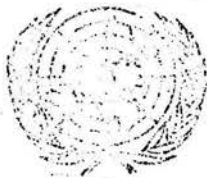




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COUNCIL



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Thirteenth Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIVE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 17 March 1954, at 2 p.m.

President:

Mr. MUNRO

(New Zealand)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.518 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

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EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF RUANDA-URUNDI (T/1091, T/L.420):

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT (T/1081) [Agenda item 3 b]
- (b) PETITIONS (T/PET.3/L.3; T/COM.3/L.2, L.3) [Agenda item 4](continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Leroy, special representative for the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, took a seat at the Council table.

Reply of the Special representative

The PRESIDENT: The Council has now to hear the special representative, in reply to observations made in the course of the general debate, and then to establish a drafting committee.

Mr. LEROY (Special representative): At the beginning of my reply it gives me pleasure to thank those delegations which have congratulated the Administering Authority on certain points, or which have simply expressed their understanding of the difficulties. Speaking for myself, I thank representatives for the courtesy which they have shown me, even when my replies to their questions were not strictly what they expected them to be. I also wish to extend my gratitude to the Secretariat for the speedy and efficient assistance which it has afforded me, and to express my regret to the interpreters for any difficulties which I may have caused them.

With regard to the observations made by members of the Council, I must deal with some of them and correct certain others.

Several representatives have, again this year, expressed their anxiety with regard to the existence of an administrative union between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo. For years now I have been explaining that this administrative union with the Belgian Congo, far from being an obstacle to the development of the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, even in the political field, is in fact favourable to it. What importance is there in the fact that measures relating to airfields, public health, and, in general, matters which do not reflect local politics or indigenous affairs, are common to the two territories?

The Administrative Union has troubled the minds of some. The representative of El Salvador has said that it creates a subordination complex. The representative of Syria is suspicious of it, and the representative of the Soviet Union, as is his custom, has spoken of absorption. I cannot begin to say how much I regret the fact that none of the eight persons who comprised the Council's Missions in 1948 and 1949 is any longer included in those bodies. They saw the Administrative union in practice on the spot, and, after having examined it with much suspicion, the last Mission wrote:

"The Mission considers that the existing arrangements result in certain definite advantages for the Trust Territory... The Mission is of the opinion that the existing practical arrangements linking the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi do not impair the separate status and identity of the Trust Territory." (T/1031, paragraphs 74 and 77)

The representative of China complained that the law of 1925 had not been formally modified, and he seems to have taken little account of the law of 15 April 1949. I am at a loss to understand his attitude because this law of 1949 does nothing less than to introduce unconditionally into Belgian legislation the whole of the text of the Trusteeship Agreement.

The same representative demanded also that a single legislation should be adopted for the whole of the Territory. That is precisely what the Belgian administration is trying to do. I would remind the Council that in numerous fields the legislation applies without distinction to all sections of the population. Where discrimination does exist it is the result of circumstances, local customs and special meetings. If certain distinctions appear to be unfavourable to the indigenous inhabitants that is, as I have said, because Trusteeship, while requiring a certain amount of education, does involve a certain amount of constraint. But it should not be forgotten that against this there exist in the law of Runda-Urundi discriminations which are to the benefit of the indigenous inhabitants and which have their origin in a special form of protection which the Administering Authority is endeavouring to afford them.

In connexion with the legislative system in force in the Territory, I find it necessary, in view of a statement by the representative of Syria, to give certain clarifications. The representative of Syria said:

"We are told that the Vice-Governor General of Ruanda-Urundi may in case of emergency issue decrees without the participation of the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo. But who decides whether there is a case of emergency? The Vice-Governor General himself. Emergencies do not occur every day; emergency cases are exceptional cases. Hence, it may be said that, in practice, Ruanda-Urundi is under the jurisdiction, control and administration of the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo." (T/PV.517, p.16)

In my opinion, that statement demonstrates that the representative of Syria has not fully understood the nature of the extraordinary legislative power vested in the Vice-Governor of Ruanda-Urundi. There are two types of texts containing obligations so far as the inhabitants of the Territory are concerned: first, those which emanate from the legislative power and which are called, according to the authority which issues them, laws, decrees or legislative ordinances; and, secondly, those which emanate from the administrative authorities, which have to do with the execution of the laws, decrees or legislative ordinances and which are generally called ordinances.

Acts -- and by that I mean texts adopted by Parliament -- are rarely issued for the Territory. The ordinary legislative decision is the decree promulgated by His Majesty the King, after consultation with the Colonial Council.

Emergencies can, however, occur in Africa. In such a case, the Vice-Governor General of Ruanda-Urundi is authorized to issue a legislative ordinance suspending a decree or even running counter to the formal provisions of a decree. That legislative ordinance, however, is valid for only six months. Thus, the legislative ordinance of the Vice-Governor General of Ruanda-Urundi has the following characteristic: it replaces a decree issued in Brussels by the King, and not an act of the Governor General of the Belgian Congo. The fact that legislative ordinances are rarely issued cannot be taken to mean that, in daily practice, Ruanda-Urundi is governed by the Governor General of the Belgian Congo. In fact, legislative ordinances -- that is, acts of extraordinary legislative power -- are also rarely issued in the Belgian Congo. In the case of both Territories, daily administration is carried out by means of regulations. The Governor of Ruanda-Urundi can issue such regulations for his Territory, and in fact does so every day.

The only ordinances of the Governor General of the Belgian Congo which are immediately applicable to Ruanda-Urundi are those which relate to the customs and postal services. As regards all other matters, the Governor General of the Belgian Congo issues ordinances for the Congo, and the Vice-Governor of Ruanda-Urundi either applies those ordinances in his Territory or issues some of his own.

There is another point in the statement made by the representative of Syria which requires rectification. I refer to his remarks about the participation of the Government -- that is, the Council of Ministers -- in the formulation of decrees. The situation is not at all as he described it. Bills are generally drawn up by the African services and sent to the Minister for Colonies, who submits them to the Colonial Council, of which he is chairman. The Council gives its opinion of the bills, and the final decrees are then submitted to the King for his signature. There is no other participation by the Government, and, therefore, the composition of that Government has no practical effect upon the formulation of decrees.

The representatives of China, India, New Zealand and the United Kingdom expressed the wish that the European and indigenous administrations should be more closely linked. The representative of the United Kingdom requested the Administering Authority to express its opinion in that regard. As special representative, I am not qualified to say in advance what the Administering Authority will think about the suggested reform. I can, however, say that, contrary to the allegation of the representative of India, there is no watertight compartment between the two administrations in Ruanda-Urundi.

The only division is that which exists by virtue of the Decree of 14 July 1952, which prevents access to the higher councils of the country to whoever is not a national of Ruanda-Urundi. As far as the indigenous inhabitants are concerned, it happens that some chiefs enter the cadres of the Administration and, inversely, it sometimes occurs that indigenous agents of the Administration are called, by virtue of customary law, to administer chiefdoms, which often are of an important nature.

I cannot express the ideas of the Administering Authority upon the future of this dual system, but in the past I have expressed the opinion that this might be changed in two ways, by a transfer of powers from the European authorities to the native administration or by the replacement of European officials by indigenous officials. However, both these possibilities present very great disadvantages. The indigenous administration is exclusively reserved to indigenous inhabitants, and if all the powers are conferred upon this administration, what would happen to the rights of the Europeans who are living in the Territory and who, from the point of Ruanda-Urundi, often are the salt of the earth? And what would happen to the rights of the Asians, who have helped in the economic penetration and development of the country? In addition, what would happen to the rights of Africans who are not indigenous inhabitants, but who live in the country, if we replace the European administrators by native administrators? Would we not, in fact, come into headlong conflict with the customary administration system?

Speaking of these authorities, the representative of Haiti asked whether a traditional chief, without being a hereditary tyrant, was in fact an enlightened, progressive leader with his eyes fixed upon the future. I can assure the representative of Haiti that many of these chiefs are educated men. They have left Astrida and they have very progressive ideas. Among the older chiefs, there are many who are full of wisdom, full of the spirit of moderation, and full of experience, and many who welcome new ideas and who, from the point of view of the population, are both a guide and a support. For those who have not seen these persons at work, it may be difficult for them to appreciate their value.

functions the principal attribute of authority. But a glance at the reforms which were introduced by the judicial organization in 1948 will satisfactorily demonstrate to the Council the direction of the development which the Administering Authority is making with respect to the judicial system. I hope that the representative of Syria will be good enough to examine the report of the Visiting Mission (T/1031, page 10, sub-paragraph (d)).

In this rapid examination of the observations made by the representatives, I come to a rather bizarre comment by the representative of the Soviet Union. He stated: "With the existing administrative system as we find it today in Ruanda-Urundi, the true masters of the Trust Territory, its true administrators are the Europeans, the Belgian Administration." This was said with indignation as though it were some monstrous fact. This is merely the repetition, in a slightly different form, of the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement: "The Administering Authority shall have full powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in the Territory." If you wish to require the Administering Authority to respect the obligations which it has assumed, then you must begin by not contesting the rights which have been allowed to it in the first place.

Speaking in more general terms of the political problem, the representative of India, in a somewhat too passionate harangue in order to reach the objective, offered considerations which I shall summarize as follows: in thirty years, the population has changed its religion; in less time, it has adopted the cultivation of coffee and cotton which are the very substance of the economy of the Territory. What has been done in this field by the population would have been done by it in the political field if it had thought it opportune or desirable to attack the task.

Comparisons prove nothing. In the first place, the Administration, which is struggling with the harsh realities of the day, has always stated its willingness to solve the economic problems before the political problems. This was not an arbitrary choice on the part of the Administering Authority. The economic problems were singularly important. The political problems could wait since the population could manage and social conditions in Ruanda-Urundi have, in the course of the centuries, reached a balance which, although not ideal, was at least

tolerable. The economic problem was actual, pressing and vital. The political problem was less so. As regards the comparisons based on the extension of the religious movement and the introduction of industrial cultures, they are only comparisons as I have said. The indigenous inhabitant has no religion. He was quite available from any point of view with regard to religion.

As for the political point of view, he was cemented into a very powerful organization. As regards the cultivation of coffee, which each year brings hundreds of millions of francs to the native inhabitants, it is maintained only by means of daily propaganda carried out by the Administering Authority. If the indigenous inhabitant were left to himself, all that would no doubt would be levelled and the land would return to the cattle.

In the economic field, delegations have in general expressed their satisfaction and I shall not linger here. The representative of Australia told us that he particularly appreciated the efforts made in the field of fisheries. The Administration is creating fisheries and stocking with fish the lakes which do not have sufficient edible fish already in them. In this same field, I recall an opinion expressed by the representative of El Salvador who told us that it was necessary to study the transport plan because, he added, the wheel is hardly used in that Territory and the beast of burden is not used at all. This is a somewhat rapid view of the situation. The indigenous inhabitants had not known the wheel and did not use the beast of burden; that is true. But the non-indigenous inhabitants have brought to Ruanda-Urundi both the wheel and the motor. There is in Ruanda-Urundi 150 metres of road per square kilometre, 390 metres per square mile. Over these roads move the vehicles, many of which already belong to the Africans. In the extra-customary centre of Usumbura, there are thirty-five native transporting agents. It is necessary to add that the ten-year plan has devoted a whole part of its programme (book II, first part) to the problem of road transport, water transport and air transport. This problem, which I do not propose to outline here, is to be found in the report of the Administering Authority for 1951, pages 210 to 213, and in even greater detail in the voluminous pamphlet covering the ten-year plan.

In the economic field, I should also like to deal with two criticisms, one made by the representative of the Soviet Union and the other by the representative

of Syria, as regards the land system. The representative of the Soviet Union declared that the Belgian Administration continues to alienate gratuitously native lands and gives them to the non-indigenous inhabitants. I have already replied at length to those criticisms. However, since they are renewed, I must again refute them.

It is not possible, in the very interest of the indigenous inhabitants themselves, radically to forbid any form of concession. If it is desired to industrialize the country and to extend trade, one must have land, however little that land amounts to. It is difficult in under-populated countries to create anything except by setting up groups of colonists. It would be desirable, from the point of view of the country, that colonists should be installed who are prepared to engage at present in reforestation. I would repeat that the question is of little interest because a non-indigenous inhabitant in a private capacity occupies, totally and including the missions, 85 square miles.

But where one sees the malice of that charge is when it is said that the Administration has gratuitously granted those lands to the colonists, without adding that formerly the Administration bought the rights from the indigenous inhabitants. I therefore draw the attention of the Trusteeship Council to the objective nature of this policy.

The representative of Syria has told us that the socialist States are criticized because they have abandoned the principle of respect for individual property, but that when we come to deal with the Trusteeship Territory, we are told that the principle of collective property must remain. On 18 October 1908 -- that is, before the representative of Syria and myself were born -- the Belgian Legislature promulgated for the Congo a law which became applicable to Ruanda-Urundi in 1926 and which states the following in article 5:

"The Governor-General shall keep an eye on the preservation of the indigenous population and the improvement of their moral and material standards of living; he favours the expansion of individual liberty and the progressive abandonment of polygamy and the development of the principle of property."

