United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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## FOURTH COMMITTEE, 945th

Tuesday, 10 November 1959, at 10.45 a.m.

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Agenda items 13 and 39: Report of the Trusteeship Council (<u>continued</u>)

Chairman: Mr. L. N. PALAR (Indonesia).

## AGENDA ITEMS 13 AND 39

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/4100, A/4262) (continued)

Cffers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories: report of the Trusteesnip Council (A/4100, part I, chap. VII, sec. D) (<u>con-</u> tinued)

## **GENERAL DEBATE** (continued)

1. Mr. RAO (India) said that the remarks which he was about to make on the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/4100) were prompted by a desire to help and co-operate with the Administering Authorities, on whom the task of preparing the Trust Territories for independence largely rested; he hoped that his suggestions and criticisms would be received in the spirit in which they were offered.

2. In his recent address to the General Assembly (837th plenary meeting), the President of the Republic of Guinea had borne eloquent witness to the significance of the stage of development through which the African continent was passing. The impending accession to independence of several African Trust Territories was a striking example of the acceleration of the pace of historical development in Africa. At the same time it was an indication of the success of the Trusteeship System, which was now beginning to mature and to yield results. He would therefore like to renew the appeal his delegation had made in plenary session (823rd meeting) that the Administering Authorities might find it possible to place other Territories which were non-self-governing under the Trusteeship System, with a view to promoting the expansion of freedom in dependent areas through peaceful and constitutional processes.

3. Of all the countries of Africa, Somaliland under Italian administration was the closest geographically to India and the two had maintained commercial and cultural ties since time immemorial. The last few years had witnessed encouraging developments there in the political, economic, social and educational fields and he was pleased to note that although there had been some dissatisfaction among certain political parties over the conduct of the recent legislative elections, a spirit of harmony prevailed in the Territory. His delegation had suggested that, in the interests of the stability and progress of the future independent State of Somalia, the Political Committee which was to draft the constitution and the constituent assembly which was shortly to be established should include representatives of the political, cultural, regional, trade-union and economic interests which were not at present represented in the Government or the Legislative Assembly.

4. His delegation had hoped that the accession to independence of the Cameroons under French administration would be preceded by a period of peace and co-operation among all political groups and parties. It was therefore concerned at the evidence of renewed tension in the Territory. It had been with a view to encouraging the process of national reconciliation that his delegation had urged at the Trusteeship Council's twenty-third session and at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly that the broadest possible amnesty should be put into effect and general elections held immediately after the Territory's accession to independence. In appealing now to the political leaders and parties to eschew violence and subordinate factional interests to the larger and more vital interests of the nation as a whole, he would like also to express his conviction that a liberalization of the amnesty and the full restoration of freedom of expression would help to remove the existing political differences and would make it easier for the Government and people of the Cameroons to consolidate their country's independence and secure its future as a strong sovereign State. He had noted with interest the statement by the French representative at the 937th meeting that new elections were to be held in February 1960 and he wondered whether the petitioners had been aware of that decision when they had spoken. A categorical announcement stating the exact date of such elections and giving assurances that they would be completely free and fair would help to remove some of the existing doubts and uncertainties in that regard. The Government might also wish to invite representatives of the world Press and other impartial observers to be present during the elections.

5. The fact that the Prime Minister of New Zealand had come before the Committee in person to report on the administration of Western Samoa (935th meeting) was evidence of the deep sense of responsibility that the Administering Authority felt towards that Trust Territory. There was much in the chapter of the Council's report dealing with Western Samoa from which the Committee could derive satisfaction. The willingness of the Samoan leaders to hold a plebiscite on the basis of universal adult suffrage was a significant step forward when viewed in the context of their traditional preference for the restrictive "matai" system and might be expected to lead to the introduction of universal suffrage in subsequent elections. The New Zealand Government was particularly deserving of commendation for the fact that it not only had complied with the General Assembly's recommendations concerning the formulation of intermediate target dates, but also had fixed a tentative date, in consultation with the Samoan leaders, for the Territory's accession to independence. He would like to express his delegation's endorsement in principle of the time-table drawn up for Western Samoa's progress and its hope that the Administering Authority would agree to such modifications in that programme as the Western Samoan authorities might consider desirable.

