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Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

**Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2427)
(*continued*)**

[Item 13]*

1. Mr. SHTOKALO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2427) showed that the Council had not yet taken the necessary practical steps to ensure that the Administering Authorities discharged their obligations under the International Trusteeship System. It had therefore not fulfilled its task of implementing the purposes and principles of the Trusteeship System, as set out in Article 76 of the Charter. The Council's report did not contain a detailed analysis of the situation in the Trust Territories, nor did it accurately reflect the difficult situation of the indigenous populations. Instead of condemning the colonial policies of the Administering Authorities, and the oppression of the indigenous inhabitants, the report attempted to gloss over the economic, social and educational problems confronting the indigenous inhabitants. Furthermore, the recommendations concerning individual Trust Territories were couched in very vague and general terms. Nevertheless, the report still contained sufficient information to show the very unsatisfactory conditions prevailing. It would take too long to deal with the situation in all the Trust Territories, but the position in Western Samoa and Nauru might serve as the basis for certain general conclusions applicable to all of them.

2. The economy of Western Samoa was largely based on agricultural production at a subsistence level. Only a relatively small proportion of the population was engaged in the commercial production of copra, cocoa and bananas. The best agricultural land was in the hands of the European colonists, the New Zealand Reparation Estates and the various missions. The population was increasing rapidly, with a consequent aggravation of the land problem. The Administering Authority's attention should be drawn to the need for a fairer distribution of the land and for agricultural development of the remaining uncultivated land. The Council's report stated (p. 74) that population pressure existed only on the north coast of Upolu and Manono. From what he had just said, however, it was clear that the problem of overpopulation and shortage of land affected the whole Territory.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

3. The taxation system placed a heavy burden on the population, which had to divert a substantial amount of the meagre income it obtained from primitive agriculture from its vital needs to tax payments. While there were no large industries in the Trust Territory, small industries producing goods for local consumption existed, but there was no legislation on wages, hours and other labour matters. Wages for unskilled and semi-skilled labour were determined by an official of the Administration.

4. The Administering Authority had done little to provide public health facilities. There were only five doctors for a population of 83,000 and, since most of the doctors were attached to the hospital at Apia, the majority of the population had no medical attention. Furthermore, board and lodging in the hospitals and maternity homes was subject to a charge which many of the indigenous inhabitants could not afford to pay.

5. In the field of education, the facilities were quite inadequate to meet the needs of the population. Education was not compulsory; the indigenous teaching staff was inadequate from the point of view of both quantity and quality; there were insufficient primary schools and no higher or technical schools, with the exception of a teachers' training college and a school for nurses. The Administering Authority did nothing to assist the rural schools built and maintained by the indigenous population. In view of the inadequate school facilities, most of the population never received any education beyond that given in the rural schools.

6. There was no self-government for the indigenous population and no universal suffrage. Immediate steps should be taken to educate the indigenous electorate and train indigenous administrators.

7. It was thus clear that the Administering Authority was making no serious effort to fulfil the requirements of the International Trusteeship System with regard to the advancement of the Trust Territory.

8. The small area and population of the Trust Territory of Nauru should not lead to reduced interest on the part of the Trusteeship Council or Administering Authority. On the contrary, particular attention should be given to the Territory in view of the serious damage it had suffered during the Second World War.

9. The island's phosphate resources would be exhausted in sixty or seventy years and a study should be made of the island's other resources. The British Phosphate Commissioners were engaged in the rapacious exploitation of the phosphate deposits, but neither they nor the Administering Authority had made funds available for geological research. According to the Trusteeship Council's report (p. 117), agricultural development was restricted by the absence of pasture land and the limited water supply. The Administering Authority had done nothing to overcome those difficulties: no irrigation channels had been built, nor had the indigenous inhabitants been supplied with fertilizers. The best land

had been alienated by the British Phosphate Commissioners and the Administering Authority. A number of petitions had been submitted in that connexion, but nothing had been done.

10. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1953, had stated in its report on Nauru (T/1054) that after the exhaustion of the phosphate desposits it saw no alternative but the resettlement of the population elsewhere. The British Phosphate Commissioners should be obliged to assume some responsibility in the matter, since the existing Nauruan Community Long-Term Investment Fund would not be sufficient to cover the cost of resettlement. He had been very surprised and shocked to read in the Council's report (p. 113) that the gradual transfer of the population should have as its primary purpose the reduction of the number of older people remaining on Nauru at the expiration of the seventy-year period. He wondered whether the Visiting Mission meant to imply that the older people would be kept from their families, a procedure that was scarcely likely to relieve their suffering.

