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that fact should not be a cause for disquiet, since all nations, great or small, were interdependent. Moreover, Micronesia certainly possessed everything necessary for the attainment of the aims and objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement and the United Nations Charter. Its peoples were ready to assume their responsibilities. The United States Congress could make a vital contribution to the Territory's development by appropriating the needed funds, and the Administration could accelerate progress through appropriate planning. There were two basic factors in Micronesia which were a guarantee of success: the goodwill of the peoples towards the Government and the people of the United States and their confidence in the chief representative of the Administration.

2. She wished to express her appreciation to the Administration and the Micronesian people for the warm welcome they had given the members of the Visiting Mission and expressed the hope that the Micronesian peoples would in the not too distant future take their place in the community of nations.

3. Mr. Chiping H. C. KIANG (China) also wished to express his gratitude to the Administration and to the people of Micronesia for their hospitality to the 1964 Visiting Mission.

4. Less than three months after the Mission's return the Council had learned from the High Commissioner about certain developments in the administration of the Territory which were indicative of significant progress. His delegation had noted with special interest the recent turning over of certain senior administrative posts to Micronesians, the steps taken to intensify the training of specialized personnel, the realignment of certain operating programmes, the appointment of a supervisor of the adult education programme, the plans for the establishment of a modern printing plant, the measures for the development of co-operatives and credit unions, and lastly, the plans for the rehabilitation of the island of Ebeye.

5. His delegation fully endorsed the various recommendations made in the Visiting Mission's report. While expressing his satisfaction at the esteem in which the Administration and the High Commissioner were held by the people and at the excellent work they had done in many fields, he wished to draw the Council's attention to certain recommendations which he considered especially important.

6. With regard to education, the compulsory school entrance age should be lowered to six years; a programme of adult education should be initiated, vocational and technical training intensified and a junior college established. It would also be desirable to preserve the Pacific Islands Central School, which had performed such an admirable function in the past and could usefully continue to train an élite in the Territory. Lastly, it would be good to encourage sports in the Micronesian schools for the character development of young people and to hold sports competitions in order to promote closer relations among the Micronesians.

President: Mr. F. H. CORNER (New Zealand).

Present:

The representatives of the following States: Australia, China, France, Liberia, New Zealand, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The representatives of the following specialized agencies: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Health Organization.

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (continued):

- (i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for the year ended 30 June 1963 (T/1624, T/L.1073 and Add.1);
- (ii) Examination of petitions (T/PET.10/L.5, T/PET.10/L.6, T/PET.10/L.7 and Add.1);
- (iii) Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1964 (T/1620)

[Agenda items 4 (b), 5 and 6]

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) said that as she had been her Government's representative on the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1964, and had therefore participated in the production of the Mission's report (T/1620), she would not discuss the situation in Micronesia in detail. She would stress, however, that the problems of Micronesia were not insurmountable. Although Micronesia did not possess all the resources that it might need,

7. In the field of social advancement, a Territory-wide broadcasting system should be established.

8. Turning to economic advancement, he said there was an immediate need for the formulation of a long-term economic development plan and the establishment of a well-staffed machinery to put it into effect. The Micronesians should be fully associated with the whole process of economic planning and should be assured that the implementation of the development plans would not be impeded by a lack of funds. For that purpose, an economic development fund should be created outside the regular budget and distinct from the economic loan fund.

9. In order to promote political advancement, the future congress of Micronesia should be vested with effective authority over the Territory's finances and should exercise control over the executive. To prepare Micronesians for the management of their own affairs, intensive and deliberate training, together with the creation of a unified Micronesian civil service, was essential.

10. He was happy to have had the opportunity of holding very frank and interesting discussions with a great many Micronesians. When they had asked him how he felt about the Territory's development since his previous visit some five years before,^{1/} he had stressed three points: the Territory was now in a position to make rapid economic progress, especially if its inhabitants took greater interest in agriculture; its people were themselves its greatest and most reliable asset and the younger generation showed great dynamism; and lastly, its leaders had the duty of developing the feeling of national unity throughout Micronesia.