6. The developments in Tanganyika which the United Kingdom representative had reported at the 942nd meeting were encouraging. The results of the recent elections proved that the parity system of representation was obsolete and the Administering Authority's assurance that it would soon be discarded was welcome. His delegation awaited with interest the report of the Post Elections Committee and the constitutional and political reforms that might ensue. He noted with regret, however, the mention in that Committee's terms of reference of the qualitative franchise, for in his delegation's view such a franchise was not in conformity with democratic principles and practice and Tanganyika had advanced beyond the stage where it might be justified. His delegation as a general rule preferred an electoral system based on universal suffrage and did not think that illiteracy or similar considerations which were brought forward in support of the qualitative franchise should be regarded as precluding the ability to vote intelligently. Further elections had been fixed for September 1960 and he hoped that they would be held on the basis of universal suffrage, in accordance with the Council's repeated recommendations. Mr. Nyerere, the President of the Tanganyika African National Union, speaking in the Legislative Council in reply to the Governor's address of 29 October 1959, had expressed the hope that those elections might be held earlier; that was indicative of the desire of Tanganyikans for the immediate introduction of responsible self-government. At present only five of the twelve members of the Council of Ministers were drawn from the elected wing of the Legislative Council and they were not responsible to the latter. Similarly, the elected members in the Legislative Council itself were in a minority. The Executive Council still existed despite the fact that the Council of Ministers had come into being. It therefore could not be said that the present Government was either responsible or representative in the strict political meaning of those terms. While Mr. Nyerere had accepted those arrangements, he had done so with reservations; that was a fact of considerable importance which the Committee should not fail to take into account. His delegation felt that it would be an act of wisdom on the part of the Administering Authority to establish, in consultation with the elected representatives of the people, not only intermediate stages for the Territory's progress but also a final target date, however tentative, for the attainment of independence.

7. In Ruanda-Urundi progress had been made in the development of the economy and the provision of health and education facilities, but little heed had been paid to the Trusteeship Council's recommendations concerning political reforms and little had been done to develop a sense of nationhood among the inhabitants. Even the recommendation concerning a national flag and a national anthem for the Territory had been ignored. Without attempting to pass judgement in advance on the reforms now contemplated by the Administering Authority, his delegation would like to express the hope that it would lose no further time in introducing the principle of elections into the subchiefdom and chiefdom councils, the regional councils and the General Council. Other reforms should include the participation of women in the political life of the country, the immediate integration of the indigenous and Belgian administrations and the development of democratic institutions. It was imperative that an indigenous development council should be established to assist in the formulation and implementation of plans for economic, social and educational advancement. A matter which was of particular concern to his delegation was the fact that a para-military force recruited from outside the Territory was stationed in Ruanda-Urundi for the purpose of maintaining law and order and that funds were drawn from the Territory's inadequate resources to support it; if such a force was considered necessary it should be recruited from among the Territory's own inhabitants. Many of the fundamental freedoms enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were denied to large sectors of the population and while the regulations relating to compulsory labour, the curfew and the movement of indigenous inhabitants from one area to another had been partially eliminated, the remaining restrictions were contrary to the provisions both of that Declaration and of the United Nations Charter. It was also clear from the Administering Authority's annual report and the evidence submitted by the petitioner Mr. Kale that because of various restrictions in the extra-tribal areas there was little encouragement for the formation of political organizations and the development of public opinion as an effective force. The imposition of such restrictions on the population of a Trust Territory was unprogressive and it was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would consider their immediate removal. His delegation felt that Ruanda-Urundi had reached a stage in its development where it would be appropriate for the Administering Authority, acting in consultation with local authorities, to set a date for the attainment of independence.

8. With regard to the Trust Territory of Nauru, he wished only to express the hope that the Administering Authority would give serious attention to the views expressed by his and other delegations concerning the need to settle the question of the steps to be taken after the island's phosphate deposits had been exhausted.