11. The people of Nauru had no self-government. Full legislative and executive power was in the hands of the Administrator appointed by the Administering Authority. Furthermore the indigenous population had to bear a double administrative burden, since the British Phosphate Commissioners operated on an independent administrative basis. The Nauruan Local Government Council was a purely advisory body and complaints had been submitted on the manner in which elections to it had been conducted. From those complaints it was obvious that the Council was far from being truly representative. The senior posts in the Administration were all occupied by Europeans, and the subsidiary technical posts occupied by the indigenous inhabitants did not give them the necessary training for more responsible posts. The Administering Authority had done nothing to ensure transition from the tribal system to democratic self-government. Despite the small population, racial discrimination was rife and segregation was enforced; restrictions were placed on the free movement of Nauruans and Chinese and a pass system existed.

12. There were no trade organizations. The Administering Authority arbitrarily established the wage rate, indigenous inhabitants receiving far lower pay for the same work than Europeans. The indigenous wages were extremely low, particularly in relation to the rising cost of living. The contract system of labour was tantamount to enslavement, since criminal proceedings could be taken against the workers if they violated their contracts.

13. Health services in the Trust Territory were inadequate and leprosy, tuberculosis and other social diseases were rife.

14. The educational situation was highly unsatisfactory. There was no teachers' training college and no technical education. Instruction was given in English rather than in the vernacular. Owing to the poverty of their parents, many children were unable to attend school. It was clear, therefore, that in Nauru, too, the Administering Authority had failed to fulfil its obligations under the Charter.

15. The same unsatisfactory situation obtained in all the other Trust Territories. In none of them did the people have political rights and in all of them poverty, colonial exploitation and oppression prevailed. The

activities of the Administering Authorities were directed not at implementing the Charter but at maintaining and strengthening the colonial régime, which was characterized by the exclusion of indigenous representatives from the legislative, executive and political bodies of the Territory, repression of the national liberation movements, suppression of the national culture, racial discrimination, corporal punishment, low standards of living, exploitation of the indigenous population, exploitation of the natural resources, the alienation of land and heavy taxation. The General Assembly should insist that the Administering Authorities should strictly conform to the Trusteeship Agreements and the United Nations decisions with regard to the International Trusteeship System.

16. Mr. ALLOUNI (Syria) said that his delegation had played as active a part as possible in the first year of its membership in the Trusteeship Council, while at the same time maintaining an attitude of open-minded observation with regard to the Council's procedures and policies. It was perhaps inevitable in an organ so much smaller than the Fourth Committee, so different in political balance and so little changed in recent years in terms of both the nationalities and personalities of its members that there had grown up not only a series of formal procedures but also a set of habits, customs and attitudes which tended to make the Council's approach to colonial problems very different from that of the General Assembly. The club-like atmosphere in the Council had advantages but also disadvantages: familiarity had the danger of minimizing the importance or urgency of some of the problems. It was part of the responsibility of new members to examine problems with an objectively critical eye and to contribute fresh ideas to the common task. He therefore welcomed the prospect of two more new members joining the Council at the beginning of 1954.

17. He did not believe that the Committee need concern itself at length with the formal procedures of the Trusteeship Council, since the Council had gradually, if sometimes reluctantly, accepted the improvements in procedure advocated by the General Assembly. The pressure of events and realities would make further progress inevitable. The remaining weaknesses in the operation of the Trusteeship System were due not so much to procedure as to the application of procedure to matters of substance, and could, for the most part, be traced to the circumstances prevailing at a given time and to the policies and political combinations which gave rise to the majorities and minorities in the Council. The fairly drastic change of membership taking place in the Council would no doubt be reflected in the manner in which the Council applied its procedures to the problems before it.

18. The General Assembly was entitled to look for better things from the Council in the matter of petitions. Numerous inhabitants of the Trust Territories still, in spite of some entirely understandable scepticism, looked upon the right of petition to the United Nations as a useful outlet for their aspirations, demands and grievances. Their exercise of that right continued to provide the Council with one of its most important and difficult tasks. At its twelfth session the Council had specifically examined 258 petitions and adopted 217 resolutions on them. His delegation did not think very highly of some of those resolutions. Apart from certain specific reservations which it had expressed at the time, it did not believe that the Trusteeship Council was yet examining

petitions in the way which would best serve the interests of the petitioners and the objectives of the Charter.

19. There were two main aspects, the procedural and the substantive, to the very real problem of petitions. The procedural aspect arose from the sheer volume of petitions which, if the peoples of the Trust Territories continued to have faith in the United Nations, must be expected to increase as those peoples became more articulate and more insistent on their rights under the Charter. Useful progress had been made towards solving that aspect of the problem. The Council had established a Standing Committee on Petitions which was a potentially effective piece of machinery. It was open to the Council whenever the need arose—and he believed that such a need was arising—to place the Standing Committee in practically continuous session. At the moment it only met a little in advance of the sessions of the Council and was obliged to work desperately hard in order to complete its agenda before the end of the session.