The Belgian Administration considers the present situation as a pis-aller, the best of a bad job, and it would very much prefer to find itself confronted by a complete land register. But can you imagine the work involved in filling out file cards of all the lands of the whole Territory? All of the administrative agents, since the beginning of the mandate, might not perhaps be equal to the task of doing it.

The representative of the Soviet Union has also noted the small number of industries existing in the Territory. May I refer him to the ten-year plan, in the execution of which Belgium is advancing to Ruanda-Urundi 400 million francs per year free of interest. He will see, in Book III, the plans for the development of mines, industries and trade as regards the present and the near future.

With respect to the field of social progress, several delegations have insisted that corporal punishment should be abolished in prisons and that the restrictive provisions concerning the movement of indigenous inhabitants should be abolished. The Administering Authority has exactly the same view as the Trusteeship Council on this subject. But to date it has not felt that it could go further than it has gone. The Administering Authority has however kept, as a goal to be obtained, the abrogation of such measures. The representative of the Soviet Union has also spoken about petitions. He said that the indigenous population is so oppressed that except for very rare exceptions, the Trusteeship Council receives no petitions from it. He also spoke about the petitions have gotten through the cordon which encircles the Territory, and so on.

But this is not particularly true. There is no iron curtain around Ruanda-Urundi; it is quite sufficient for the petitioner to place a stamp on the envelope and drop it in the post box, and it will reach the Trusteeship Council. The secrecy of correspondence is guaranteed by the law and most rigorously respected.

The Council may recall the famous letter, which, fortunately, was registered and which was addressed to "The Assistant Secretary-General of the Trusteeship Council in New York", and which was returned to Usumbura with the notation "not delivered, address insufficient". I would point out that the Administering Authority is not in connivance with the United States postal system.

Very few petitions reach the Council from the Territory. I can give one reason to explain this. In 1948 one of the members of the Visiting Mission went to Usumbura to find the chiefs of the Indian and Arab groups of the population.

He drew their attention to their miserable situation and urged them to send in petitions. From both sides the reply was the same: "We are getting on extremely well with the Belgian Administration and we prefer to come to terms with that Administration".

If one can, at the worst, suppose that the indigenous inhabitants are afraid of the Administering Authority, this argument becomes valueless as far as the two thousand Asiatics of the Territory are concerned, and who are hardly inclined to take this sort of treatment lying down. If, after all, fear was stopping the people, what would prevent anonymous petitions from arriving anyhow?

Referring to the discriminations which still exist -- and which the Administration is trying to eliminate bit by bit -- the representative of Syria, who is a fervent admirer of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, proclaims that "Man is born good and that it is society which has perverted him". That may be so, I suppose. But then, why take away the Burundi from their most virtuous state of isolation to regroup them and train them in social life and to regiment them in parties which will unquestionably be most corrupting? All this is a joke, and I would apologize to the Council for it. But it does have the merit of demonstrating the danger of prejudices when you are trying to administer people. Administering over a population does not consist in broadcasting slogans, but it consists of tackling unforeseen difficulties each and every day of the year.

The same representative reproaches the Administration because it forbids the introduction into the Territory of newspapers which the Administration considers to be of danger to the public law, and which also pertain to pornographic publications. To my knowledge there are several sovereign nations -- possibly represented around this table -- whose frontiers are not widely open to every form of literature. There are some nations possibly where an innocent publication like Libre Belgique does not manage to get in. As regards obscene or pornographic publications, this is one of the preoccupations of international institutions which are trying to stop their publication. Can one level an accusation against the Administering Authority for acting in conformity with this desire?

The representative of China has expressed his regret at the fact that there should be found in the laws governing immigration provisions forbidding entry into the Territory of persons who, because of their lack of education, are incapable of reading and writing in a satisfactory manner in some European language. That provision is intended to cover illiterate Europeans and illiterate persons of all races. It is intended solely to forbid entrance to the Territory of persons of low social condition who could only live upon petty trade to the detriment of the indigenous inhabitants and who would contribute nothing to the development of the Territory.

The representative of France has requested that the Administering Authority should accelerate the training of native doctors. The Administering Authority will certainly try to do this, and this concern is to be found in its programme for the development of higher education.

In this particular field I must deal with a perfectly astonishing assertion of the representative of the Soviet Union. He said:

"In eight years of the Trusteeship System there has been no increase in the number of doctors in the Territory. There are still 35 qualified doctors in the Territory."

That is the statement he made here in this room. It is clear, both from the report and from my introductory statement, that in 1948 there were 35 doctors in Ruanda-Urundi and, on 31 December 1952, there were a total of 68 doctors, among them 41 in the Government, 12 in the missions and 15 private doctors.

The representative of India suggested that further use be made of the services of the World Health Organization. The Belgian Administration greatly appreciates the work of WHO and co-operates regularly with it. However, as we spend considerable amounts of money each year in the Territory for health and medicine, we consider that in all fairness the benefits offered by WHO should be extended to territories which are less well provided for and do not enjoy the interest shown by the metropolitan country in Ruanda-Urundi.

The representative of China expressed regret that the delinquent youth were still not rehabilitated in special institutions. I had occasion to point out how far we had advanced in this field and that the Administration hopes to begin very shortly the construction of such an establishment.

The representative of France suggested that, in the field of labour, penal sanctions should be abolished. A decree is at present being examined on this subject. The question of penal sanctions has received considerable attention, and the discussions seem to indicate that there is a tendency to establish equality of penal sanctions between employers and employees. If penal sanctions are maintained, they will affect not only the employee who does not fulfil his obligations, but also the employer who does not fulfil his obligations. Penal sanctions against employers are already in existence, but if sanctions for employees are maintained, then those for the employers will be reinforced.

I have admitted that salaries were low, and pointed out that each year since 1948 they have risen. Salary increases have been greater than increases in the cost of living, and therefore the situation of the native inhabitants is gradually improving.

Document T/PV.517, dated 16 March 1954, the French text, requires a correction concerning the statement made by the representative of Haiti. Page 12 of this document shows the minimum daily wage as seven centimes, which is one-seventh of a cent. I believe that this must be a typing error, because the minimum daily wage for a single person is 12 francs 70 in that section of the Territory where the cost of living is low.

Again in the field of wages, we have occasion to admire the technique of the representative of the Soviet Union, and here I quote what he has said: "The ordinary European mechanic receives a salary of 380 francs per day, whereas the Asian mechanic receives 150 francs per day, and a native receives only 35 francs per day." From this, he draws many conclusions concerning racial discrimination. However, he does not explain -- in fact the thought never seems to occur to him -- why the evil exploiter who does all this pays 380 francs plus large travel expenses to the European employee when for 35 francs he could obtain the same services from a native. Economic laws have a certain realism about them. The day when the industrialist can expect from a native inhabitant the same service that he gets from a European, he will no longer employ any Europeans, if for no reason other than to save the travel expenses.

I shall conclude the examination of social conditions in the Territory by dealing with one of the most difficult questions confronting the Administration, namely the over-population of the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. The majority of delegations have expressly or tacitly approved the policy of the Administering Authority which seeks to find a solution for this problem in the protection of the land, the setting up of food reserves, the industrialization of the country, and finally by means of emigration.

The representative of India proposed, as an appropriate means, what he called a system of voluntary birth control. I do not propose in this Council to speak on the moral aspects of this question. This is a problem which has divided the world. But I shall draw the attention of the Council to two facts which seem worthy of reflection.

First, birth control, if it is the most radical method of slowing down an increase in the population, is also the most dangerous method. Recent history has taught us that a nation which takes that road no longer knows how to stop. To limit birth is the surest way of annihilating a population. This gets dangerously close to genocide. But perhaps the extended depopulation of Ruanda-Urundi would be examined without displeasure by the populations, which do lack necessary living space. Another point which should be borne

in mind is that indigenous custom has the greatest respect for the mother of a family and for the child. To suggest that those people should use birth control would in fact be a grave offence to their most highly respected traditions. I can state here that such a campaign would meet unanimous disapproval and would strike against the dignity of the indigenous inhabitant far more than anything which has so far been found lacking in the methods of the Administering Authority. I would point out that the distribution of birth control articles is subject to a punishment of from eight days to one year of penal servitude in the Territory.

The representative of New Zealand has expressed the wish that efforts should be made to see to it that villages should become more united. I would point out that one of the first objectives of the ten-year plan is to do just that. The native peasants of the north of Usumbura, in the Ruzizi plain, who were among the first beneficiaries, already numbered more than 5,000 on 31 December 1953.

The question of medical development and questions related to teaching bring forth each year recommendations from members that the medical and educational services should be considerably increased and that the Administering Authority should expend larger sums of money in these fields. However great one's desire may be to see the Territory completely equipped with schools and hospitals, I believe that we should act slowly. Belgium is ready to make sacrifices for Ruanda-Urundi. For the achievement of the ten-year plan, Belgium is advancing four hundred million francs per year to the Territory, without interest. These four hundred million francs are above all for expenses of investments and construction work. Any construction of schools or hospitals would involve considerable expenditure as regards staff and maintenance, and these expenditures, contrary to investment expenditures, recur annually. What Belgium proposes to pursue and attain in the first place is the economic autonomy of the Territory. It is for that reason that I prefer the slow progressive method which is being followed. It would be harmful training for political autonomy to accustom the Territory to live on a basis of foreign aid and to grant it independence after having placed it in economic servitude.

In the field of education, the representative of China expressed regret that information on the Charter and on the United Nations, and also on the Trusteeship System and petitions, has not been the subject of new publications put out by the Administering Authority.

In my opinion, the teaching provided in the schools -- described in paragraph 156 of the annual report -- is yielding excellent results in a Territory where oral teaching continues to be the custom. However, it is the aim of the Administration to provide for the expansion of education.

The representatives of China and Syria stated that they hoped measures would be adopted which would make education compulsory. This is, of course, the desire of the Administering Authority, but I am sure that everyone appreciates that it is impossible to make education compulsory until we are in a position to provide such education.

It has also been recommended that education should be free. At the present time, education is free for the indigenous inhabitants.

The representative of India expressed astonishment that religion is taught in the schools. He would prefer that such instruction should be given only to those who express a desire for it. I cannot agree with him on this point. The teaching of religion is one of the most powerful means of changing the minds of men. In Africa the missionary is by far the best agent of civilization. In a world in which there is a great deal of talk about human rights, religion provides the best means of opening the door to understanding of man's duty to God, to oneself, to one's neighbour, and to mankind in general. If we were to suppress the teaching of religion in schools, we should be suppressing a source of energy, inspiration and moral values. I have already explained why the Administering Authority permits the missions to provide education; by such means it is possible to reach an infinitely greater number of students since that type of education costs much less. There is no disadvantage in such a system and, therefore, I shall not discuss the point.

Also in the field of education, I wish to reply to some observations made by the representatives of Haiti and Syria. The representative of Haiti has commented on the underlying motive of the Administering Authority's attitude concerning a young person who is interested in becoming educated. He implied that the Administering Authority restricted the possibilities of the attainment of a higher level of education by the indigenous inhabitants. This is not at all the policy of the Administration. Its desire, in the field of education, is

to abolish illiteracy completely and to see that each indigenous inhabitant of the Territory is given a chance of going on to a secondary level of education. The Administering Authority takes note of the young people who wish to be educated and makes every possible provision, but there is, perhaps, no task more complex and more difficult to complete than the setting up of a satisfactory system of education. A schoolmaster can cope with only a limited number of students. Each one must have a certain number of lessons, and it is almost impossible to speed the process.

The representative of Syria has remarked that the period of education is too long. I do not understand that point. The student must spend five or six years in the primary school, six years in the secondary school, after which, if possible, he goes on to higher education. This length of time seems to me to be quite normal. For example, I spent six years in primary school, six years in secondary school and five at the university, and I do not believe that I have a particularly advanced form of education.

The representative of France has recommended that more vigour should be shown in the programme for teaching girls. I believe it is worthwhile to recall here that the Ten-Year Plan is intended explicitly to fill the gap in the education of girls both in breadth and in variety.

I think I have reviewed the majority of the problems which have been presented in the comments made by representatives. Now I should like to protest against certain declarations by the representatives of India, Haiti and Syria. All three have imputed to the Administering Authority and the special representative words which have not been spoken and policies which do not exist.

The representative of India has invited the Administering Authority to abolish its attitude of disrespect for the indigenous population. He has accused the Administering Authority of considering the natives as apathetic, undisciplined, lazy and thieving -- the word used in the record is "dishonest" but the French translation is "thieving". I must protest against this. I have said that the population were apathetic and showed no interest in new innovations, but I have not said that they were lazy, undisciplined or thieving. They are no more so than anyone else anywhere in the world. They are quite capable of improvement, although it is true that the majority of them have not been able to adapt themselves to the rhythm of modern life.

The representative of India suggested that the apathy of the indigenous inhabitants might be due to a poor state of health. That is quite possible. It is said in the report that malaria is the direct cause of lower productivity, and the lack of fats and animal proteins in the diet jeopardizes the health of the people. For years the Administering Authority has been disturbed about this situation and has been applying every remedy which it knows.

