the Administering Authorities, which concealed from the populations the various relevant resolutions of the Assembly or prevented the departure of students. It was the obligation of the Administering Authorities to prepare those peoples for independence, and for that

purpose, to train indigenous administrators or economists, who were totally lacking at present in the Trust Territories.

25. For those reasons, several Member States had decided to offer free scholarships to indigenous students. For its part, the Czechoslovak Government had taken seventy-nine students from Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territories into its universities during the past school year, and had decided to award another thirty scholarships for the school year 1962-1963. The recent establishment in Prague of the University of 17 November, which was destined for foreign students, represented a substantial expansion in the training opportunities offered to indigenous students. The Czechoslovak Government was thus contributing to the efforts made to accelerate the attainment of national independence by Territories still under trusteeship or by Non-Self-Governing Territories as well as all other colonial countries.

26. Mr. ROS (Argentina) thanked the President and members of the Trusteeship Council for their excellent report. He welcomed the imminent accession to independence of Tanganyika and Western Samoa, which was due in large part to the persevering efforts of the political leaders of those Territories and the Governments of the Administering Authorities. He believed that the admission of those two countries to the United Nations would increase confidence in the International Trusteeship System and in the Trusteeship Council, which endorsed the principle of self-determination.

27. The case of New Guinea, however, raised complicated issues. His delegation was aware of the difficulties confronting the Administering Authority, but it believed that they should not be allowed to hold back the political development of the Territory's inhabitants. His delegation would urge the Administering Authority to redouble its efforts towards that end and to endeavour to raise the country's economic and social and educational levels. It had no doubt that Australia would do all in its power to prepare the people of New Guinea for the exercise of their right of self-determination and that it would carry out the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council concerning the question of racial discrimination.

28. The problem of the future of Nauru seemed disproportionate to the size of that Territory. The proposal to resettle the population was encountering serious objections, and the wishes of the population should be taken into account before making a final decision. If only part of the population agreed to resettlement in some other place, it would be reasonable to ask when the conditions justifying termination of the Trusteeship Agreement would come into being and, in the event of the whole population agreeing to leave the island, what would be its legal status. Such questions might seem premature but they ought, in his delegation's view, to be taken into account.

29. He was glad that United Nations information centres had been established in Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi, and welcomed the steps taken by the United Nations to provide indigenous populations with information on its aims and achievements. He hoped that an information centre could be opened in New Guinea also in the near future, for the peoples of the dependent territories should be kept informed of the work of the Organization. With that in view the Secretariat should publish in the vernacular, in all Territories, its most important documents, such as the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

30. As for the study and training facilities offered by Member States to the inhabitants of Trust Territories, there had been continuous progress since 1952: the number of scholarships offered was constantly growing in proportion as the interest shown by indigenous students itself increased. It was to be hoped that measures would be taken to guarantee the efficient administration of scholarships and to ensure the necessary co-operation between Administering Authorities and States offering scholarships.

31. With respect to the question of the future of the Trusteeship Council, whose mandate some wished to enlarge by extending its competence to cover the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he reminded members of the existence of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. That Committee had done very useful work and it would be possible to enlarge its terms of reference in order to give effect to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

32. In conclusion, he congratulated the representative of Cameroun on his constructive statement at the 1159th meeting; it marked a new stage in the history of international relations.

33. Mrs. MENESES DE ALBIZU CAMPOS (Cuba) said that her delegation had some reservations about the report of the Trusteeship Council and, like other delegations, was greatly concerned about the future of the Trust Territories and their populations. It might be a matter for congratulation that Tanganyika and Western Samoa were soon to attain independence, but on the other hand there was no cause for satisfaction in the situation in the Territories of Nauru and New Guinea, whose fate would be in doubt if the United Nations did not take vigorous measures to free them from the yoke of what was in effect pure colonialism. In the case of Nauru, which was a perfect example of colonialist exploitation, the Administering Authority had known that the phosphate deposits would in time be exhausted and that merely to extract those deposits would result in ruining the island. That, however, was what had been done. In New Guinea, where the population was living in extreme poverty, the Administering Authority took little heed of the situation, and the Administrator had declared that self-determination could not be envisaged within a period of thirty to fifty years. As the representative of India had pointed out at the 1162nd meeting, there was not a single indigenous doctor, engineer, accountant or banker in New Guinea. It must thus be concluded that in spite of the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly the Administering Authorities had not put into effect any programme which would lead those Territories to independence. In Nauru, the Territory's natural resources ought in the future to be used only for the benefit of the indigenous population, and with respect to New Guinea the Administering Authority should be required to specify exact dates for the attainment of certain stages prior to independence. No pretexts should be accepted, for they were precluded by the provisions of paragraph 3 of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

34. Mr. ABDO (Yemen) thanked the authors of the Trusteeship Council's report for producing a full, clear and succinct document. Of eleven Trust Territories, five had already become independent, three were shortly to become so, and by 1962 only three would be left to engage the Trusteeship Council's attention. So far, therefore, the work of the Trustee-

ship Council had had positive results. He was glad to see that the co-operation of the indigenous leaders in the Territories had enabled them to accede to independence without incident. He was happy to be able to welcome the delegation from Sierra Leone, and looked forward also to welcoming one from an independent Tanganyika. He felt that it should be possible for Mr. Mtemvu, the petitioner from Tanganyika to whom the Committee had given a hearing at its 1157th meeting, to reach an understanding with the future independent Government of Tanganyika. He hoped that independence would raise no problems for Western Samoa, and that the same would apply to Ruanda-Urundi, which was to become independent in a few months.

35. In New Guinea, on the other hand, the situation was not satisfactory, particularly at the political level; it was, however, gratifying to see that a political party had been formed. Handicrafts and small industries should be encouraged in order to improve the Territory's economy, since it was not always able to meet the needs of the people. In Nauru, too, the situation was still disturbing. It was important, at all events, not to impose upon the population a solution they had not freely accepted. The solution chosen should, moreover, be realistic.

36. He was disappointed to see that no dates had yet been fixed for the attainment of independence by the remaining Trust Territories, but he hoped that the various United Nations bodies would ensure that that was done without further delay.

37. With regard to the dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories, he noted with pleasure that two information centres had been set up, and he very much hoped that several others would shortly be established.

38. With regard to the study and training facilities offered by Member States to inhabitants of Trust Territories, he hoped that the number of scholarships offered would continue to increase. Countries already offering scholarships might perhaps extend their generosity so far as to provide for the maintenance of students whose lack of private means prevented them taking advantage of the scholarships offered.

39. Yemen, which was a poor country despite its rich cultural heritage, earnestly hoped that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples would one day be translated into practice, so that the southern part of Yemen might return to its motherland and Palestine, too, might perhaps be freed.

40. Mr. SANKEY (United Kingdom) stated that his Government had no doubt as to its sovereignty over the Territory of Aden. He reserved the rights of his Government on that question.

41. Mr. ABDO (Yemen) observed that although the colonial Powers all spoke of rights of sovereignty, it was nevertheless possible to hope for the liberation of those territories.

42. Mr. OMA YAD (Ghana), replying to the representative of Togo who had unduly criticized a decision ratified some five years earlier, said that his Government would not further tolerate such statements being made in the General Assembly or the Fourth Committee. If the Togolese Government wished to pursue its criticisms it would be a simple matter to arrange

in Togo a referendum under United Nations supervision, which would easily prove that the population wished to join Ghana. He was also ready to give the exact results of the plebiscite referred to.

43. The CHAIRMAN urged the representatives of Togo and Ghana not to bring a five-year old decision into a discussion to which it was not relevant.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.