20. The substantive aspect of the problem had yet to be solved. There was a tendency for the machinery to become an automatic device into which petitions were fed at one end, together with the explanations of the Administering Authorities, and highly polished resolutions came out at the other end. Under the pressure of mass production there was a danger that those resolutions would tend to show a standardization of thought and action. The Council had considered most of the 217 resolutions adopted by it at its twelfth session in the closing days of the session and had voted on them with great rapidity, but it should be remembered that the petitions had already been discussed in detail in the Standing Committee, and that in practice the Council regarded the Standing Committee's examination as virtually final and generally accepted its recommendations without question and without discussion. There was nothing fundamentally wrong in that, since the Standing Committee was a relatively large one, but it did not diminish the tendency towards standardization.

21. His delegation believed that there were three main reasons for that weakness. The first was a tendency to accept any explanation given by the Administering Authority concerned as the last word on the subject. In many of its resolutions the Council merely drew the petitioner's attention to the Administering Authority's observations; but that would afford the petitioner small comfort when he found, as he often did, that the Administering Authority had completely denied or otherwise explained away his complaint or request. The second fault was a tendency to dispose of certain categories of petitions in too individualistic a way without relating them closely enough to the attendant circumstances: a petition which might seem to concern only the person who sent it might in reality reflect a general condition or a matter of broad principle. The third fault was one on which his delegation had expressed reservations at the Council's twelfth session, namely the tendency to rely too much on rule 81 of the Council's rules of procedure and to use it as a pretext for taking no action on matters which involved very serious questions of principle. The reason for and the merits of the first part of rule 81 were obvious and there had been and would be many occasions on which it must necessarily be involved. The second part of the rule however consisted of a qualification as important as the rule itself. It stated that the rule should not be interpreted so as

to prevent consideration by the Council of petitions against legislation on the grounds of its incompatibility with the provisions of the Charter or the Trusteeship Agreement. That was an equally obvious and vital safeguard of the interests of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory. His delegation felt that in some cases it had been overlooked. In a number of resolutions the Council had decided to take no action on petitions because the matters concerned lay within the competence of a court; his delegation had felt that at least some of those petitions, whether this was explicitly stated or not, were petitions directed against legislative and administrative practices believed to be incompatible with the Charter or the Trusteeship Agreement. The Council had been wrong, first, in declining to act on the grounds that the matter was within the competence of the courts, and, secondly, in not relating the petitions to their background. He was referring particularly to petitions from Somaliland under Italian administration and from Togoland under French administration involving the activities of certain political parties.

22. The problem of dealing with petitions was admittedly a difficult one. The petitions received covered a wide range of problems and circumstances and it was not easy for any representative thousands of miles away from the scene to weigh the facts accurately and to form a just, balanced and positive opinion. That was particularly true when the representative was faced with two completely different versions of the same question, the petitioner's version and the version of the Administering Authority. He believed, however, that the Council's procedure contained the seeds of its own improvement, and his delegation would do everything in its power as a member of the Council to encourage it to use that procedure to the fullest advantage.

23. Turning to matters of substance, the representative of Syria said that the results of the scholarship project for Trust Territory students, summarized in the Council's report (p. 37 *et seq.*), had been encouraging in the number and generosity of the offers which had been made, but disappointing in the sense that the Administering Authorities had produced only enough candidates to take up seven out of the twenty-eight specific fellowships and scholarships offered, not to mention a number of other openings for which Trust Territory students could apply. Except for New Zealand, which had provided a student from Western Samoa, only the United Kingdom had made much effort to take advantage of the valuable facilities offered.

24. The Syrian delegation regarded the scholarship project as potentially a most valuable contribution to the development of the Trust Territories, and felt that it would do much to discredit the United Nations if the scheme were allowed to become a dead letter, whether for lack of enthusiasm or for lack of modification and development along the necessary lines. The Trusteeship Council had endeavoured to induce the Administering Authorities to make a more serious effort to find candidates for the present offers. But some further action was necessary, and much action lay within the competence of the General Assembly rather than the Council, since it seemed to call for an elaboration of the project as devised by the General Assembly.

25. One of the reasons why the scheme had so far proved disappointing was that not all the Administering Authorities had made the offers widely known in the Territories, nor helped candidates to take advantage of them. According to the report submitted by the

Secretary-General to the Trusteeship Council (T/1065), in at least one of the more advanced Territories the authorities had failed to make the offers known. In other Territories students had heard of the offers but did not know the details or the methods of application. The remedy for the situation was obvious; it lay largely with the Administering Authorities. The General Assembly might provide an additional safeguard by requesting the Trusteeship Council to alter its procedures so that students might apply not only through the Territorial governments, but also directly through the Secretary-General to the Member States offering facilities.

26. The matter of publicity was not, however, the only reason for the poor response. Another and perhaps more significant reason was the lack of candidates. The scholarships and fellowships so far offered were on a university level, and some of the Administering Authorities had been obliged to report that they had no students sufficiently qualified to meet the requirements. That was a most revealing reflection of the low level of education prevailing in the Trust Territories concerned. Even in the more advanced Territories, after scholarships provided by the Administering Authorities themselves had been filled, not many students were available. Accordingly it would seem desirable to invite Member States making offers to take into account the low level of education in the Trust Territories generally, and to contemplate offering facilities for study at lower levels. Those might include secondary schools of the academic type, but more particularly technical and other direct training and apprenticeship in fields especially suited to the present needs of the Trust Territories. At the same time it could be hoped that an increasing number of qualified candidates for university fellowships and scholarships would become available, and there was certainly scope for fellowships among students who had already graduated or were now graduating at universities.