The representative of Haiti has imputed to the Administering Authority the opinion that the indigenous inhabitants would gladly abstain from regular work, preferring to steal. Finally, the representative of Syria has ascribed to the Administering Authority the opinion that the Trust Territory has a population of born criminals.

I must protest against this intemperate language. In the matter of thievery I may say that the regulations governing nocturnal movements were dictated by a desire to protect people against **malfeasors**. The representative of Haiti has implied that the special representative tried to make the Council believe that the greater part of the population was engaged in robbery to such an extent that measures had to be taken to cope with it. I have never tried for a moment to insinuate that a large part of the indigenous inhabitants engaged in robbery. It is possible, however, for a score of determined robbers in one neighbourhood to make life in that area very difficult. Where, in my replies, have I said that the indigenous inhabitants preferred robbery to work, or that the population was one of criminals? The report indicates that the ratio of crime is fairly low. According to statistics, there were 1,200 robberies in 1952 among 4,000,000 inhabitants. That is an extremely low proportion.

It is difficult for me not to detect in the words which I have quoted a possibly vague desire to incite the indigenous population against the Administering Authority. The attitude of scorn ascribed to us has never existed on our part. We live among the indigenous inhabitants and there is a mutual respect between us.

Another point in the statement of the representative of India is worth noting. He said that in the framework of the African Continent Ruanda-Urundi offered the singular spectacle of inertia. And the representative of the Soviet Union used an expression which has become classic in his case, that of "stagnation".

I shall confine myself, in refuting these words, to citing a few facts and figures. The Belgian Administration has occupied the country for about thirty years, six years of war when activities were inevitably slowed down. In thirty years the Belgian Administration has obtained, inter alia, the following results:

"Pacification of the Territory;

Several political reorganizations, each one more democratic than the last, in 1943 and 1952;

Several judicial reorganizations intended more and more to achieve the separation of powers and the guarantee of individual rights; the last of these took place in 1943;

Abolition of a cruel penal law;

A guarantee to all inhabitants of the fundamental rights involved for the human person;

Suppression of famine;

Recuperation of 250,000 acres of uncultivated land and the protection of 600,000 acres against erosion;

Introduction of coffee and of cotton which each year brings hundreds of millions of francs into the Territory;

Introduction of fish into the lakes;

The creation of 8,400 kilometres of road;

The establishment of thirty-five hospitals and 103 dispensaries;

Ten million consultations in medicine in one year;

The presence in the schools in 1952 of 650,000 children.

If that is inertia and stagnation, then, frankly, I do not know what activity is.

There is another point on which I agree with the representatives of Syria and of India. That is when they say that they consider that the report is too voluminous. I share this opinion. However, such as it is, it merely replies to the questions asked by this Council and the procedure followed in the study

of the reports made each year when each representative thinks that he should demand further information from the Administering Authority. I have learned that a third questionnaire is being studied.

The first person interested in this question is myself, and I therefore support the suggestions of the representatives of Syria and India and, very humbly and timidly, I suggest that the Council start to cut down a little. The fruits will then be better for all.

I thank the Council for the attention which it has granted me and for the understanding which I hope it will demonstrate in its recommendations to the Administering Authority.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I did not originally intend to speak and to prolong this debate. The special representative has met most of the points made by the representative. However, I should be remiss in my duty to some of my compatriots who for thirty-five years have devoted themselves to serving the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi if I did not say here and now that I was struck rather painfully by the statement made the other day by the representative of India and the one made yesterday by the representative of Syria. I was more struck by these statements as these representatives did not base their remarks on any personal knowledge of the situation. They rather gave vent to impressions produced in them by reading our report. One almost thinks that we have presented and pleaded our case very poorly.

Many observers who have been on the scene have commented on the Administration of Ruanda-Urundi and the work done by the Belgian Administration there in entirely different terms. Let me cite one compatriot of the representative of India who is qualified to speak because he was the Consul General with jurisdiction for the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, Mr. Pant. Mr. Pant spoke to me in quite different terms about the administration of Ruanda-Urundi and its achievements. Mr. Pant is a man of unquestioned righteousness. I should never suspect him of having spoken to me in a dissembling manner to please me nor would I ever suspect him of having sent to his Government reports different from what he told us on various occasions and in public.

The representative of India has said things which I cannot pass over in silence. He said that Ruanda-Urundi gave a remarkable spectacle of inertia. I wonder whether, in speaking of inertia, he is imputing it to the Administering Authority or whether what he calls inertia is merely the fact that there is no agitation, no turmoil and no racial conflict in Ruanda-Urundi. If that is what he calls inertia, then I must regret that he deemed it fit to reproach us with it; but I rather think that when he mentioned inertia he was trying to accuse the Belgian Government of other things. He said that in some fields we have made a very small and slow beginning, suggesting that in other fields we have done nothing. I should like to remind the Council that the 1951 Visiting Mission stated that the whole of Ruanda-Urundi was one large workshop.

The representative of India suggested that society had remained unchanged politically and socially because the Administering Authority had found it more commodious to do nothing, that we are impatient and intolerant and uncomprehending with regard to the people. He concluded, "You have been there for more than thirty years, and it must be concluded that you have not coped with your task."

I was among the Belgians who arrived in Ruanda-Urundi more than thirty-seven years ago when our troops chased the Germans out of there. I saw the Territory as it was towards the end of the German occupation when the Belgian troops entered the Territory, and I must tell you that it is a bitter mockery for me to have anybody tell me -- I who have witnessed and seen these things -- nothing has changed in Ruanda-Urundi. I remember the days in Ruanda-Urundi when there was not one road there, when the arbitrary authority of the chiefs was entirely uncontrolled. I remember the time when an indigenous inhabitant who was unhappy enough to complain to Europeans because his chief had stolen his cow was killed by the chief. I remember the time when the confiscation of land was the prevailing rule. I remember the time when divination was regarded by indigenous tribunals and by indigenous inhabitants themselves as a mode of proof and evidence and when private vengeance and vendettas were the rule whenever an indigenous inhabitant died of an unexplained cause. I remember the time when smallpox decimated the population. I remember the time when the bovine-pest disease decimated the cattle and so on.

We never said of Africa in 1920, nor do we say today, that what existed in 1920 was of such a nature as to prevent or forestall progress; we have never said this. We have never accused the firm political organization of Ruanda-Urundi of being an obstacle to progress. On the contrary, we have always said that this cohesive political organization, this national cohesiveness and unity of two peoples personified in their Mwami was an element of progress provided all the innumerable drawbacks of this Administration were corrected.

For the last thirty-eight years we have been trying to teach the great ones to respect the rights of little ones and to teach the little ones that they also have human dignity and that they should be aware of it. We have never said that African children are different from European children, but what is true is that when a society has for centuries been subject to servile and passive obedience to arbitrary chiefs against whom no recourse was to be had, it is natural for passiveness and apathy to prevail. We do not blame the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi for not being in love with progress, but we have been trying to change their mentality so as to give them some feeling of freedom and liberty.

An Indian representative, I am happy to say, will be a member of the Visiting Mission. I will ask him to remember, when he rides over the eight thousand kilometres of Ruanda-Urundi in a comfortable limousine, that we, the Belgians, went through the whole country on foot before the roads were built. When we got there, there were no roads at all. I will ask him, when he sees the forests on the mountains, which changed everything, including the external appearance of the country, to remember that, with the exception of the primeval forest on the demarcation line, there were no forests in Ruanda-Urundi when we got there. I will ask him to remember, when he sees the magnificent green valleys covered with crops, where happy people are working, that I myself had to wade through tremendous papyrus swamps up to my neck, in places where today there are only rich crops. When he sees the coffee plantations of the indigenous inhabitants, those plantations which cover hundreds of square miles in this small Territory -- in one area which I visited last year, there were 25,000 individual plantations -- I will ask him to remember that, when we came to Ruanda-Urundi, there were no coffee plantations, with the exception of a few coffee trees which missionaries had raised for their personal use. When the representative of India sees the hospitals, when he sees the dispensaries, when he sees the schools, when he sees the country covered by workshops and projects, I will ask him to remember that none of that was there when we arrived. There were only a few poor bush schools, for which today there is only contempt on the part of some representatives.

There are still some witnesses of those days in addition to myself, and I hope that, when the representative of India reaches Ruanda-Urundi, he will take care to question them. I hope he will question the indigenous inhabitants, question Asians and Europeans, and ask them whether in their opinion nothing has changed in the country since the Belgians came there.

The PRESIDENT: It is now necessary to establish the Drafting Committee for this Territory. Unless there is objection, I propose that the Committee be composed of representatives of El Salvador, India, New Zealand and the United Kingdom.

It was so decided.

Mr. TARAZI (Syria)(interpretation from French): Would the President accept a brief rectification? It is not a reply to an attack, but a rectification which might be introduced now in order to avoid a lengthy discussion at a later stage.

The PRESIDENT: I am not disposed to do that. We can deal with this matter in due order. My ruling is that replies and comments of this character can be made when we take up the report of the Drafting Committee.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I should like to avail myself of my right as a member of the Council, a constitutional right which cannot be revoked by the President's decision. The President cannot prevent members of the Council from answering what has been said here by the special representative of the Administering Authority. That cannot be done by Presidential fiat, since the President does not enjoy any such right. The special representative indeed preferred charges against the Soviet Union representative -- charges of inaccuracy and worse -- and that is what I want to answer. He referred to me specifically and he --

The PRESIDENT: I should like to interrupt the representative of the Soviet Union. If he believes that there has been an attack on his veracity, an attack on his character, then he can reply. But if it is merely a debate on the contents of his earlier statement, then, in accordance with the custom which for the most part -- not always, I know -- has been adopted in the past, it can be done later. I recognize the representative of the Soviet Union.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): The special representative stated that, in my speech yesterday, I had made some remarks contrary to the Trusteeship Agreement and the Charter, and he saw this contradiction in my having said yesterday that in reality the true masters, the true rulers, of the Trust Territory are the Belgian Administration, that is, Europeans. I reaffirm that point now. What I said

yesterday was that the Administering Authority has done nothing in the way of creating organs of self-government so as to enable the indigenous population of the Trust Territory to run its own affairs. Nothing has been done in that respect. I therefore deny any contradiction between what I said and what the Charter says. In fact, I should like to read out the passage from the Charter which fully entitles me to make the statement I made yesterday. For the benefit of the special representative, I should like to quote from Article 76 of the Charter:

"The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations..., shall be:

"...(b) to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards" --

I draw the attention of the special representative and the representative of Belgium to this --

"self-government or independence...".

In line with that, I said that the indigenous population has no rights of self-government and that the Territory, the people, is being run entirely by an administration of Europeans.

That is the first point. The next point is that the special representative said that the representative of the Soviet Union had indirectly pointed out that the number of doctors had not been changed during the past eight years, and he cited some figures. I should like to stress the following fact. When I spoke of doctors I was referring to those in the service of the State who are described by the Administering Authority as "Médecins d'Etat". Eight years ago there were thirty-six of these doctors in government service, and there are still thirty-six today. Thus there was no inaccuracy at all in my statement.

The third point has to do with wage scales for European, Asian and indigenous mechanical workers. The special representative sought to refute the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union to the effect that there was discrimination in connexion with these wage scales. Once again, therefore, I must draw attention to the table on page 360 of the annual report, which lists various jobs. European electricians, for instance, are shown as receiving --

The PRESIDENT: It is quite clear to me that the representative of the Soviet Union has passed the stage of an argument concerning his own veracity. The debate is concluded. The right to make any special reply will be given, and the representative of the Soviet Union will be afforded every opportunity. If he wishes to oppose this, my ruling as President, he may move that he be allowed to proceed, but failing that I am declaring the debate concluded.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): It is not a question of challenging your ruling, Sir, because, as President, you cannot make a ruling which denies me the right to reply. You have no authority to deprive members of the Council of the right to reply to a special representative, who, incidentally, is not even a member of the Council. I am not debating with or replying to a member of the Council. To place a member of the Council in a position which is disadvantageous in relation to the position of a non-member of the Council, who is invited here, is constitutionally improper. I have this right of reply which you, Sir, simply cannot deny.

The PRESIDENT: I have ruled that the debate is concluded, and it is concluded. I cannot recognize the representative of the Soviet Union.

We shall now pass to the next item, which deals --

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): Point of order.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I simply wish to protest against this arbitrary action on the part of the President.

The PRESIDENT: The protest of the representative of the Soviet Union will be noted.

We shall now proceed to deal with the next item on the agenda.