9. At the Council's twenty-fourth session, his delegation had expressed its concern over certain aspects of the administration of the Trust Territory of New Guinea, including the inadequacy of the Territory's civil service, its educational programme and its agricultural extension programme, the lack of industrial development and the absence of economic planning. In comparison with Papua, with which New Guinea was linked in an administrative union, it appeared that the development of the Trust Territory had been somewhat neglected, with the result that discontent had manifested itself among the inhabitants. The increase in the number of local government councils and the development of unofficial village councils covering groups of three or four villages (kivungs) were encouraging, but the composition and character of the

Legislative Council continued to be a cause of concern. Not only did the Territory not possess a legislative council of its own, but the indigenous members representing New Guinea in the joint New Guinea-Papua Legislative Council were in a minority and were appointed by the Administration. A unique feature of the territorial administration was that the missionary organizations, an alien community numbering about 1,200, had representation in the Council on an equal footing with the whole of the indigenous population and enjoyed, in addition, the right to participate in electing three other non-indigenous members. The continuation of that practice could hardly be expected to have a salutary effect on the development of democratic organs in the Territory. It was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would heed the observation of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Nauru, New Guinea and the Pacific Islands, 1959, to the effect that the New Guineans would prefer to elect their representatives in the Legislative Council.

10. He regretted that his delegation's remarks in the Trusteeship Council on the association of Trust Territories with the European Economic Community had not been reflected in the Council's report. The delegations of Belgium, France and Italy had stated that the Territories administered by them could be expected to benefit from that association, but his delegation did not agree with them. It felt that the arrangement, on which the representatives of the indigenous populations had not been consulted and which did not have their support, was contrary to the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreements, for while those Agreements gave the Administering Authorities the right to establish administrative and fiscal unions between Trust Territories and adjacent countries it did not empower them to link the economies of the former to a community of countries in a distant part of the world. It was an over-simplification of the matter to say that the only consequence of the association would be the allocation of grants or credits from the Community's resources to the Trust Territories. The truth was that there were larger questions involved, including the direction of the trade of those Territories and the exploitation of their mineral and other wealth. Those questions should be carefully studied, for the United Nations should ensure that the resources of the Trust Territories were not mortgaged to outside interests to the detriment of the Territories' own future economic and political freedom.

11. All the Trust Territories which were about to attain independence were suffering from a shortage of trained administrative and technical personnel, budgetary deficits and a lack of the financial and technical resources needed for the expansion and execution of development plans. The report of the Trusteeship Council showed that in most cases the bold and thorough planning which should take place in advance of the attainment of independence was lacking or had been conceived on a departmental basis rather than taking the form of a co-ordinated assessment of requirements and assets and the allocation of priorities. He was glad to note that the requirements of Somaliland under Italian administration in the way of technical personnel and financial and technical assistance were being met for the present and he hoped that the General Assembly would give sympathetic consideration to Togoland's renewed plea for such assistance. At the

same time the Committee should continue to support the requests of other Trust Territories for assistance.

12. It was apparent from the Secretariat's reports to the Trusteeship Council on the question of establishing information centres in or near Trust Territories (T/1467) and the dissemination of information concerning the United Nations (T/1463) that little progress had been made along those lines. Indeed. there had been a decline in the circulation of printed matter about the United Nations and the Trusteeship System in almost all the Trust Territories. In view of the special status of those Territories and the obligations of the United Nations with respect to them, his delegation felt that active steps should be taken to establish information centres in some of the larger Territories such as Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and New Guinea. As the Administering Authorities themselves admitted that the dissemination of such information in the Trust Territories was inadequate, he was confident that they would readily agree to such a proposal.

13. Mr. KIANG (China) said that, thanks to recent developments, more than seven million persons in the Trust Territories in Africa and the Pacific could look forward to their imminent emergence from trusteeship and to the achievement of national independence. The increased speed at which changes were taking place in the African continent would have a far-reaching effect on the general struggle for freedom and democracy, and political evolution there and elsewhere would continue, shielded by the free world against the onslaught of the new imperialists.

14. On the eve of 14 July 1959, the Trusteeship Council had learned with pleasure that the French Government and the Government of the Republic of Togoland had agreed upon the date for the independence of Togoland. His delegation also welcomed the news that the Republic of the Cameroons would become a Member of the United Nations when it attained independence on 1 January 1960.

15. In the case of Somaliland under Italian administration which was also to achieve independence in 1960, it was encouraging to note the significant progress made, with the unfailing assistance of the Administering Authority, in social services and in the educational and economic spheres. The Administering Authority had transferred practically all powers to the Government of Somaliland. General elections had been held and a new Government formed, supported by the majority of the population. At the previous meeting, Hajji Farah Ali Omar had informed the Committee that efforts had been made to bring about a political reconciliation, and it was encouraging to learn that complete unity had been established in the majority party itself. He also gathered that, as his delegation had suggested in the Trusteeship Council, the basis of the Political Committee and the constituent assembly were to be broadened. He expressed his delegation's appreciation of the work of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration and hoped that such problems as the continuation of economic assistance after 1960 and the frontier question would be satisfactorily solved.