27. The Syrian delegation would be happy to consult other representatives, especially some of those whose governments had shown a particular interest in the project, with a view to considering the possibility of some formal action in the matter.

28. A further point of substance to which he wished to draw attention was the question of the exercise in Trust Territories of some of the fundamental freedoms, in particular those of speech, Press, assembly, movement and petition. The right of all peoples to those freedoms was enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; for the peoples of the Trust Territories it was also guaranteed by the terms of the Trusteeship Agreements. The significance of that guarantee was obvious. The right of the peoples of the Trust Territories to develop towards self-government or independence anticipated and implied the development of political expression, the formation of political parties and nationalist movements, the establishment of newspapers with political objectives and the growth of political controversy. Freedom of speech, Press, assembly, movement and petition were the peaceful but essential weapons which peoples that did not yet exercise sovereignty must have in order to prepare themselves for the exercise of that sovereignty. The practical importance of those freedoms increased in direct proportion to the development of the peoples towards the objectives of the Charter.

29. It was gratifying to recognize that in the majority of the Trust Territories the record of the guarantees

of those freedoms was a good one. Nevertheless there had arisen in some Territories ominous signs that conflict threatened or that it already existed. The situation in Ruanda-Urundi, for instance, gave cause for concern, although in that case concern rather took the form of uncertainty as to the future political situation than specific dissatisfaction. In that Territory political movements did not appear to exist. Disquieting evidence had been produced in the reports of the 1948 and 1951 Visiting Missions (T/217 and Add.1, T/948), to the effect that the atmosphere in the Territory was not entirely free, and that there existed among the indigenous inhabitants a fear of reprisals if they exercised their right of petition. The Administering Authority had furnished explanations on the point, but the question of how and when the indigenous inhabitants were to make satisfactory progress in the political field was still far from clear.

30. There were more tangible reasons for concern in the case of two other African Territories—Somaliland under Italian administration and Togoland under French administration. From the number and nature of the complaints from those Territories during the past two years, explicitly or implicitly relating to political freedoms, it would appear that restrictions had been applied to those freedoms for purely political purposes. At the 379th meeting, the Italian representative had assured the Committee that there had been no such incidents during the past six months in Somaliland. He wondered, however, whether that improved situation did not perhaps result from the almost excessively generous attitude of co-operation being shown by the Somali Youth League. In what it considered to be a higher interest, the Somali Youth League was now tolerating policies and attitudes which it had previously resisted, but that did not mean that it accepted those policies and attitudes. It was for the Administering Authority to meet the gesture of the Somali Youth League half way and to lose no time in establishing legislation and administrative and police regulations of a kind to guarantee the most healthy growth and fullest freedom of political organization and activity in the Territory.

31. The situation in Togoland under French administration had already been discussed. The Administering Authority should carefully consider the extent to which its attitude towards certain political parties was compatible with the objectives of the Charter. The Committee had been repeatedly told that the laws and regulations applying to political freedoms in Togoland were virtually the same as those applying in metropolitan France. Those laws, however, were based on the premise of the loyalty or allegiance which a French citizen owed to France. It was less certain that that premise should also apply to the Togolander, who was not a French citizen.

32. If during the ensuing year there had been no improvement in the political atmosphere in those Territories, he felt that the General Assembly would have no option but to insist on a most careful review of the legislation and regulations and their application to the political rights of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories.

33. In connexion with the Territories in the Pacific, which, together with Somaliland under Italian administration, were the only ones examined by the Council during the year under review, he drew attention to the notable example set by the Administering Authority in Western Samoa in deciding to place the fate of the

Territory in the hands of the inhabitants themselves, by inviting consultations leading to the establishment of a self-governing State. Some members of the Committee might be surprised to learn that Western Samoa was more ready to accept that responsibility than some of the other Trust Territories, notably those in West Africa. The General Assembly might well expect the Administering Authorities for Togoland and the Cameroons to make in the very near future the same positive move towards allowing the inhabitants of those Trust Territories to work out their own destinies.

34. The report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1953, on New Guinea (T/1056) threw light on the real situation that existed in that Territory. It showed clearly the lack of a precise and determined policy of political development and the absence of any real planning in the economic and social fields. The Council had recognized those shortcomings and had requested appropriate action.

35. Furthermore, there was the still unresolved problem of the future destiny of Nauru, a Territory which was literally being eaten away for the benefit of the farmers of Australia and New Zealand.