Mr. Leroy withdrew.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 752 (VIII): ATTAINMENT BY THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF THE OBJECTIVE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT OR INDEPENDENCE [Agenda item 12] (continued)

The PRESIDENT: The Council will remember that we adjourned the debate until today when, as I understand it, the representative of India desires to make some further observations. I call upon him now.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): The Council will remember that considerable importance was attached by my delegation and other delegations to the discussion of the item that is before us now in the form of two resolutions submitted by the General Assembly. In submitting observations on this subject yesterday afternoon my delegation pointed out that one of the main factors which we had to have in mind was that, irrespective of all the merits of any aspect of this question, there was the aspect that the Assembly had asked the Trusteeship Council to do something, and that whether it is convenient to any one of us or otherwise, and whatever may be the difficulties, we should not put ourselves in the position of antagonizing the Assembly or of being discourteous to it. I am happy to see that while, perhaps,

it might have appeared that the Council began its debate on this resolution in an atmosphere of comparative fridity; it did not end in that way.

I want to take advantage of that indulgence which the President has always shown in the course of debates with regard to the merits of questions, within the limits of reason and propriety, to be able to submit to the Council one or two aspects of our work and our existence which are very important.

The whole of this trusteeship position arises as a transition from old empires of possession to new States of independence, and therefore there must be a sharing of the characteristics of compromise, of conflict of opinion and of adjustments from time to time. That is the first point. The second point is that we who are Non-Administering Authorities cannot and should not forget the fact that, whatever may be our views on the inherent rights of territories and peoples to self-government, actually trusteeship agreements have arisen from the voluntary action of former imperial or mandatory Powers to bring these territories under trusteeship. And it is with all those factors as our background that we tried to submit this proposition from the point of view of finding a method of behaviour on our part which would satisfy the reasonable demand of the Assembly and which would meet the fundamental purposes which both the Trusteeship Council, irrespective of the views of individual members, and the Assembly itself have predominantly in view -- the advance of the people of the Trust Territories to the attainment of a trust objective, namely, independence, good government and self-government.

We have two resolutions before us, one of them forming part of the other in the manner of an inset. The earlier resolution is inset into the second. I should like, without repeating the arguments of yesterday, to look at the second of these resolutions, 752 (VIII), which will be found to comprise three parts. Its first part reaffirms resolution 558 (VI). Resolution 558 (VI) is distinct in character from resolution 752 (VIII) in that it is addressed to the Administering authorities, and therefore initially, and I suppose overwhelmingly, the responses rest in the Administering Authorities over the two years. I am not at the present moment intending to consider what those responses were -- whether satisfactory to the Assembly or not -- but from there I want now to come to resolution 752 (VIII).

Resolution 752 (VIII) reaffirms the previous resolution in so far as paragraph 1 of its operative part is concerned. That, we have noted, is addressed to the Administering Authorities, and I do not propose to deal with it because it must be dealt with by those Administering Authorities themselves in their relations with the Assembly or with this Council.

The second part commends to the Administering Authorities what has happened in Western Samoa. That, again, I do not propose to deal with now because I understand that we shall be discussing the Pacific Territories at the next session. Therefore that, also, is put out of the way.

Thus there remains only the third part. We had not, and I fear that some others probably may not have, looked at this part with a great deal of scrutiny. It is a request to the Trusteeship Council "to include in its next and succeeding reports to the General Assembly" -- so that the onus of reporting is on this Council and its administration and secretariat -- "a separate section". That not only places a certain obligation upon us: it goes further. It shows us a way of doing what we have to do without in any way treading on anyone's toes or creating any offence or difficulties. Actually, what we now have to consider is purely the mechanics of a reply to the Assembly, and I am in the happy position of being able to feel that two of the Administering Powers, namely, France and the United Kingdom, both with large areas of Trust Territory, have been generous in their responses. They seemed to have accepted the submission that I had made that our desire in this matter was to find a solution consonant with the purposes of the Assembly and of the Trusteeship Agreements. I am particularly happy that the representative of France feels that it is possible to make some advance on the lines of the approach that I had suggested.

The representative of the United Kingdom is what might be called my friendly enemy. He would be very shocked if someone did not oppose him. In fact, I have always wondered why the United Kingdom delegation did not propose that the right to grumble should be included in the Declaration of Human Rights. It is certainly a constitutional right. I am sure, therefore, that he will not object to my grumbling about the present matters.

I come now to what I have to propose today.

Yesterday, both the representative of Australia and the representative of France said that most of the material requested in resolution 752 (VIII) was already included in the reports. Now, that is a fact -- and a very helpful fact. Furthermore, the United Kingdom representative agreed with me that the United Kingdom position in Togoland created certain situations.

In the light of those facts, my suggestion is that, at the end of the present discussion, the Trusteeship Council should address a memorandum to the Secretariat, requesting it to prepare a report for submission to the Council's next session, including the answers to the requests in sub-paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) of paragraph 3 of resolution 752 (VIII). I think that such a memorandum would be preferable to a resolution, which might have a restrictive effect. It should be possible for the drafters of the report to include in it all the material to which the representative of Australia referred -- that is, the material that is already before us -- as well as such material as is officially within the cognizance of the United Nations, either in the documentation of specialized agencies or in some other sources. Furthermore -- and here I may not have the agreement of all representatives -- it would be, in our opinion, legitimate for the Secretariat to send questions to the Administering Authorities in order to obtain any further information needed for the report. The report should include any relevant material that might assist the General Assembly in arriving at a conclusion about the five points set out in the resolution.

My proposal today, therefore, is that the Trusteeship Council should adopt the kind of memorandum that I have described. In this connexion, I would say that we are quite willing to offer our views to the Secretariat, if that would assist in drafting the memorandum. As I have said, my delegation believes that a memorandum is preferable to a resolution, because one would be tied to every single word of a resolution. In our opinion, the memorandum should be worded

as follows: The Trusteeship Council has taken into consideration the General Assembly resolutions, the observations made by various delegations and the fact that there is a considerable amount of material available, that the Assembly requires information on the matters in question, and that the preparation of a report, in conformity with resolution 752 (VIII) and the purposes of the Trusteeship Agreements, must be completed before the next session of the General Assembly in September. The Trusteeship Council therefore requests that the Secretariat should present such a report to the Council's next session.

In resolution 752 (VIII), the General Assembly specifically asks the Trusteeship Council for a report. It does not ask the Administering Authorities for a report.

I believe that there are outstanding problems in this field, especially as regards Trust Territories -- Togoland is one example -- which are nearing the attainment of the purpose of the trusteeship conception; namely, self-government. There are also problems connected with various other matters which we have been discussing.

I have no desire to prolong the debate. I have put forward my proposal, and the reasons why I think it should be adopted. I do not think that there is anything in the proposal to which anyone could object. The problem is simply to find a mechanism for meeting the legitimate wishes of the General Assembly in this matter. Furthermore, we should avoid any impression that we are disregarding the wishes of the Assembly. Here, I beg to state, with all the earnestness at my command, that nothing would be more inimical to the purposes of the entire trusteeship arrangement and the welfare of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories than that the Trusteeship Council and the Assembly, or the Assembly and the Administering Authorities, or all three of them, should be at cross purposes. I believe that either the representative of France or the representative of the United Kingdom stated, in another context, that if it were known to the peoples of the Trust Territories that they could always come to the Trusteeship Council with spurious complaints, their frustrations, and so forth, the advance of our general purpose might be hindered.

Hence, with great respect, I submit my suggestion to the Trusteeship Council. I have deliberately refrained from presenting a document to the Council. As I have said, we offer the services of our delegation to the officers of the Secretariat who will prepare such a memorandum as I have proposed. We have suggested a blueprint for the memorandum.

I hope that our proposal will meet with the approval of the President and other members of the Council.

The PRESIDENT: Before calling upon other representatives who wish to speak, I have two comments to make on the suggestion of the representative of India.

First, I should imagine that members of the Council would like to examine the proposed memorandum. I believe that it would be advisable for the delegation of India to prepare such a memorandum and submit it to the Council as soon as possible.

Secondly, any report that the Trusteeship Council would make to the General Assembly would be incomplete, of course, if it did not contain information on the Pacific Trust Territories and the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration. Hence, the report could not actually be prepared until the Trusteeship Council's next session.

Of course, it is entirely proper and advisable that this discussion should take place now. Members of the Council will doubtless wish to comment on the suggestion made by the representative of India.

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): I was very gratified to hear the statement just made by the representative of India. In fact, my delegation envisaged the Trusteeship Council's task in this respect exactly as it has been described by the representative of India.

What does the General Assembly request in resolution 752 (VIII)? It requests the Trusteeship Council to present a report to the Assembly's next session. If such a report is to be presented, it must be drawn up. Now, who is going to draw it up? The suggestion of the representative of India is that the Secretariat should be requested to extract from all our official documentation those elements which are relevant to the various points in resolution 752 (VIII). I quite agree

with that suggestion. Only by adopting it would we avoid any discussion likely to exacerbate the kind of sentiments with which we are all familiar and which, as regards certain matters, cannot be reconciled. The President himself has recommended, and the representative of India has agreed, that such a discussion should be avoided. We should not introduce elements which are likely to lead to disagreeable words.

Yesterday, the representative of France told us that his delegation's attitude had been largely motivated by certain statements made during the General Assembly sessions in 1951 and 1953. My delegation examined the statements which it had made during those two sessions. Everyone is familiar with the role played by the Haitian delegation in the adoption of the two resolutions now being discussed. I was happy to find that it is not necessary for my delegation to withdraw any of the proposals which it made in 1951 and in 1953, or any of the statements which it made in presenting the draft resolutions or in answering the objections raised by other delegations.

I looked over the entire body of our contribution to these debates, and I cannot see that the observation of the representative of France in any way affects my delegation. I am very happy that this is so, because this enables my delegation to support the suggestion proffered by the representative of India. The proposal of the representative of India is as constructive as it is practical, and, therefore, I warmly endorse it. I hope the Trusteeship Council will adopt the proposal to ask the Secretariat to compile a draft report which would contain extracts from official documents already in our possession concerning the elements that would be relevant to the various questions asked in the resolution of the General Assembly; in that way, the General Assembly at its next session would be able to receive a report from the Trusteeship Council. While that report may not be entirely complete and may not satisfy everybody, certainly it would not entirely satisfy my delegation, it would constitute a step forward, and the representatives of the Administering Authorities, who have had such great misgivings at the adoption of these resolutions, may well agree that these proposals are actually much less dangerous than they professed to believe at the time.

My delegation has appealed for co-operation. We have always been anxious to elicit such co-operation, and it is in the name of such co-operation that we ask that the work to be done be viewed as a constructive piece of work designed to comply with the wishes of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The General Assembly expects this report to be submitted. We should do everything in our power to make that report as complete as possible. If supplementary questions are to be asked of the representatives of the Administering Authorities, we would ask them to respond sympathetically, without forming the idea that we are trying to entrap or ensnare them. I wish to thank in advance those members of the Council who will agree to the suggestion made by the representative of India, which my delegation, I say again, wishes to endorse most warmly.

Mr. FORSYTH (Australia): I am glad that some of the remarks I made yesterday were found helpful by the representative of India, especially since I rather got the impression yesterday that the representative of India felt that my remarks were in the direction of returning an ungracious answer to the General

Assembly. They were not so intended, and apparently the representative of India is now inclined to regard my remarks of yesterday as having been helpful.

With regard to the suggestion we have heard this afternoon, I feel that some clarification is necessary. At any rate, for my part I cannot say that I understand this proposal at all clearly. I gathered that it is a proposal that a memorandum be drawn up and that we should avoid adopting a resolution. We are accustomed to having the sense of the Council stated in the form of a resolution or a conclusion or a recommendation, and it may be that the same thing can be done in the form of a memorandum, but I should like a little more light thrown on that.

I am also not clear whether this memorandum suggested by the representative of India is a draft for a passage in the report of the Council, or whether it is to be a separate document and, if so, how it is to reach the General Assembly.

Further, I am not at all sure of the size of the document contemplated, whether it is to be a brief paragraph or series of paragraphs or whether it is to contain appendices extracting a great deal of information from the annual reports.

I did hear the representative of India suggest three sources of data to be introduced into this memorandum or as an annex to it. Firstly, the annual reports, secondly, such information as the specialized agencies possess, and, thirdly, it is suggested that the Secretariat should legitimately ask supplementary questions of the Administering Authorities.

The second source, I suggest, might provide a tremendous bulk of written material, even in summary form. I do not know what fields the representative of India has in mind, or whether they are the fields that are touched on in the questionnaire of the Trusteeship Council. If that is so, the documentation already in the possession of the specialized agencies would amount to a tremendous bulk of material.

With regard to the suggestion that the Secretariat might legitimately ask supplementary questions of the Administering Authorities, I should like to be clear on what is to be the subject matter and the scope of these questions. If they are to be asked at all, are they to be questions concerning time limits for the taking of certain steps? Are they to be questions supplementary to the great bulk of material which the specialized agencies may be able to provide? Are they, indeed, to amount to a new Trusteeship Council questionnaire, and, if so, on what

authority is the Secretariat to be charged with the task of sending out a new questionnaire to the Administering Authorities?

It is obvious that I am being difficult. It is not my intention to be difficult, but it is my duty to be absolutely clear what proposal the Council is to consider and, in particular, what proposal I, as the representative of one of the Administering Governments, am to consider and to decide whether to concur, whether to seek instructions, or whether to oppose. It is solely for the purpose of being objective and of being perfectly clear as to what proposal I am being faced with that I am asking these admittedly very awkward questions.