16. In Ruanda-Urundi the Administering Authority had wisely decided to ascertain, through a Working Group, the views of the population on their political

future and to put an end to administrative centralization. The Committee awaited with interest the recommendations of the Working Group, which were expected to cover many aspects of administrative and political reform. His delegation hoped that those reforms would include the amalgamation of the African and European administrations, thus promoting the institutional development of the Territory as a whole. His delegation was confident that the Administering Authority would pursue its declared policy of enabling the Africans to manage their own affairs. It had been glad to learn that the Belgian Administration intended to develop a middle class among the indigenous people; as elsewhere in Africa, the emergence of a strong middle class would greatly assist in the economic development of the Territory.

17. The elections held in Tanganyika in 1958 and 1959 had caused that Territory to turn away from the socalled multiracial State and had greatly strengthened African nationalism in East Africa. He had welcomed the United Kingdom representative's statement at the 942nd meeting that there was substantial African representation on the Post Elections Committee and that its wide terms of reference embraced the question of parity of representation. The new Governor had stated in the Legislative Council that it was not intended, and never had been intended, that parity should be a permanent feature of the Tanganyika scene. That statement should allay any doubts about the intentions of the Administering Authority. It was reassuring that the responsible leaders of the major political parties in the Territory were said to be in complete agreement on that important matter. In the rapidly changing African scene, the statesmanship shown by Mr. Nyerere augured well for the peaceful and orderly development of the countries whose aim was national independence. The establishment of a fully responsible Council of Ministers with five unofficial members had been another important step. His delegation awaited with interest the publication of the report of the Post Elections Committee and had been glad to learn that the Governor would then make an announcement concerning further measures to be taken in the constitutional development of Tanganyika. In its progress towards self-government or independence, the Territory would need not only a welltrained civil service but a nucleus of competent technicians and economic experts. The Administering Authority might be well advised to send such experts to the Territory in order to train Tanganyikans for the technical posts which they would be called upon to hold.

18. In the case of Western Samoa, his delegation had welcomed the statement by the Prime Minister of New Zealand that constitutional and political development was proceeding well, in accordance with the time-table (T/1449, para. 174) which had been endorsed by the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-fourth session. Cabinet government had been established and the Western Samoa Citizenship Ordinance had been enacted. His delegation wished to congratulate both the Administering Authority and the people of Western Samoa on the significant advances which they had made since the Trusteeship Council had last considered the Territory.

19. The future of the inhabitants of Nauru presented the International Trusteeship System with a unique problem, a problem, moreover, which had not begun to arouse the concern of the United Nations until two years after Nauru had been placed under the Trusteeship System. As a result of the findings of the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, the Nauruans seemed to have become convinced that there was no alternative to resettlement once the phosphate deposits had been exhausted. At the 935th meeting, the Prime Minister of New Zealand had assured the Committee that the three States constituting the Administering Authority were fully aware of their responsibilities with regard to the future of the Nauruan people. The economic wellbeing of the Nauruans gave them no incentive as a people and it was doubtful whether the Administration could make any long-range plans for their advancement so long as the question of their future remained in suspense. In that connexion, his delegation shared the concern expressed by UNESCO (T/1465, para. 3). If the people of Nauru chose of their own free will to settle outside their present island, the question of the attainment of the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System would arise. It was the responsibility of the United Nations to ascertain how the resettlement of the Nauruans elsewhere could be reconciled with the implementation of Article 76 b of the Charter and to ensure that their future was determined in accordance with their own wishes and interests. Lastly, the Administration deserved to be commended on its achievements in public health and education, for which the people of the Territory were grateful.

20. As a member of the 1959 Visiting Mission, he could confirm that the attitude of the people of New Guinea towards the Administering Authority was one of confidence and gratitude for the changes introduced since the end of the Second World War. Australia's achievements in the Territory were greater than was generally realized and the whole aspect of New Guinea would be changed within ten to fifteen years if the Administering Authority pressed forward unhesitatingly with the measures which it had contemplated after its inquiry into the Navuneram incident.1/ With regard to the extension of administrative control over the whole Territory, it might perhaps be wiser to consolidate the areas already under control; nevertheless, provided that the necessary personnel and finances were available, his delegation fully agreed that administrative control should be extended as quickly as possible in areas which had yet to be explored.