36. He regretted that the Council had not, during the present year, examined conditions in the African Territories apart from Somaliland. His delegation would reserve its remarks concerning those Territories for the discussion on any resolutions which might be submitted on Somaliland and the Cameroons. He drew attention, however, to the complete absence of information concerning Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi. He hoped that the Administering Authorities concerned would be able to indicate any important events that had taken place, for instance, in the Wa-Meru case in Tanganyika, which had occupied so much of the Committee's attention the previous year.

37. Mr. EGUIZABAL (El Salvador) said that the Trusteeship Council's report was a valuable document giving a good picture of conditions in the Trust Territories with which it dealt, as well as the observations and conclusions of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, and of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1953. With regard to the latter, his delegation had supported Trusteeship Council resolution 648 (XII), since it was in favour of the procedure provided for therein.

38. It was clear from the Trusteeship Council's report that its work was not at all ineffective, as had sometimes been alleged. Any deficiencies in its work were to be ascribed to its dual structure, which was laid down by the Charter and therefore could not be changed. Every effort should be made to ensure co-operation between the administering and non-administering members, and both should work together to ensure that the Trust Territories should achieve independence at the earliest possible date.

39. The peoples of the Trust Territories were acquiring a sense of responsibility; if it was weaker in some Territories, that was due to inadequate training, and the Administering Authorities should do their utmost to awaken the national consciousness. Every effort should be made to eradicate any grounds for friction between the peoples in some Territories and to cultivate a feeling of solidarity. Universal suffrage should be established and every opportunity provided for the indigenous inhabitants to participate in the administration. Municip-

palities should be progressively developed and the peoples prepared for independence.

40. Good economic progress had been made in some of the Territories, though not in all. The Administering Authorities should make every effort to promote economic development by intensifying the exploitation of natural resources, diversifying production and balancing budgets.

41. Communications, health and education were vitally important questions. A good system of transportation would develop social contacts and facilitate trade and the exchange of ideas. There was urgent need for more hospitals, dispensaries and nurses. The people were losing faith in witchcraft and were asking for more medical assistance. The Administering Authorities should increase budgetary allocations for public health and the training of medical personnel. Training courses for indigenous social workers should be instituted so that they could co-operate with European personnel in disseminating higher standards of public health.

42. The system of corporal punishment should be abolished everywhere, as it was contrary to the most elementary notions of civilization and human dignity.

43. Education was the pivot round which all the other problems revolved. The development of education was fundamental for the development of political consciousness and all other aspects of progress. Budgetary allocations for education should be increased. What was required was not merely a few more schools and missions; education should be universal and compulsory. There should be a campaign to eradicate illiteracy, in close co-operation with UNESCO.

44. The Trusteeship Council was performing its functions to the best of its ability. There was still room for improvement with regard to the handling of petitions. El Salvador, as a member of the Standing Committee on Petitions, had tried to find a generally acceptable system, but without success. He would be glad to support any proposal that might be submitted with the view to improving the handling of petitions.

45. His delegation regarded the Trusteeship Council's report as satisfactory and would vote for it.

46. Mr. MENCER (Czechoslovakia) said that every year ought to bring the Trust Territories closer to the final objective of self-government and independence. The Administering Authorities, however, were pursuing ends diametrically opposed to that objective. Instead of accelerating the process of self-determination, they were trying to extend their stay in the Trust Territories and to strengthen their political and economic position there. In that connexion, he referred to a special number of the magazine *Life*, published on 4 May 1953, devoted to the African continent. According to the leading article, the French seemed determined to maintain an archaic organization in their colonies, and the British dreamed of strengthening their African empire. It was further stated that the Belgians were the most uncompromising of the colonial Powers and that they went in fear of "black nationalists and red agents". Similar comments had appeared in *La Nation belge* of 11 June 1953.

47. The desire to preserve archaic anti-democratic systems in the Trust Territories and to strengthen their own political and economic position was the real motive of the Administering Authorities. That was clearly shown by their general policy in all the Trust Territories.

48. It was evident from the Trusteeship Council's report that in Somaliland under Italian administration the Administering Authority supported the tribal system, and was even attempting to consolidate it. No positive steps had been taken to substitute a modern democratic régime. If the tribal system were not only maintained but even strengthened by the Administering Authority, Somaliland was hardly likely to become a self-governing or independent Territory. The tribal system of administration was inconsistent with the progressive development of the population.

49. The same remarks applied to the other Administering Authorities. Tribal administrative organs were a brake on political and economic progress in the Trust Territories and should be eliminated as soon as possible and replaced by modern democratic forms of administration.

50. The Administering Authorities were placing ever greater obstacles in the way of the Trust Territories' advance towards independence. Instead of extending their political rights, they were depriving them of their special status by means of so-called administrative unions, which were in reality disguised political unions. The Ewe and Togoland unification problem, recently dealt with by the Committee, showed the danger entailed by administrative unions imposed against the will of the people concerned. The debate had shown not only the reluctance of the indigenous population of Togoland under British administration to be united with the Gold Coast, but also the disapproval of many delegations in the Committee of administrative unions in general. The draft resolutions that had been adopted relating to the question of Togoland (A/2605) should serve as a warning to the Administering Authorities with regard to administrative unions.