If I have misunderstood the suggestion of the representative of India, and if we are to have put before us a very short, concise memorandum, then the remark I am now going to make will not be relevant, but if we are to authorize the collection of a great and vast documentation, or even of a medium documentation, then the observation I am now going to make will be relevant. We have on our agenda, as item 17, "General Assembly resolution 789 (VIII): Control and limitation of documentation". The General Assembly, among other things, invited all the organs of the United Nations to scrutinize their existing documentation and to effect such reduction therein as may be possible and to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his efforts to reduce the volume and, at the same time, improve the quality of the documentation of the United Nations.

I do not regard my last observation as very important if the proposal of the representative of India is for a concise, compact summary in the form of a memorandum or if it is for a section of the report of the Trusteeship Council. I do, however, regard it as important if his proposal means that we are to ask the Secretariat to prepare some immense documentation, or even some medium-sized documentation.

I feel that the questions which I have raised indicate that this proposal of the representative of India does require somewhat more consideration than can be given to it in the course of the rest of the time which we have this afternoon. For my part, a good deal will depend on what clarification the representative of India can give us. If his replies do not give sufficient clarification, then I would be less than frank if I did not indicate to him now that I might feel obliged to refer to my Government for instruction as to how to deal with this proposal in the Council at this session if this proposal is pressed to a decision at this session.

If the representative of India felt, as I think yesterday he indicated he might be willing to do, that, having made a suggestion, he could leave it with us to think it over, I would have no objection to that. The matter could be thought about and perhaps dealt with at the next session. I am not making this as a proposal. It is merely one of the thoughts that I have in mind in considering this suggestion.

Those are my last remarks on the subject unless some other aspect arises on which I might find it necessary to speak.

The PRESIDENT: I propose to take a recess now. This period might be a useful time for some further consideration and conference on this matter.

The Council will resume at 4.20 p.m. The Council is in recess.

The meeting was suspended at 4 p.m. and resumed at 4.30 p.m.

Mr. EGUIZABAL (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish):

My delegation would like to state its position on the point before us. We would like to express our pleasure in associating ourselves with the proposal of the representative of India. Inasmuch as the representative of India has outlined the whole problem very clearly, and considering the fact that the Haitian delegation has also made extremely useful and pertinent statements, we shall abstain from prolonging this discussion.

However, I do wish to explain my reason for supporting this proposal with such enthusiasm. I am doing so because I voted, with equal enthusiasm, in favour of General Assembly resolution 752 (VIII). But I do not want to let this opportunity pass without, first of all, making a brief reference to certain comments made in the course of yesterday's meeting by some representatives.

The representative of France said that harsh words were used in the Fourth Committee with regard to certain Administering Powers. My delegation would like to have it clearly shown in the record that El Salvador has never used harsh or injurious terms with regard to any country. On the contrary, we have tried to be respectful and temperate in our attitude towards all delegations, since such an approach always affords pleasure to most people, although I must say that our delegation has not always had the opportunity to enjoy that pleasure.

As to the comments of the representatives of Australia, France and the United Kingdom, that they consider the annual reports to be appropriate and good, we regret that we cannot entirely agree on that. We do not think that they are sufficient.

We think that what we must do is meet the desires of the General Assembly, which are specifically stated in the resolution before us.

As regards the question of making this a special chapter or section, that is a secondary matter. The General Assembly has asked that there should be a separate section. It may well be a special chapter devoted to the question or a section within the chapter dealing with the resolutions which the General Assembly transmits to the Council for its information.

Once again, my delegation wishes to state that it supports the proposal submitted by the delegation of India.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): The Trusteeship Council makes an annual report to the General Assembly, and this report is drafted by the Secretariat and is submitted to the Council for its approval. When it is approved by the Trusteeship Council, it goes forward as the report of the Trusteeship Council. What we have been asked in this resolution in paragraph 3 is that there should be a separate section dealing with the implementation of resolution 558 (VI).

I take the proposal of the representative of India to mean the equivalent of a direction from the Council to the Secretariat to prepare such a draft section for the consideration of the Council in the same way as it prepares the other parts of the annual report. The Secretariat has the necessary information in the various documents of this Council to enable it to draft such a section. I suppose that the draft will be considered with the rest of the annual report of the Trusteeship Council at the next session of the Council.

Mr. PIGNON (France) (interpretation from French): I believe that a misunderstanding has arisen concerning the statement I made yesterday. I did not complain that during the debates in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly on the item covered by resolution 752 (VIII), disagreeable or harsh words had been spoken concerning the Administering Powers. That is not at all what I said. I stated that the Fourth Committee disregarded the objections which had

been made, that it displayed some intransigence as regards its own point of view and did not wish to admit the points of view which we tried to present.

I was not speaking of any disagreeable or harsh words that had been spoken. If I say this, it is because I found that, on the contrary, the attitude of the representative of India gave proof of a broad understanding of our points of view and our objections, and I wanted to congratulate him for it.

As regards the matter now before us, I endorse wholeheartedly the views stated by the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Alan Burns.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I fail to see what the Trusteeship Council is discussing at the present time. The General Assembly has requested the Trusteeship Council to devote a separate or special section of its report to certain questions, as the General Assembly has requested the Trusteeship Council to devote in its report a special section on the subsequent action taken by the Administering Authorities on petitions. It seems to me that all we must do is ask the Secretariat to extract from its information on the situation in, let us say, the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, matters pertinent to the list set out in resolution 752 (VIII):

"(a) Consultations with the inhabitants of each Trust Territory in regard to the measures taken or contemplated towards self-government." Matters concerning this should be included. The reply must be based upon the report of the Administering Authority to the effect that there does not appear to have been any consultation with the inhabitants in regard to direct measures taken towards self-government, unless, as stated by the Administering Authority, the measures taken to promote economic and social progress are in fact measures which bring closer the date for the attainment of self-government.

"(b) The development in each Trust Territory of representative, executive and legislative organs and the extension of their powers;" Paragraphs 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the Working Paper (T/L.420) contain an outline of the situation in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. All that is needed is for the Secretariat to extract from the paper dealing with each Trust Territory the questions dealing with these headings concerning which the General Assembly has requested special information. That is all that is asked of the Council and I do not see that there is anything to discuss.

Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): The resolution of the General Assembly under discussion requests the Trusteeship Council to include in its next and succeeding reports to the General Assembly a separate section dealing with the implementation of resolutions 558 (VI) and 752 (VIII).

As we see it, the problem before the Council is simply one of the procedure which it should adopt to collate information that, in large part, already has been presented to the Council by the Administering Authorities, either in the form of annual reports or in supplementary information given by the special representative. We see no reason why the Trusteeship Council should not address itself at the appropriate time to this question of procedure. To my delegation it would appear that the appropriate time for the Council to make a decision upon the matter will occur when the Council has completed the examination of the eleven Trust Territories towards the end of the summer session.

Apart from any general observations which the Council may wish to make to the General Assembly upon the resolution, the problem would seem to resolve itself into a paste-and-scissors job, or perhaps a cross reference operation; and in this connexion I find that the suggestions of the representative of India are in principle very close to the ones that I am about to make. This item is, in our opinion, accordingly, one which might be postponed for final consideration until the summer session of the Council.

I would agree with the comments made by the representative of Australia, and by other representatives, that the information requested by the General Assembly is, in general, contained in the annual reports. I would

go further and say that information contained in the annual reports is, very largely, repeated in a summary form in the reports of the Trusteeship Council to the General Assembly.

If we look at General Assembly resolution 558 (VI), we see that the Assembly invites the Administering Authorities to provide information with respect to the measures, taken or contemplated, which are intended to lead the Trust Territories in the shortest possible time to the objective of self-government or independence. Since all Administering Authorities have undertaken the obligation to lead the Trust Territories to these objectives, it is not unfair to say that any measures taken by an Administering Authority in the administration of a Trust Territory are directed towards this end. If it is desired to specify those measures, then the annual reports contain a full description of measures taken in all fields of development to prepare the inhabitants of each Territory for self-government or independence.

With regard to sub-paragraph (b) of this same resolution -- "The manner in which, in these respects, the particular circumstances of the Territory and its people and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned are being taken into account;" -- I submit that the annual reports themselves contain this information. They contain information concerning the operations of legislative assemblies and of other bodies on which the people of the Territories are represented.

With regard to sub-paragraph (c) -- "The adequacy of the provisions of the existing Trusteeship Agreement in relation to all the foregoing factors;" -- this is a problem which has only recently arisen in relation to the Trust Territory of British Togoland. My delegation has not heard any suggestions in relation to Trust Territories, other than British Togoland, that the Trusteeship Agreements were themselves inadequate. With respect to British Togoland, the representative of the United Kingdom, at an earlier stage of our debates, informed the Council that his Government was undertaking a study of the Trusteeship Agreement in the light of the new constitutional provisions that are being formulated for the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory.

Sub-paragraph (d) reads as follows:

"The rough estimate of the time which it considers, under existing conditions, may be needed to complete one or more of the various measures which are meant to create the pre-conditions for the attainment by the Trust Territory of the objective of self-government or independence;"

With regard to this sub-paragraph, valuable information has been given, and is continually given, by the Administering Authorities on such questions as the development of ten-year plans, or five-year plans, and the estimates of time in which, for example, a proportion of the population will be receiving education.

With regard to sub-paragraph (e), which I think is probably the crux of the resolution -- "The period of time in which it is expected that the Trust Territory shall attain the objective of self-government or independence" -- my delegation, and those of other Administering Powers, have pointed out that we did not consider it necessary or desirable -- in some cases it is even impossible -- to estimate precisely the period of time within which a Trust Territory shall attain independence or self-government. It was -- need I say? -- the inclusion of this particular clause which obliged my delegation to vote against the first resolution and, later, the second, which reaffirmed resolution 556 (VI).

Yesterday the representative of India -- and I thank him for his references -- made some appreciative references to the steps that have been taken by the Government of New Zealand in relation to the future constitutional development of Western Samoa. I think he expressed the hope that we would give information about this matter in the course of the deliberations on this item. I have no doubt whatsoever that when the Territory of Western Samoa is under discussion at the summer session, and when the annual report for 1953 has been received, representatives on the Council will have at their disposal all the most up-to-date information which my Government is able to provide on the progress that has been made with these plans. I regret that I am not in a position today to elaborate upon this subject.

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The Council will see that there is no question whatsoever of the Administering Authorities ignoring these resolutions of the General Assembly. As far as they are able to provide the information, that information is being provided. Resolution 752 (VIII) asks the Council to state in each case its conclusions and recommendations in the light of both resolutions under discussion. I submit that the recommendations and conclusions of the Council in regard to, for example, political progress in each Territory constitute the action contemplated by the General Assembly, and I think that there is a measure of agreement in the Council on the procedure which it ought to adopt. As I have said, it is a procedural question, and it is a question which might finally be decided upon by the Council when it considers the draft of its report to the General Assembly.

In the meantime, I suggest that the Secretariat may have in its possession sufficient observations from representatives on the Council to proceed with the drawing up of such a special chapter. My delegation would, I think, appreciate any further clarifications made by the representative of India on his specific proposals, but, in general, I do not see any measure of disagreement among representatives as to the action which should be taken to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: As I understand the position, we have had a proposal from the representative of India which did suggest a memorandum. Since then, various members of the Council have spoken, and there seems to be a considerable measure of agreement that there should be a special section of the report which would provide information collected from annual reports and from the debates, which would provide information on the subjects mentioned in the resolutions. At some stage this year we will see this special section, if it is the will of the Council that it should be prepared and there seems to be little doubt that it will be prepared. I do not know how much further we are going to proceed today, but that is the position as I see it.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I should like to reply or say something in reply to the observations made, but it would be convenient if it were possible to hear other members of the Council because there is no need to prolong the discussion. We should like to hear what the United States of America and various other countries of the Council which are Administering Authorities have to say on this matter.

The PRESIDENT: I merely said what I did say so as to summarize the present position, but I should be happy to call on other speakers.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): With the recent history of Puerto Rico in mind, the time it will take the United States Territories to become self-governing will depend largely on the desires of the inhabitants themselves. The direct question of the Pacific Islands under trusteeship will come up at the next session of the Council. In the meantime, I support the position that the United Kingdom has taken.

Mr. S.S. LIU (China): I wish to make three points very briefly.

First, it is of course the obligation of this Council to comply with the recommendations of the General Assembly as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, as is clearly provided in the Charter. The Charter provides that the

Trusteeship Council, under the authority of the General Assembly, exercises certain functions with regard to the Trusteeship System. The Trusteeship Council has complied with these recommendations of the General Assembly before this, complied with similar recommendations. There is no reason why this one should not be similarly complied with.

Secondly, my delegation agrees that since it is the specific instruction of this resolution that a special section be provided in the report of the Trusteeship Council dealing with the five items listed under operative paragraph 3 of resolution 752 (VIII) and similar paragraphs in resolution 558 (VI), that is, what the Trusteeship Council is to include is, as in the case of other matters in which the General Assembly has previously instructed it, special sections in the report of the Council. I think the same thing will be done, and this material will be provided as in the other cases by the Secretariat.