21. The suggestion the representative of Haiti had made at the 940th meeting in connexion with United Nations assistance to Trust Territories after independence had been a thoughtful and constructive one. He could find no precedent for dealing with such assistance outside the framework of the United Nations programme for economic assistance and technical co-operation. Trust Territories which had achieved their independence and had become Members of the United Nations should be on an equal footing with all other Member States, but the General Assembly, in the light of its special responsibility, might consider requests for special assistance on the lines of its resolution 398 (V) of 17 November 1950, since independent States emerging from trusteeship were entitled to all the support the United Nations could possibly give. The Committee might wish to give some thought to the question of how best to deal

<sup>1/</sup> See T/1451, paras. 31-51.

with that matter and to hear from the Secretariat what practical measures it could suggest within the framework of economic and technical co-operation to put the suggestion into effect.

22. Mr. BUSNIAK (Czechoslovakia) said that, in considering the report of the Trusteeship Council, the main points to establish were how far any given Trust Territory had progressed towards independence and to what extent that progress had been facilitated by the Administering Authority.

23. In the case of Togoland, the electoral victory of the party previously in opposition had shown that the people had chosen the correct path and had not yielded to pressure aimed at replacing true independence by a simulacrum; it had proved that, when a people was allowed to express its wishes in freedom, the results were very different from the picture drawn by the Administering Authority. That was a lesson which could usefully be applied in other Trust Territories.

24. In his delegation's view, the serious situation in the Cameroons under French administration should be thoroughly examined by the Committee, since the United Nations would not have another chance of expressing its opinion. The basic factors which had to be borne in mind were the general discontent, the confused situation and the disturbances referred to by one of the petitioners, Mr. Yomb, at the 940th meeting, and the fact that, fifty days before independence, a state of emergency had been proclaimed. Most of the petitioners who had appeared at the meetings of the Committee held in February and March 1959, during the thirteenth session, had been arrested, concentration camps had been set up, and the grant of special powers to Mr. Ahidjo, the Prime Minister, had removed any sort of control, however illusory it might have been, by the Legislative Assembly. What had led to that situation? The Cameroonian people had been denied the opportunity of freely expressing their wishes and the Committee had allowed itself to be convinced that the existing Government was representative of the will of the people. The fact that all six of the deputies recently elected belonged to the opposition explained why Mr. Ahidjo was afraid of holding new elections; he had indeed promised new elections after independence, but there was no guarantee that the people's real wishes would then prevail, especially as the United Nations would be unable to intervene. At the thirteenth session, the Committee should have insisted upon an election being held under United Nations supervision.

25. Mr. Yomb's statement that only the true elected representatives of the people could bring back calm and peace to the country indicated where the only solution to the problem lay. The United Nations should obtain an assurance from the Administering Authority that, before independence, the political situation would be restored to normal by the lifting of the ban on certain political parties and a review of the amnesty law. There was still time for that action to be taken; if the Committee evaded its responsibilities, the Cameroonian people would lose their faith in the United Nations and would feel that it was preventing them from achieving genuine independence.

26. Attempts by Administering Authorities to insinuate that the aims of the Charter were met by the introduction of internal self-government constituted a new development to which his delegation had already

drawn attention at the previous session. In Togoland such an attempt had been foiled by the electors. In Western Samoa, although preparations were being made to bring the trusteeship to an end, the Administering Authority was at the same time asking the people to conclude a so-called treaty of friendship with New Zealand. The long-standing connexion between New Zealand and Western Samoa made it natural that a treaty between the two countries should be among the first to be signed after independence, but the inhabitants of Western Samoa were to be aked to agree to such a treaty before independence and in the very plebiscite in which they were to decide whether to terminate the trusteeship. Moreover, the treaty dealt not only with neighbourly relations, but with the reservation to New Zealand of powers in certain very important matters, and the Administering Authority seemed already to regard it as a "fait accompli".