51. Such administrative unions between Trust Territories and neighbouring colonies constituted an abuse of the Trusteeship System by the metropolitan Powers. There were administrative unions between Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast, between the Cameroons under British administration and Nigeria, between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo, between New Guinea and Papua, and so on. Despite the Trusteeship Council's recommendation, the Administering Authority for New Guinea had not given the Territory separate legislation or its own legislative body in which representatives of the indigenous inhabitants could participate. The Czechoslovak delegation was convinced that the existence or establishment of political unions in the guise of administrative unions was in open violation of the spirit and principles of the Charter.

52. General Assembly resolution 649 (VII) requested the Trusteeship Council to continue its regular examination of each administrative union and to study administrative unions from the point of view of the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories. A perusal of the Trusteeship Council's report showed, however, that neither the Council nor the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions had given the matter the attention it deserved. Only one specific case had been dealt with, that of the administrative union between New Guinea and Papua, and even there the result could not be considered satisfactory. Instead of protecting the interests of the indigenous inhabitants, the Trusteeship Council had indirectly defended the metropolitan Powers. It dealt with administrative unions in a theoretical manner, a fact of which the Administering

Authorities took advantage, thus violating their obligations under the Charter.

53. A number of members of the Trusteeship Council showed the same attitude in connexion with other questions, and especially with that of the participation of indigenous inhabitants in the government of the Trust Territories. General Assembly resolution 653 (VII) expressed the hope that the Administering Authorities would find it appropriate to associate suitable qualified indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territories in the work of the Trusteeship Council, but the Trusteeship Council had taken no definite action and had merely set up a new committee. Hence for yet another year the indigenous inhabitants would be systematically deprived of their rights, since the Trusteeship Council would function without their participation. The present position was much the same as it had been under the colonial régime. In the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, under United States administration, for example, the indigenous population continued to be deprived of its undoubted right to participate in the administration of the Territory and the Administering Authority was making no effort to remedy the situation.

54. In Somaliland under Italian administration, the Territorial Council was not and could not be regarded as an organ which represented the indigenous population in the real sense of the word. According to the Trusteeship Council's report, it consisted for the most part of tribal chiefs who were salaried servants of the Administration, while its remaining members were appointed not by the population but directly by the Administration. The composition of the Residency and municipal councils also showed clearly that the Administering Authority was not taking any steps to secure the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the organs of government. Moreover, the indigenous inhabitants had no access to important posts in the Administration, despite the fact that the Trusteeship Council had, since its ninth session, been urging the Administering Authority to appoint Somalis to higher administrative posts. Only Italians held responsible posts in the Administration, including many who had been officials of the former Fascist administration. Somaliland was the Trust Territory from which the most complaints and petitions were received, and many of those petitions were openly critical of the Administering Authority's colonial policy and were a clear condemnation of the present system. One hundred and twenty-six petitions had been received, showing that the Somali people were determined not to yield to threats and oppression but to seek redress from the United Nations.

55. The Italian Administration refused to take into account the shortness of the time still remaining before the Territory achieved its independence in 1960, and was not providing the Somali people with the necessary political training. On the contrary, it was directing its efforts towards convincing the world that the people of Somaliland would not be ready for independence by 1960. Many petitions had been received from various branches of the Somali Youth League showing that instead of promoting the democratic development of the Trust Territory, the Administering Authority was administering it according to outworn police methods, with a view to discouraging all political life. Young people in Somaliland lived in an atmosphere of systematic police and judicial terrorization. The very fact of membership in the Somali Youth League constituted grounds for discrimination in work and employment.

56. Racial discrimination continued to be part of the Administering Authority's policy, despite General Assembly resolution 644 (VII), and repressive measures continued to be its most outstanding feature. The Trusteeship Council's report showed that the judicial system in Somaliland was organized solely to serve the purposes of the Administering Authority and to defend its colonial principles. Its organization violated the principle of the separation of the executive and judicial powers. Its most regrettable features included imprisonment without previous trial and collective punishment. Although collective punishment was out of keeping with modern civilization and did not even conform to penal law in the metropolitan territory, it continued to flourish in the Trust Territory.

57. A similar policy of colonialism was being followed in economic matters. The Administering Authority was not trying to guide the Territory towards economic independence. Although Somaliland was a cotton exporting country, the Administering Authority had not seen fit to encourage the textile industry. As a result, Somaliland was exporting cotton and at the same time importing cotton cloth, as was shown in the Trusteeship Council's report. That report also showed, in connexion with land distribution, that Italian citizens owned an area fifty times larger than that owned by Arabs, although there were seven times more Arabs in the Territory than Italians and although a large part of the indigenous population depended on agriculture for a living. Far from returning the alienated lands, the Administering Authority was continuing its policy of alienation and thus automatically pauperizing the indigenous inhabitants. Many of the indigenous inhabitants who claimed the return of their lands had been thrown into prison.