Thirdly, we have only discussed six annual reports at this session. Naturally, we cannot complete the study. The Secretariat does not have all the material available before the other Territories are studied. We shall therefore have to defer to the next session the writing of this special section.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): Yesterday I made a very brief statement in which I supported the views of the representative of India. I said then that the Council is under the obligation of complying with the resolutions of the General Assembly. This is the position of my delegation today, and I agree with the representative of China that a special section should be provided for in the report; but I do not seem to be in complete agreement with him when he says that because we have only discussed six Territories, a start cannot be made. I think the Secretariat can start its work on the six Territories, and it could be continued later at a session other than the next session. I see no conflict between the proposal of the representative of India and what the representative of China has said. We therefore fully support the proposal of the delegation of India.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): Inasmuch as in resolution 752 the Trusteeship Council is requested to include in its next and succeeding reports to the General Assembly a separate section, that covers the report of the present thirteenth session which must comprise this material. It also says "and succeeding reports", which means that the Trusteeship Council must give a periodic accounting to the General Assembly as to our success or lack thereof in the matter of the advancement of the Trust Territories towards self-government and independence. A first step must be taken, no matter how small. Along this line of thought, it seems to me that the Indian proposal is worthy of consideration and should certainly be commended to the Council for adoption.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium)(interpretation from French): I believe that the representative of the Soviet Union has made an error. The Trusteeship Council has never reported to the General Assembly on each of its sessions. The Trusteeship Council delivers one report to the General Assembly on its proceedings since the previous session of the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: I think that that is the correct position.

I think that all members of the Council have participated in the debate. I take it that the representative of India wishes to comment.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I think it would be helpful if I did, from my own point of view.

There are always drawbacks and advantages in trying to speak briefly and with restraint and caution because unless that is reciprocated on all sides, it is likely that the purpose of the observations are missed. I want, therefore, in these final observations that I am going to make, to try first to seek to clear up some misunderstandings and to express our reactions to observations made.

First of all, I must confess that one detects a greater allergy to this kind of peaceful approach to this problem than one had anticipated. I deeply regret that it has come from my colleague from Australia in the first instance.

In a debate the tone that is set by the first speaker has a great deal always to do with what follows afterwards. I can quite understand the feelings of Administering Powers -- "Now, what is this chap going to open up?" That was the feeling when I started speaking yesterday. People were probably surprised to see that we were not going to introduce a controversial draft resolution.

The next point which I want to speak about is the unfortunate word "memorandum" that I introduced. I thought that I was being unusually accommodating and helpful in suggesting that we do not have a hard and fast resolution. If we want the Secretariat to do something, they must have some idea of what they are doing. I do not want to use the words "terms of reference". I simply wanted them to have some idea of what we are likely to expect them to do and what we want to see included in this paper. I do not like the word "considerandum"; I do not think it is English. The word "considerandum" is the word usually used in this place.

I therefore simply said: "Let us have a note, or a memorandum, or anything of that kind." If you don't want it, don't have it. It will probably be included in the report among a mass of other documents, and then we shall have a lot of procedural and other unnecessary argument at the next session as to what was decided and what was not decided. If that is the desire, let it be so.

Representatives of four of the principal Administering Powers concerned have spoken about those observations. They are all men with a great deal of experience. We have men like Sir Alan Burns, who may be called the Administrator Emeritus, who brings to this problem a great deal of experience, and I trust he will forgive me if I say that I hope he will be a little more forthcoming on this and that his blessing should have been less cold than it was.

What we are asking is that we should mention now in some form what should be included by the Secretariat, which ultimately has the responsibility of placing a draft before the Trusteeship Council -- because the Council itself is not going to sit down and draft this. If the Secretariat is given no such idea, then there will be interminable debates about that working paper -- and I can guarantee, if I am here, that there is going to be a lot of it.

The PRESIDENT: I shall not be President.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): That will be worse for you -- because then I shall not have to observe the degree of reticence that arises from my respect for the present President.

It is a workmanlike habit to tell people what the specifications are in this matter, and that is all that we are trying to prescribe. I did not want to bring forth a memorandum, because I did not want it to be tainted by my particular views; I suppose it is no secret that I have very strong views on the question of colonial empires, and I did not want the possibility of any degree of agreement to be compromised by my delegation's putting forward a memorandum. We put forward the ideas, and then the Secretariat, to which must be attributed a degree of objectivity -- I said "must be attributed a degree of objectivity" -- will put all these things together and bring a draft before us, and then it will be possible for other people to take things out or put things in. We offered our services in putting forward a document of that character. If it is your desire that we

should do so, we shall be delighted -- I do not mean that we shall be delighted, but we shall feel it our duty to do so. However, I do not think it is a very helpful way of proceeding.

I now want to come to the merits of the reply that has been made, and I hope that those concerned will take my observations in the spirit in which they are made. I find that the observations of the representatives of Belgium and Australia are most unhelpful in this situation, because that is the way to rub the Assembly the wrong way. The Assembly has asked for a report, and we would be telling them: "You have the report there". But they have had it all these years -- and still they passed the resolution. You are saying: "We have answered your question and we do not propose to make any more answers".

If I may say so without being misunderstood, the observations of the representative of Belgium reminded me of the practice in the organized labour movement that is called "working to rule", which is not working at all. That is to say, he will carry out the obligations, the literal letter, in the sense of submitting a report -- which has been done, which is before us, which is before the Assembly.

I say that my delegation considers that the resolution that has been passed calls upon the Trusteeship Council to place a document before the Assembly for its consideration -- and we have no strong views about whether it is called an annex or an appendix or a report or a section. If the section is larger than the report, then I suppose it can be put in two volumes, like a telephone book. These are not matters on which there should be any difference of opinion. There must be a report from the Trusteeship Council -- that is all. I do not care whether it is pinned together or pinned separately. Obviously, it must be part of the Trusteeship Council's report, in whatever form it is presented. It can be a series of reports. Whatever material there is in the reports already before us will obviously be included therein, because it is part of the available data.

Does the representative of Belgium or the representative of Australia consider that nothing has happened in these Territories since the end of 1952? The Assembly will meet at the end of 1954 and it will take up the consideration of this problem probably early in 1955 or at the very end of 1954. In other words, it will be considering material that was relevant two years before its consideration. And administrators will tell us that even material that they include in a report

dated 1952 is probably a year older than that, because no government can have statistics prepared up to the day on which it writes about them. It is quite reasonable to believe that a report which bears on its cover the date of 1952 probably deals with factual data a few months older, or maybe even a year older. The General Assembly will therefore really be considering an extremely out-of-date proposition.

The view that I am putting forward has been supported by the debates here. I believe the representative of Syria suggested that there should be some additional working paper or additional note put forward to make these discussions realistic. After all, it is not the purpose either of the General Assembly or of the Trusteeship Council always to be coroners at an inquest. We are constructive statesmen, gathered together to perform a difficult task dealing with men and with States having diverse points of view, sometimes diametrically opposed points of view. My delegation, for one, is prepared to take into account the fact that the Belgian view of a Trust Territory or of an empire or of a non-European people is different from the British or the French or the Australian or the American view. But these are all views and practices that obtain. The trusteeship position, the trusteeship arrangements, the trusteeship organization, and the whole concept of it, in the view of my Government and my delegation, is a bridge that lies between the old and the new that is to come -- with all its compromises.

My delegation would therefore say that it is necessary that the Secretariat should include in this section or in this report -- whatever designation you wish to give it -- all the material that is available in the reports already submitted. I think it is necessary, relevant, appropriate and proper that they should include in it all material that comes from recognized United Nations authorities, which include the specialized agencies, or any other relevant material which lies in the hands of the United Nations and to which it can give credence. As my delegation stated at an earlier meeting, we cannot just function in disembodied sections, with one specialized agency doing something somewhere which is of great value and which is not known in another place. Therefore, the second part of my suggestion is based on that: that not all material collected from an unauthorized source, but material that is relevant to this purpose and that may be available from the International Labour Office or UNESCO or the World Health Organization, or from any other part of this Organization, where that material can be regarded as both relevant and accurate, could be usefully included.

Then we come to the very difficult question of additional material outside, which -- quite rightly, I think -- arouses concern in the mind of the representative of Australia. As the Administering Authority -- being on the other bench, so to speak -- he wants to know: "Am I going to be subjected to another inquisition?". My first answer, of course, is that it is a great pity that they should look upon it as an inquisition. It is a joint exploration, in which all the explorers do not start from the same place but are all, we hope, trying to reach the same goal, namely, the independence and the welfare of the people in Trust Territories. Therefore, while I take that view, at the same time I recognize in practice that administrators, like Ministers in Parliament, do not like to have questions asked.

I also recognize that the Secretariat has no power to go beyond its present authority to frame a new questionnaire. Perhaps I was wrong in using the word "questionnaire". You see, Mr. President, your language has the unfortunate habit of being a little bit elastic -- and sometimes, when you mean to refer to asking a lot of questions, you say "Let us put out a questionnaire". I do not know that that is an English word at all. Still, by "questionnaire", we simply meant some method of obtaining any further elucidation, any further elicitation, within the ambit of the resolution passed by the Assembly -- that sounds sufficiently legalistic to me -- within the compass of the resolution passed by the Assembly, for the purpose of answering that question as fully and legitimately as possible, using only such methods as are within the competence of the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat in relation to the Administering Powers. That is all that is meant by "questionnaire". It need not even be put in the form of a question.

It could be said that this resolution asked for this, that so much has been made available in the report, but that if there is any other material which the Administering Authority thinks can be included it may be included. It is not necessary to ask "Is there any other material?" at all. That would make it a question. We do not mind in what form it is put so long as we can make it up to date. I have no doubt at all that the Administering Authority would be willing to give further information pertaining to this further period, in the light of the desire of the Assembly to obtain that information. That is the third part of it.

Then the resolution quite rightly asks the Trusteeship Council questions on the training and appointment of indigenous persons in each Trust Territory in posts of responsibility, and so on. Now, on all these things the United Nations has considerable information. For example, UNESCO -- and I do not cite this as a parallel in any way, but as something that provokes thinking -- has units for training purposes in other contexts in various parts of the world. I cannot see any need to consider it harmful or inappropriate to draw attention to that.

Thus, in this resolution, there is reason and there is propriety. In giving consideration to the fourth aspect that I have mentioned, namely, whether there is anything else that we, as a Trusteeship Council, can say as to what can be done, it has to be remembered that this comes from our delegation which has, from the outset, pointed out that neither the Trusteeship Council nor any of us is a parallel administering authority. We are here only as part, and merely part, of the organs of accountability. We are not parallel administering authorities, and I, for one, think that it would be rather inappropriate for us to say that something could be done some other way. So these four items, in my opinion, should be included.

Coming to the practical part of this matter, I still would suggest that it would be far better if we had from the Secretariat tomorrow, in the light of this discussion, some sort of working paper, or whatever it is called. We are quite prepared to give assistance, and if you, Sir, say that it cannot be done -- that it is improper -- then we are prepared to submit it ourselves. In any event, we propose to move at the appropriate stage that this item should remain on the agenda for the next session of the Council. In fact, you have left the door

wide open in that respect because the Pacific Territories have not come in. But at the same time we hold, with the representative of Syria, that this is not a matter of saying that, because the other Territories are to be considered at that time, this should be left until then. What will happen then is that the Council's session will end on 9 July, or at some time thereabouts, we shall have all these discussions and the work will begin from that period, so that there will be no time for the respective governments to consider the matter. And I want to assure the Council that, so far as my delegation is concerned, these papers go back to our home Government for consideration. It is not a question of a few individuals coming here and expressing their points of view. We may have to elicit information ourselves from whatever sources are open to us. In the case of the United Kingdom, for example, in view of our close relations with it, we may be able to have our minds enlightened upon various questions.

In our view, therefore, there is, as the representative of Syria has said, nothing to prevent the work being undertaken now. It is quite obvious that it can only come to the stage of laying down the plan and filling in as far as possible. That is all to the good, because then this report or section, or whatever it is, takes the character the resolution asks for.

My delegation is not deeply impressed by the difficulties inherent in the suggestions and observations made by the representative of Australia, and we deeply regret the attitude of the representative of Belgium, who practically says, "They have the report: let them read it. Let these people make extracts and put them into the section". That is what has been done all along, and even if it is adequate I think that it shows scant courtesy to the Assembly.

This is neither the time nor the place to decide finally what is the relation of the Trusteeship Council to the Assembly. There is no doubt in the mind of my delegation that the Assembly has overall authority in this matter. I do not mean authority to alter the Trusteeship Agreements without consent, or authority to do in a parallel way what the Trusteeship Council is doing. The Charter is quite clear. What is more, common sense dictates certain procedures when there are representatives of sixty nations who have some views to express on what is United Nations responsibility, irrespective of any constitution. I say "irrespective of any constitution" because, as the President is aware, in all

constitutions where there are popular assemblies, over and above the letter of any law there is, inherent in the sovereign will of peoples collectively joined, some sanction that is not really exhausted by the phraseology of a constitution.