27. His delegation congratulated the people of Somaliland under Italian administration on their achievements. A number of problems would remain during the transitional period and it would be necessary for the United Nations to provide assistance in the early stages; nevertheless, his delegation considered it a mistake to suppose that independent Somalia would be compelled to depend forever on economic aid from outside. Political independence would give its people strength to rid the economy of the heritage of colonialism and of the colonial division of Africa. Preliminary geological surveys had shown that the Territory's potential resources were great; the people should exploit those resources and thus overcome their economic difficulties, with the help of the other African States.

28. Besides dealing with the Trust Territories to which he had referred, which were moving towards independence, and with the Cameroons under British administration, whose future had already been discussed in the Committee and would be taken up again when the results of the plebiscite were known, the report of the Trusteeship Council contained information concerning other Trust Territories which were not expected to attain the objectives of the International Trusteeship System in the near future. The characteristic feature of all those Territories was that the Administering Authorities refused to establish final dates for the attainment of the aims of Article 76 b of the Charter.

29. With regard to Tanganyika, the Trusteeship Council had been informed that the Administering Authority intended to change its racial policy and to create a situation in which political power would lie chiefly in the hands of the African people. Unfortunately, however, despite those assurances, the United Kingdom's policy in Tanganyika was still based on racial discrimination.

30. The establishment of target dates for the attainment of independence and the formulation of measures to end trusteeship was a vital need in other Trust Territories, too. A rather vague promise had been made by the Belgian Government to carry out reforms in Ruanda-Urundi. Following on the intensification of the nationalist struggle all over Africa, the Belgian Government had been obliged to dispatch to the Trust Territory a Working Group, which, unfortunately, consisted only of representatives of the Administering Authority and not of the indigenous population, to study the situation there and to make recommendations. Neither the Trusteeship Council nor the General Assembly had yet been informed of the recommendations of the Working Group and it was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would fulfil its promise and submit information on the matter to the Fourth Committee. In the opinion of the delegation of Czechoslovakia the steps to be taken should include the establishment of target dates for the attainment of independence and definite measures with a view to the achievement of that goal.

31. The situation in New Guinea was unsatisfactory. Despite many recommendations and resolutions by the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, and in spite of the reservations expressed by visiting missions, the Australian Government continued to administer the Territory in the framework of the administrative union with the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Papua. New Guinea was, in fact, an integral part of Papua and the Administering Authority did not conceal the fact that it had no intention of giving the Trust Territory its own organs of self-government and other attributes of independent political life. There had been no improvement in the political situation in recent years and the Administering Authority had failed to formulate any plans or even to submit data which might give rise to the hope that there would be some change in the near future.

32. As far as the Trust Territory of Nauru was concerned, the Administering Authority not only refused to state how it intended to carry out its responsibilities and lead the Territory towards independence, but refused to consider the idea of independence for Nauru at all. Its only concern with the Territory was the exploitation of the rich phosphate deposits.

33. The facts he had cited did not speak well for the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council or the Administering Authorities. The enslaved peoples of Africa awaited decisive action by the United Nations which would help them to achieve independence. In the view of the Czechoslovak delegation such action should include specific recommendations to the Administering Authorities to establish target dates for the attainment of independence by each Territory under their authority.

34. Political domination was the weapon used by the colonial Powers to ensure the achievement of their aim, which was the economic dependence of their colonies. Political dependence could not be considered apart from the struggle for economic independence. In that connexion, he would draw the Committee's attention to the compulsory inclusion of certain Trust Territories in the so-called European Economic Community. The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, signed in Rome on 25 March 1957, had set up in Europe an association of six economically developed countries with a total population of some 165 million. One of the main objects of that association was the acquisition of raw materials and the opening up of new markets to absorb its industrial production. The enormous natural resources of Africa had been the main reason why in the nineteenth century a number of European States had penetrated that continent. It was therefore not surprising that the colonial Powers viewed with concern the struggle of the African people for independence. In signing the Treaty of Rome, the Administering Authorities had brought their overseas territories into the new organization, without the consent of the people of those territories. The readiness of the Western European Powers to exploit the colonial territories had been welcomed by the large monopolies in West Germany which were behind Western militarism. It had been hard for Germany to accept the loss of its colonies in 1918 and today it was endeavouring to return to Africa by way of the European Economic Community. West Germany's interest in the subject was being shown in a number of ways, for instance, there had been attempts to resuscitate colonial societies which had existed even before the First World War. Furthermore, West Germany's contribution to the Community's Development Fund for the overseas countries and territories was equal to that of France, although West Germany had no colonial territories under its administration.