58. A similar economic policy was applied in other Trust Territories. Thus, in the Territory of New Guinea, hundreds of thousands of hectares of land had already been alienated by 1950. The Administering Authority realized that agriculture was the economic basis of the life of the indigenous inhabitants but despite their protests, it continued its policy, and since 1950 the area of land alienated had increased by a further 12 per cent.

59. The large number of petitions received from various Trust Territories demonstrated the continued faith and confidence of the populations in the United Nations. The Administering Authorities should be made to realize that the right of petition was sacred and that it was absolutely inadmissible that cases like that referred to in petition T/Pet. 3/65 should be allowed to recur. That petition had come from Ruanda-Urundi, under Belgian administration, and in it the petitioner complained of reprisals on the part of the Administering Authority against persons sending petitions to the United Nations. The Czechoslovak delegation wished to stress once more that the Trusteeship Council should pay greater attention to the serious matter of petitions. Under the pressure of the Administering Authorities, it was not examining petitions with sufficient care, and its decisions were often contrary to the interests of the indigenous inhabitants.

60. Several petitions which had been received from the Cameroons under French administration showed that the Administering Authority was continuing to violate the principles of the International Trusteeship System. Instead of promoting the political, social and cultural

advancement of the Territory towards greater self-government, it endeavoured to stifle all political demonstrations which did not faithfully reflect the interests of the colonial administration. Since it was continuing its practice of seizing land, it was naturally somewhat unsympathetic towards the right of petition. The Czechoslovak delegation could not agree with the French representative, Mr. Ajavon, who, at the 370th meeting, had referred to what he deemed to be the exaggerated use of the right of petition.

61. The Czechoslovak delegation was not criticizing the attitude of the Trusteeship Council and of the Administering Authorities merely for the sake of criticizing. Its aim was to help the Council and the Administering Authorities to overcome their faults. It was clear from its report that the Council was gradually inclining towards support of the attitudes and policies of the Administering Authorities. The Czechoslovak delegation considered that those attitudes should be praised only when they tended towards real and effective progress in the Trust Territories. Unfortunately, that was seldom the case.

62. The number of petitioners approaching the United Nations was concrete proof of the growing movement for national liberation which had become the outstanding feature of the current development of the oppressed and dependent peoples of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. The International Trusteeship System, it should be remembered, was purely temporary. Its sole purpose was to speed the advance towards self-government and independence of the peoples which had formerly been under the Mandates System. That was the basic difference between Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and Chapters XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter. Hence the United Nations, and the Trusteeship Council in particular, should help the oppressed peoples towards self-government and independence and encourage and guide their wishes for self-determination. It was unfortunate that that aim had not been reflected in the work of the Trusteeship Council in the period under review.

63. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) said that under the Charter of the United Nations, the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trust Territories had the same ultimate aim of self-determination, freedom and independence, and the right to exploit their own resources for the benefit of their own people. His delegation had great faith in the Trusteeship System and was sure that with the assistance of the United Nations and the goodwill of the Administering Authorities, the aims of the Charter could be fulfilled. It did not agree with the view that all that the Administering Authorities did was bad, or was inspired by a desire to exploit the peoples of the Trust Territories. On the other hand, it did not consider that all their actions were perfect. It recognized, however, that in most cases the Administering Authorities were moved by goodwill and a desire to help the peoples of the Trust Territories, although they were occasionally too conservative in granting them effective powers and responsible self-government.

64. One of the most persistent criticisms levelled against the Trusteeship Council, and one of the most pointless, since it was prescribed in the Charter, was the division of its membership equally between administering and non-administering Powers. Such membership could be an obstacle to rapid advancement, but it also afforded a valuable opportunity for co-operation between the two categories of Powers. The Council had often ex-

perienced difficulties and sometimes failure but it could not be said to be useless.

65. The report under consideration gave a fairly complete picture of the position in the Trust Territories, neither exaggerating the virtues of the Administering Authorities nor glossing over the difficulties which existed in the Territories. Since the aim of the Trusteeship System was the attainment of self-government and independence by the Trust Territories, it was important that their people should be allowed to participate on an ever increasing scale in political life and in their own administration, as part of their training for ultimate self-government. The only way in which they could learn was by practice. It was also advisable and indeed necessary that the inhabitants of the Trust Territories should be given an opportunity of participating in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

66. The Guatemalan delegation had felt particular concern over the problem of administrative unions, ever since 1946 when the first trusteeship agreements had been drafted. The general feeling of the Assembly had been against such unions, but it had made certain concessions in order to allow the trusteeship agreements and the Trusteeship Council itself to come into being. In some cases, those administrative unions had seemed to go beyond mere administrative matters and beyond what was really acceptable in the way of customs unions. Since 1946, the fears of the Guatemalan delegation had proved well founded: the general tendency had been for administrative unions to become legislative and political unions, progressing inevitably towards full incorporation and annexation. Any integration of a Trust Territory with a colonial territory should be recognized as contrary to the spirit of the Charter and of the Trusteeship System unless it was according to the freely expressed will of the people, after it had attained complete self-government and independence.