For all these reasons, and in the light of the approach that we are making to this problem, I do hope that our colleagues at this table will give unanimous support to this idea and ask the Secretariat to produce some paper tomorrow, or whenever we sit next. It would be very wrong, I submit, to give the Fourth Committee -- the Assembly -- the impression that there was a lack of regard for this appeal that was made by it, or that there was an attempt to say, "Well, we will obey the law". That is hardly the attitude one takes towards the Assembly.

I want to say that in the Fourth Committee there is a large majority of States which are not administering powers, and which have no desire to be administering powers. There are some of them which have an inherent, preconceived attitude with regard to administering powers. We know the administering powers in all their geniality, as well as the other way round. We know the difficulties of the administrators and the various other problems. Therefore, if we go to the Assembly making this a kind of "Take it if you can" attitude we are not going to promote any harmony, and I believe that the Trusteeship Council, as far as it can, ought to try to modulate and modify the attitude to which the French representative -- although I do not entirely agree with the way he put it -- has referred in substance.

There arises an attitude of considering the Administering Authority as being in the dock or as being someone to be shot at, and so on. It is quite true that the Administering Authorities are to be encouraged and to be provoked. Look at the way we have encouraged the Samoans' guardians this time. The New Zealanders are being represented as just short of angels in this business. We have congratulated them, and we have held them up as an example, and this, Mr. President, not out of respect for your being in the Chair at this session. It took place long before that. We have held them up to the whole world as the paragons of virtue and as the example of how Administering Authorities should behave. I do not think that that is entirely right, but still, there it is.

Thus the purpose of all this exercise is first to get the work started and to see that it comes to some fulfilment before we meet so that we can proceed

with it and so that the Assembly shall have before it a document issued as part of a Secretariat document, with all the prestige that that carries and all the kind of atmosphere of objectivity, having in it anything which the Administering Authorities, and those of us who are not Administering Authorities, can contribute at this stage. And if there are still unresolved differences they can be set side by side so that the Assembly can decide for itself.

Now what objection there can be to this procedure I cannot make out. I hope that the representative of Australia after my persuasive eloquence -- no one else will say it, so I will -- will kindly support this proposal and that we shall be enabled to submit the document to the next session of the Assembly.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (interpretation from French): We do not need the persuasive eloquence of the representative of India, and I really fail to understand why he is attacking me. All I asked was that the Secretariat should do in connexion with this recommendation of the Assembly what it does for other recommendations. The representative of India requests that the Secretariat should take into account the work of the International Labour Organization, UNESCO and so on, but I have not said anything to the contrary. That is precisely what the Secretary-General does in his outline reports. He even deals with petitions, and he gives an objective outline. Since it is objective, the Secretariat gives a report of the situation in a Territory in the light of what the Administering Authority says, in the light of what UNESCO says and in the light of certain petitions. Upon that objective report some make disagreeable comments, others make justificatory comments, and the whole thing is passed on to the Assembly.

What I propose -- and I trust that everyone will agree on this -- is that we should request the Secretary-General to prepare, in accordance with resolution 752 (VIII), a résumé for each of the Territories we have already examined. These résumés would take account of the official documents which are accessible to the Secretariat. They would be prepared for the Trusteeship Council, and if the Council were not satisfied it would give the Secretariat other instructions.

I think, however, that the Trusteeship Council will say: "The Secretariat has been objective; we can submit its work to the General Assembly without change."

If the representative of India is not satisfied with the way in which Belgium has met the request of the General Assembly -- and, incidentally, that is not what we are discussing here; we are discussing what the Trusteeship Council should do -- if the representative of India is not satisfied with the information which has been furnished by Belgium, it is up to him to say so and that statement will be included in the report. I, too, shall say what I have to say in the name of my Government, and that will be included in the report. Thus, the General Assembly will have at its disposal all the necessary information.

I really do not see why this discussion should be continued. It is very likely that, so far as I am concerned, I shall state that I agree with the document prepared by the Secretariat, just as I agree with the document on Ruanda-Urundi which has been prepared by the Secretariat, and that I find that it has been objectively written.

The PRESIDENT: I trust that this discussion will not be unduly prolonged; I think that, in substance, there is very considerable agreement among us.

Mr. PIGNON (France) (interpretation from French): I shall take the President's remark into account. I really wish to say only a few words.

I have the feeling that we have virtually arrived at an agreement. The only observation that I should like to make is that, in order that this agreement should be better established and that we should not court future difficulties, it would be wise to decide that, in compiling the special section of the report in accordance with paragraph 3 of resolution 752 (VIII), the Secretariat should use only official documents which have been considered and studied by the Trusteeship Council.

I shall give an example of what I mean. During this session, we have had before us an excellent report by UNESCO; we have studied that report; we have taken it into account in our discussions. If the Secretariat, in compiling the section of the report, uses the annual reports of the Administering Authorities, documents such as the one to which I have just referred, the verbatim records of Council meetings -- that is, the statements of members of the Council -- I believe that we shall be on firm ground. Such a report would, I am sure, be adopted without difficulty by the Trusteeship Council and would meet the wishes of the General Assembly.

It seems to me that the kind of exploration referred to by the representative of India was indeed carried out during this session. Numerous and precise questions were put to the special representatives of the Administering Authorities.

I think that we have the raw material for drafting a report, and that it is not necessary to look further and to risk courting serious difficulties for ourselves or the Secretariat. I think that we should be able to reach agreement on that basis.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): I regret that the representative of India should have found my manner cold. I confess that I have a certain difficulty in working up any heat about discussions on procedure. And, in my view, the discussion at this stage is purely procedural. All we have to do is to request the Secretariat, as we have done on sundry occasions in the past, to prepare another section, in accordance with paragraph 3 of resolution 752 (VIII), for inclusion in the report to the General Assembly.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): I should like very briefly to comment on some of the statements which have just been made.

It has been stated that the raw material needed to draft the report in question is available -- the annual reports, the verbatim records and other so-called official documents. That is all very well. Let us suppose, however, that some of the material requested in the sub-paragraphs of paragraph 3 of resolution 752 (VIII) is not contained in those official documents. Should we simply leave those gaps, or should we -- to use the words of the representative of India -- make some explorations, obtain some information to fill those gaps? For instance, under sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 3 of the Assembly resolution, information is to be furnished on "consultations with the inhabitants of each Trust Territory in regard to the measures taken or contemplated towards self-government". Let us suppose that no reference to this subject is contained in the official documents and, furthermore, that there has been very little discussion of it. It should be possible for the most up-to-date information to be obtained.

While I am on this subject, I should like to ask the President when I shall be able to present observations on the suggestion which I made on 3 and 18 February, namely, that up-to-date reports should be submitted between the time when the annual reports are submitted and the time when those annual reports are discussed. I should be very grateful if the President would tell me when I may speak on that point.

The PRESIDENT: If the representative of Syria wishes to speak on that matter, he may do so now. Incidentally, the point he has raised is an old one.

I should like now to give the Council my understanding of the position as regards the present discussion.

The proposal before the Council is that, having considered resolution 752 (VIII), and in particular paragraph 3 thereof, the Council should instruct the Secretariat to prepare a section of the report dealing with the matters enumerated in the sub-paragraphs of paragraph 3, and that that section should be submitted for the Council's consideration at the first meeting of its summer session.

I would repeat that I am not expressing any opinions on this matter. I wish to take a position of complete impartiality. It has been suggested that, if any representatives have objections to the contents of the report, those objections can be made when the report is considered at the next session.

I want to be certain that my understanding of the proposal before the Council is correct, because, sooner or later, I must put it to the vote.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I should like to say again that India is only one member of the Trusteeship Council. The Administering Authorities have the majority of votes in this Council, and they carry the greater part of responsibility. Our responsibility is to criticize, to make suggestions -- and, probably, to make the noise. We are quite conscious of that last factor.

What we have been trying to avoid is that, when the General Assembly meets again, there should be a controversy on this subject, with the Administering Authorities taking one side and the other States taking another side, and that resolutions should be adopted and then not implemented.

It would not be factual to say that the proposal before the Trusteeship Council is that the Secretariat should include a section on this matter in the report. I do not believe there is any dispute about that. We, however, went further in discussing how the legitimate enquiries of the General Assembly should be answered. Does anyone think that it is a waste of time for this Council to try to meet the wishes of the Assembly -- particularly in connexion with filling in the gaps about time limits, and so forth -- and to submit to the Assembly a report which would make that body feel that the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authorities were prepared to take into account the Assembly's concern in this matter?

That is the position which we have been trying to plead before this Council. I hope it will be possible for the Council to act in the way I have suggested.

I was very happy to hear the statement just made by the representative of Belgium. If he considers that what I have said is what he was thinking, or what I was thinking is what he has said, all the better; we are only too happy to have that agreement. I made no personal attack of any kind on the representative of Belgium.

There is one point of importance in connexion with the statement made by the representative of France. I do not quite understand what he means when he says that nothing that has not been passed by the Trusteeship Council should be contained in the report under discussion. But, if the report comes before the Trusteeship Council, everything in that report will be passed by the Council before the document is sent to the Assembly. I do not understand the difficulty. Let us suppose, for example, that the report should include some information drawn from statistics -- credible and acceptable statistics -- available in offices of the United Nations. That information may not have been discussed in the Trusteeship Council at any time. If, however, it is contained in the report to be submitted to us by the Secretariat at the next session, we shall consider it before it is passed on to the Assembly. It stands to reason -- in fact it is axiomatic -- that any report submitted by the Trusteeship Council has been passed by that Council.

I may be misunderstanding the situation. If it is suggested that we should include nothing except the printed documents, which do not go any further than 1952, and what has been said up till now in the Council, then that would not answer the whole of this question. It would exclude the other five Territories. Whatever report is prepared will come before the Council and will be discussed, and it will have to be finally approved by the Trusteeship Council. I do not think there is any real difficulty in this approach, and I would once again ask the members of the Council to accept the view that my delegation is intervening in this debate only with the object of seeing that the General Assembly will not meet again in the context that it met last time, with no response either from the Administering Authorities or the Trusteeship Council, yet when we have done so, there is at once a division and we do not get any further.

Mr. HOO (Assistant Secretary-General): Since the Trusteeship Council is discussing something which they want the Secretariat to do, may I present some observations and comments on the statements which have been made during the last half hour or so? Of course, the Secretariat will do anything that the Trusteeship Council instructs it to do. Although we have been instructed very often by the Secretary-General to avoid the duplication of documents, I do not know whether that would be possible to avoid...

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): On a point of order, I think it is an infringement of the general authority of the Trusteeship Council to bring some administrative regulation of the Secretariat with regard to the quantity of paper into the merits of our discussion. This point has been raised three times, but we cannot allow the Secretary-General to lay down what amount of paper or what colour of ink is to be used. The Council is competent to discuss its business in its own way.

The PRESIDENT: With great respect to the representative of India, this question of the use of too much paper emanates from the General Assembly. Therefore, it is quite proper for the Assistant Secretary-General to mention it.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): Yes, the General Assembly did decide this, and we are members of the General Assembly. We were a party to this decision. However, the Administration cannot bring this forward every time the Trusteeship Council wants something done. There is a wastage of paper, and I can point to a lot of that wastage.

The PRESIDENT: I think the Assistant Secretary-General should proceed. I think he is entitled to mention a matter which arises out of instructions given by the General Assembly to the Secretary-General. The General Assembly, as I understand it, resolved that the Secretary-General should be informed that there is undue documentation, and, naturally, the Secretary-General has to take that into account.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): The President is as well aware as I am that the only way I can express myself on this matter is by raising a point of order.

The PRESIDENT: Well, the representative of India has raised his point of order.

Mr. HOO (Assistant Secretary-General): I am not going to mention that matter any more; I raised it only by way of introduction. We will do what the Trusteeship Council wants us to do, providing we know exactly what is wanted, and here I would say that I understand that what the Council wants is that the Secretariat should prepare that section of the report of the Trusteeship Council to the General Assembly which the Trusteeship Council has been requested, in resolution 752 (VIII), to prepare. But paragraph 3 of that resolution:

"Requests the Trusteeship Council to include in its next and succeeding reports to the General Assembly a separate section dealing with the implementation of resolution 558 (VI) and the present resolution, specifying in particular the measures taken in respect of..." and then follows questions (a) to (e). Therefore, the section will be much wider in scope than the replies to the questions (a) to (e) in resolution 752 (VIII),

since it has to deal with the implementation of resolution 558 (VI), which, as is known, also contains several questions which are wider in scope than the questions (a) to (e) in resolution 752 (VIII).

From the discussion which has taken place, I am not clear whether the Council wants us to prepare replies only to questions (a) to (e) in resolution 752 (VIII) or whether it wants us to prepare a section dealing with the implementation of resolution 558 (VI) as well, which would be much wider in scope than the replies to questions (a) to (e) in resolution 752 (VIII).