35. His delegation was firmly convinced that the association of Trust Territories with the European Common Market was contrary to the Charter and to the entire conception of trusteeship. It was illegal because there had been no consultation of the people of the Trust Territories concerned, although General Assembly resolution 326 (IV) referred to the desirability of taking into account before any administrative, customs or fiscal union was established, the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories concerned. The Czechoslovak delegation, like others, had frequently pointed out that the association of Trust Territories with the European Common Market was an obstacle on their road to independence. The proof of that was the fact that the Treaty of Rome did not provide for the cessation of the association of Trust Territories with the European Economic Community before they attained independence. The assertion that that question could be decided after the attainment of independence was unrealistic in view of the fact that from the time of their adhesion to the Common Market the Territories' entire economy was organized for the advantage of the Administering Authorities. The information available made it clear that capital investment in the framework of the Development Fund was in reality investment for the purpose of establishing conditions which would enable the members of the European Common Market to exploit the overseas territories. The objects of the Fund included the building of roads, ports and airfields, which would of course be beneficial to the territories, but at the same time those facilities were essential for the exploitation of raw materials and for imports of the industrial production of monopolies. None of the projects included the development of local industry or the production of consumer goods for the people. Hence, the basic premise for the creation of conditions of independent economic life in the Trust Territories, namely, industrialization, was neglected, as was only to be expected in view of the fact that the provisions of the Fund did not lay down that decisions regarding capital investment should be taken in conjunction with the indigenous population.

36. The steps envisaged by the members of the European Economic Community in connexion with customs policy were bound to have a deleterious influence on the development of the Trust Territories. The gradual introduction in all the six countries members of the Common Market of customs-free imports and the extension to all members of the Community of preferential customs treatment would undoubtedly react unfavourably on the economic situation and foreign trade of the Trust Territories. In other words those measures would foster a one-sided development of their economies and would therefore form an obstacle to their general economic development. As had been correctly stated at a meeting of the Working Party set up by GATT to study the question, the inclusion of overseas territories in the Common Market would create a new region benefiting from preferential customs treatment, which was prohibited by the provisions of GATT.

37. The importation into Trust Territories of industrial goods from all six members of the European Economic Community on the same conditions as had previously obtained only for those of the Administering Authority concerned would naturally create dangerous competition for local production. For example, the only textile factory in Somaliland had had to be closed down because it had been unable to compete with textiles imported into the country by one industrial Power. It was easy to picture what the compete with the goods of all six members of the European Economic Community.

38. Unfortunately, it was impossible to analyse those questions in greater detail owing to the lack of adequate information from the Administering Authorities. Following General Assembly resolution 1275 (XIII) some information had been furnished to the Trusteeship Council, but it had been insufficient, especially with regard to the effects of the association of certain Trust Territories with the European Economic Community on their development towards independence. The question was a complex and important one and should be treated with the seriousness it deserved. The facts he had cited led to the conclusion that the question had not been thoroughly reviewed either by the Trusteeship Council or by the General Assembly. He recalled an admirable proposal made to the Trusteeship Council at its nineteenth session to the effect that the Council should undertake a study of the Treaty of Rome taking into account its legal and political aspects and the provisions of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement.

39. He had confined his remarks principally to two aspects of the development of Trust Territories and had not dealt with other questions covered by the report of the Trusteeship Council, such as petitions, administrative unions and the inadequate dissemination of information about the United Nations in Trust Territories, not because the situation in those respects had improved, but because his delegation thought it unnecessary to repeat what it had said in past years. He would, however, touch on one further question, that of the appointment of members of visiting missions. A discriminatory policy seemed to have been exercised against one of the permanent members of the Trusteeship Council, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which had been one of the initiators of the system of visiting missions. His delegation hoped that the Fourth Committee would call for a change in that respect.

40. The struggle of the African peoples for national liberation was being intensified. The whole continent was on the march and no power on earth could stop it. The only question was whether the United Nations would be able to fulfil its responsibilities under the Charter and assist in the liberation of the peoples of Africa from colonial oppression. If not, it would prove itself unworthy of the faith placed in it by the African peoples.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.