67. The petitions received from the Trust Territories were a valuable instrument of contact between the United Nations and the peoples of those Territories. As such they deserved fair treatment and prompt and satisfactory action by the Council. It was true that many of the petitions received were frivolous, while others should obviously be sent to competent bodies in the Territory concerned. Nevertheless, even such petitions were worthy of consideration by the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, on the grounds that most of their defects were due to a lack of education in the Trust Territories. Unfortunately, petitions did not always receive proper consideration in the Trusteeship Council, and the system of dealing with them and of settling grievances needed improvement.

68. The Guatemalan delegation did not intend to analyse the situation in all the Trust Territories, but, in view of the special circumstances, it did wish to devote particular attention to the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration. Mr. Issa, the representative of the Somali Youth League, had told the Committee¹ what should be done to ensure that Somaliland was ready to receive its independence on the due date. He had emphasized that the United Nations should avoid extending the period of trusteeship on any pretext. The Guatemalan delegation had no doubt of the Administering Authority's good intentions, but there might well be circumstances in 1960 which would make it apparently undesirable for the Territory

to receive its independence, or there might be many serious problems threatening the Somali Administration. In his opinion, the most important points raised by Mr. Issa had been that colonial legislation and provisions enacted in war time and still in force should be revoked; that collective punishment, the practice of imposing fines without trial, and the system of pre-trial detention should be abolished; that an organ should be set up with legislative powers, its membership to be elected on a basis of universal adult suffrage; that Somaliland should be given self-government as a first step towards independence; that attention should be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants, particularly in regard to the alienation of land; that there should be a special questionnaire for the Administering Authority of the Territory and a separate United Nations visiting mission to the Territory; that the Administering Authority should put into effect an economic plan based on the recommendations of the United Nations Technical Assistance Mission, and make a special study of methods of improving economic resources, particularly farming and cattle raising, and promoting industrial development; that steps should be taken to balance the budget and to reduce police and military expenditure to a minimum; that land and sea communications should be improved; that commercial restrictions impeding trade with Somaliland's neighbours should be eliminated; that a better use should be made of United Nations technical assistance for economic development and for improving educational and social conditions; that an agricultural bank should be set up for indigenous farmers and credits made available for trade and industry; that a special effort should be made to raise the standard of living, particularly with regard to health and education; that labour conditions should be improved, fair labour legislation enacted, and the Somali people made free to organize trade unions; that schools, teacher-training facilities, mass education programmes, vocational training, particularly in agriculture and veterinary science, and facilities for study abroad should all be increased. Taken together, those points constituted a complete programme of development for a Trust Territory which was on the eve of attaining its independence. They also constituted an essential programme of development for all Trust Territories. All the requests were just and all called for immediate action. If present conditions in Somaliland did not improve, its independence might well prove unattainable.

69. Although the Italian representative had explained away a number of the grievances raised by the representative of the Somali Youth League, it was clear nevertheless that some grounds for complaint subsisted, and the Administering Authority and the United Nations should take steps to improve conditions in the Trust Territory, and encourage the indigenous inhabitants to participate actively, so that when 1960 came Somaliland would be ready to become an independent State.

70. Another important aspect of the situation in regard to Somaliland was the question of the frontier between the Trust Territory and the independent State of Ethiopia. That frontier had not yet been defined and the matter ought to be settled before the Trust Territory became independent for it would be most regrettable if it were to start its career as a State faced with such a problem. It had been reported to the Committee that negotiations were now going on between the Trust Territory and Ethiopia with a view to a definitive, equi-

¹ See A/C.4/253.

table and friendly settlement. However, the problem needed the most careful study, both for the sake of the future of the Trust Territory and for Ethiopia.

71. It was regrettable that the Trusteeship Council had not had an opportunity during its twelfth session to study the position in the Cameroons under British administration and the Cameroons under French administration. The Assembly would thus be unable to make any progress with regard to the problems affecting those Territories, and the hearings granted to petitioners from those Territories at the current session would lose much of their utility.

72. To sum up, the Guatemalan delegation wished greater attention to be paid to the development of

political institutions in the Trust Territories, in order to enable all their peoples to make a real and speedy advance towards self-government and independence. It was essential that proper legislative, executive and judicial organs should be set up and maintained in those Territories, and that the indigenous inhabitants should be allowed to play a real part in them and so learn to put into practice the principles of the United Nations Charter.

73. Ato Addimou TESEMMA (Ethiopia) reserved his delegation's right to make a detailed statement in regard to the reference made to Ethiopia by the representative of Guatemala.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.