The second question I wanted to raise concerns the sources the Secretariat can use in order to prepare that section, provided we first agree on the scope of that section. The interventions of the various representatives contained different views. Some of them spoke only of the annual reports and the reports of the Trusteeship Council, and some of them spoke of the reports of the specialized agencies, and even of documents of specialized agencies which have not necessarily come before the Trusteeship Council. On this point, we should like to know what sources we can use.

My third question concerns the point mentioned by the representative of India, whether we are entitled to ask questions of the various Member Governments and Administering Authorities if, for the preparation of this section, we do not have sufficient information from the documents we have in our possession.

Those are the three points on which we would like to have precise instructions from the Council, and I think that the best way would be to have them in writing.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): I do not wish to put forward my suggestion at this time, since we are discussing an entirely different matter. Therefore, I will yield my place until the discussion on this question is concluded.

The PRESIDENT: It may well be that the matter which the representative of Syria wished to raise will have to be raised at another time, because of the course this discussion has taken.

Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): The intervention of the Assistant Secretary-General has been helpful, if only to draw attention to this question of the sources of information. All I should like to do at this stage is to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that resolution 558 (VI) invites the Administering Authorities to provide information on five particular points, and resolution 752 (VIII) asks the Trusteeship Council to present a separate section of its report dealing with the implementation of the earlier resolution. My preliminary reading of the resolution, therefore, would be that the separate section of the Trusteeship Council's report should concern itself with information which has been provided in some form or other by the Administering Authorities. I do not think that necessarily rules out information which may be obtained from reports presented by the specialized agencies, because I am aware that, in relation to our work here, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, for example, is provided with the reports of the Administering Authorities and that it bases its own report to this Council on these annual reports. Therefore, we cannot rule out the very useful and authoritative information which is contained in the reports of UNESCO. I am not aware of the position which obtains with regard to other specialized agencies, but I think the Council should bear this in mind.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium): The questions which have been asked by the Assistant Secretary-General do call for very simple answers. Resolution 558 (VI) requests Governments to provide certain information. Resolution 752 (VIII) requests the Trusteeship Council to report on the way in which resolution 558 (VI) has been implemented. Therefore, in order to satisfy the General Assembly with regard to resolution 558 (VI), it is sufficient for the Secretary-General to make a resume of the information supplied by the Administering Authorities in the implementation of that resolution.

With regard to the second point, the General Assembly has not suggested anything new with regard to the sources to which the Secretary-General or the Trusteeship Council may apply in order to draft their reports. Therefore, for this section of the report the Secretary-General will make use of the same sources of information that he uses for the other chapters of the report, since the General Assembly has not asked for any difference in treatment.

As regards resolution 558 (VI), the Secretary-General will inform the Council or draw its attention to the replies made by Governments or to the fact that Governments have not replied. The Council will report to the General Assembly and the General Assembly can deal with the report as the majority decides. There is no question of the Secretary-General taking the initiative and asking questions of the Governments. The questions have already been asked of Governments through resolution 558 (VI) and resolution 752 (VIII).

Then, the Secretary-General will propose to the Council the way of reporting to the General Assembly on the manner in which the two resolutions of the Assembly have been executed. While doing that, as I say, the Secretary-General will make use of exactly the same sources of information that he makes use of in the whole of his voluminous report to the General Assembly.

There is nothing complicated in this. I do not see why we cannot say now to the Secretary-General: prepare a report for each one of the six Territories we have examined since the last session of the General Assembly. Let us have the draft at the first meeting of the next session. If, then, somebody is not satisfied with the work of the Secretary-General, there will be plenty of time to submit a memorandum, a considerandum, a note or anything you like. However, I am convinced, that the work will be well done and will call for no memoranda, because the work produced will be exactly in harmony with the General Assembly resolution.

Mr. PIGNON (France)(interpretation from French): I should like to clarify my thoughts in answer to the question of the representative of India. However, the representative of Belgium has done that for me. The sources to be used by the Secretariat are those that it uses when it draws up the working paper on each of the Territories. On that basis, I think we can all agree. What I would be opposed to is the procedure of looking for documents which are not easy of access, which we have had no time to study and on which we have had no advice from our specialists. I agree, therefore, with the representative of Belgium.

On the second point, I would not be able to consent to new questions being asked of Governments without reference to my Government. Conversely, I should like to state that my delegation, and I suppose all other delegations of Administering Powers here in New York, will always be and is wholly at the disposal of the Secretariat. Doctor Aleksander can easily find our telephone numbers and call us. We will be ready to answer him and to furnish all the clarifications that he might wish to have with the best of goodwill.

The PRESIDENT: The only precise proposal which I have had -- to some extent I think it is an elaboration of that proposed by the representative of the United Kingdom -- is that of the representative of Belgium. His proposal is -- he can correct me if I state it incorrectly -- that the Council, having considered resolution 752 (VIII), and in particular paragraph 3 of that resolution, instructs the Secretariat to prepare, in accordance with paragraph 3, a special section dealing with the matters set forth in that paragraph and to submit that special section for the consideration of the Council at the first meeting in its summer session.

That is the only precise proposal that I have. Of course, if any other member wishes to move an amendment or to submit another proposal, I shall be happy to hear it.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): Mr. President, you as President are the best judge of how you should sum up a discussion and it would be improper for me to make any observations about it. You will remember that the whole of this debate arose with the background of my delegation submitting that it did not want to prejudice the general elasticity of our thinking and a possible joint approach to the whole of the problem by submitting hard and fast resolutions. I think -- I may be entirely wrong -- that it is rather an inappropriate view to say on that submission that the Council has another proposal before it. It is quite true that that proposal meets part of the matters raised by the discussion. But, as will be seen from the very helpful intervention of the Assistant Secretary-General, the Secretariat is still faced with the issue of what should be included. Where should they

look for it? If you want those put forward as proposals, then we shall have to do so. Then, of course, we shall have a very long debate on the very full stop and the very comma of it. That is why we said that this section of the report should include the complete answers to all the questions that have been asked by the General Assembly. I make this in the form of a proposal. I propose further that the Secretariat should address itself to all the published documents and reports that have been submitted to it from the Administering Authorities. It should be allowed to make use of any report or document of the specialized agencies or any material that is of an accepted character under the auspices of the United Nations. It should have the liberty, as the representative of France has said, to seek any elucidations from Administering Authorities. However, we have not suggested anything of an inquisitorial character beyond its authority to do. And in conformity with paragraph 3 of the operative part of the resolution, the Trusteeship Council should add its own observations in this matter. That is the proposal I put forward.

If my delegation was wrong in trying to make this thing rigid and to bring it to the issue of voting, we must accept the responsibility. If it is your desire, Mr. President, that there be the submission of a draft resolution in this matter, I would request an adjournment of this matter until the next meeting.

Is it your view, Mr. President, that there should be a specific proposal put forward? If so, I request that we adjourn the meeting for the submission of that draft resolution at our next meeting.

The PRESIDENT: The point taken by the representative of India is correct. I want to make clear to him that if he desires to make a proposal, of course it will be regarded.

It seems to me that we have reached the stage where there are fairly detailed proposals being made. Under those circumstances, we should comply with the rules. If we are going to move proposals which are really resolutions or motions on this important matter, they had better be in writing and lodged with the Council as soon as possible.

There are really two proposals: one by the representative of Belgium and one by the representative of India. I request those representatives to lodge their proposals with the Council tomorrow, preferably in the morning so that we can have them distributed.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): My delegation is not prepared to accept the view that our proposal is either antagonistic or is anything but in the nature of an addendum or an explanation of the other one. We are not putting two rival proposals.

The PRESIDENT: No, I am not assuming that is so. Of course, as President, I must have some particularity in these matters. Therefore, I request that, if we are going to vote on this matter, these draft resolutions be lodged tomorrow morning with the Secretariat.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): If you want it that way, we shall do it.

The PRESIDENT: I think it is the only way. I do not think we can conduct our business satisfactorily without doing it.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): If it is your desire that we should have a battle royal in the Assembly over it, we shall have it.

The PRESIDENT: I do not want a battle royal, and the representative of India well knows that too. But if he says that these draft resolutions are complementary, he as a man with common sense ought to be able to propose something on which this can be settled in conjunction with the proposal of the representative of Belgium. However, I do urge this. We have had a protracted meeting on this matter. We are having a protracted session and we have many other important matters with which to deal. I earnestly ask that we do not prolong this debate unduly.

When I have a proposal put to me by the representative of Belgium and then another one by the representative of India, both of them verbal, I cannot put them to the meeting satisfactorily.

I have before me a draft resolution submitted by the representative of Belgium, which invites the Secretary-General to prepare for the first meeting of the fourteenth session of the Trusteeship Council a draft report which will conform to General Assembly resolution 752 (VIII), concerning the six Trust Territories which have already been the subject of examination by the Council. This is one draft resolution which is now in definite form. If the representative of India could reduce his proposal to writing now, it would save a great deal of time.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I must give a great deal of consideration to it. I regret that I am not able to submit the resolution now. If the President will ask for a vote on the other resolution, we shall vote against it.

The PRESIDENT: May I respectfully ask the representative of India the following: when he said that he is not able to submit the resolution now, I take it that he is unable to do it at this precise moment, but that he will do so tomorrow morning?

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): Yes.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium)(interpretation from French): I thought that we could vote on this resolution, which now seems to be so simple and clear. But since the representative of India has an objection, I will, of course, not press the point.

The PRESIDENT: If there is an objection, I do not think it would be proper to put it now.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): Before the meeting is adjourned, I should like to have an elucidation on one incident which took place at today's meeting. Mr. President, after you had called upon the representative of the Administering Authority to make his concluding remarks, and after that representative, in his concluding remarks, made a number of statements specifically addressed to the representative

of the Soviet Union in the Trusteeship Council, I asked to be given the right to speak in order to reply.

Then, Mr. President, you gave me a number of qualifications. First you did not want to call upon me. Then, finally, you did call upon me, and before I had completed all my replies to specific points, you interrupted me and did not permit me to set forth the further points I wished to make in answer to the special representative for Ruanda-Urundi. In this connexion, I wish to raise the following question. The rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council include a specific paragraph pertaining to the powers of the President. Rule 51 says that subject to the rules of procedure, the President shall have complete control of the proceedings of any meeting. Consequently, Mr. President, you were in a position to interrupt my answers to the representative of the Administering Authority only subject to the rules of procedure. I should like to find out under what rule of procedure the President denied the right of reply to a member of the Council at today's meeting.

The PRESIDENT: I shall briefly explain what were the reasons for the step I took. The custom has varied in this question of replying to the special representative. Some Presidents have allowed a right of reply to the special representative; others have regarded it as the correct procedure, if members wished to comment on what the special representative has said, for that comment to be made in the course of the discussion of the Drafting Committee's report. I prefer to follow the latter procedure. According to rule 51, subject to the rules of procedure -- and there is no rule of procedure actually regarding this -- the President has complete control of proceedings of any meeting. A representative may appeal from any ruling of the President and that appeal shall be put to the vote without discussion.

As I had controlled the discussion, and in the interest of order and expedition, I decided that any reply should be made at the next meeting of the Drafting Committee. Those are the reasons for my ruling.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. President, immediately after the statement of the representative of the Administering Authority, you appointed a Drafting Committee, which in its proceedings is supposed to take account of the observations and statements of the Administering Authority, the remarks made in the Trusteeship Council, the concluding remarks of the representative of the Administering Authority and, consequently, the replies that were elicited as a result of the concluding remarks of the representative of the Administering Authority.

Having deprived a member of the Council of the right to reply to the representative of the Administering Authority at today's meeting, you have, Mr. President, placed a member of the Council in an unfavourable situation, in a manner which betokens discrimination against a member of the Council as compared to the right which you did grant to the representative of the Administering Authority.

Specifically the Drafting Committee, looking at the record of today's meeting, will have at its disposal all the considerations set forth by the Administering Authority, including considerations which reflect unfavourably on a member of the Council. On the other hand, a member of the Council was not permitted by you, Mr. President, to give his reply for the record of today's meeting. Therefore the Drafting Committee will submit its report and its proposals without having been able to take account of the reply of a member of the Council. You have therefore placed a member of the Council in an unequal position as compared to a non-member of the Council, namely the special representative of the Administering Authority for Ruanda-Urundi.

Mr. President, you have set forth the consideration today that you are trying to be just and fair -- you said that about twenty minutes ago. If you were guided by that consideration, you should have allowed the representative of the Soviet Union to speak. Moreover, rule 53 of the rules of procedure says that the President shall call upon speakers in the order in which they signify their desire to speak. This rule does not leave it open to you, Mr. President, to interrupt speakers.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to state that if your actions today are regarded by you as being in conformity with justice and fairness, then I am at a loss to state what will be the meaning of arbitrariness.

The PRESIDENT: I do not propose to carry this matter any further. The final remarks of the representative of the Soviet Union are ones which I cannot accept. I am the custodian of the proceedings of the Council, and if there is any proposal to reverse my ruling, the representative of the Soviet Union is at liberty to do so.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.