11. He had been particularly impressed by the fact that the people of Micronesia were aware of the importance of their own political future and by the confidence and determination of the younger generation. Thanks to the important political progress which had been made, and especially the development of the future congress of Micronesia, the Territory would no doubt be able to attain its ultimate goal at an early date. The Administering Authority had great responsibilities and would undoubtedly know how to use the confidence which the Micronesians had placed in it for the good of the people.

12. His delegation had listened with much interest to the statement made at the 1230th meeting by Mr. Remengesau, Assistant District Administrator of the Palau District, and would like him to convey its best wishes to the people of Micronesia.

13. Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, after seventeen years of United States administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the basic task of the Administering Authority, which was to create in the Territory political, economic and social conditions that would enable the indigenous population to accede to self-government and independence, had not been carried out. Not only had the United States set no time-table for the Territory's accession to self-government and independence, but it was not even willing to draw up plans for such accession and its policy was to maintain its domination over the Territory as long as possible.

^{1/} Mr. Kiang was Chairman of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Nauru, New Guinea and the Pacific Islands, 1959.

14. A review of the political situation would show that the special representative of the Administering Authority had stated at the twenty-ninth session that a legislature could be established in the Territory long before 1965; and at its thirtieth session the Trusteeship Council had adopted a recommendation in which it had expressed the hope that a legislative body for the Territory might be in operation during the course of 1964 (S/5340, para. 39). No representative legislative body as yet existed in the Territory, however, since the Council of Micronesia had turned out to be a purely consultative body. The people of the Territory had not been given sufficient opportunity to consider the proposals relating to the creation of the congress of Micronesia and the President of the United States or the Secretary of the Interior had the final say. In imposing upon Micronesia a legislative body the plan for which the population had little chance to consider the United States was acting precisely as if the Trust Territory was an integral part of its own territory. In the case of an international territory temporarily under the International Trusteeship System, such methods were not admissible and were incompatible with the principles of democracy. It was clear from paragraph 204 of the Visiting Mission's report (T/1620) what the wishes of the indigenous population were: the people wanted a "strong" legislative body, a congress of Micronesia which would have real powers.

15. His delegation supported the Visiting Mission's conclusion that provision must first of all be made for the United States Administration to transfer, at the earliest possible date, all the reins of government to the Micronesians. The Trusteeship Council and the United Nations should not interfere in fields which were within the exclusive competence of the Territory's legislature. The people of Micronesia were capable of working out all the details of the future political system of the State of Micronesia; moreover, they should not be directed exclusively towards the United States system of government for they might wish to consider the experience of the other States of the Pacific area or of the new countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in determining what kind of a state they wished to have. What was most important was to ensure that all functions—elections, appointments to an executive body, the determination of budgetary policy, etc.—should become the inalienable powers of the congress of Micronesia. However, a study of the plans for the future congress showed that no legislation could enter into force until it had been approved by the High Commissioner, and that then as now the Administering Authority would have the last word. Clearly, the future congress of Micronesia would be only a consultative body, like the body that already existed. It was also to be noted that the Administering Authority had no plans for the transfer of executive power to the Micronesians, that the High Commissioner would remain the supreme authority in the Territory and that the speed at which United States officials were being replaced by Micronesians in key posts in the Administration was not in harmony with the requirements of the present situation and the stage now reached by the Trust Territory.

16. The district legislatures in the various parts of the Territory did not have sufficient time during their sessions to deal seriously with problems, particularly those relating to economic advancement. Moreover, in all the districts, the administrative posts were always held by United States citizens and there was

no programme for training Micronesians to replace them. All the posts in the High Court were occupied by United States citizens and the Administering Authority, through a system of appointments and replacements, retained control of the judiciary at all levels.

17. It was in the area of economic development of the Territory that, according to the Visiting Mission, progress had so far been slowest. A system of primitive agriculture was still the basis of the Micronesian economy. Even the level at which the economy had stood during the Japanese administration remained an unattainable goal.

18. Capital investment, particularly in fishing, which was the natural source of food and export products in conditions such as existed in Micronesia, was still totally inadequate, as the Visiting Mission's report pointed out. With regard to fishing and other economic activities, it was the duty of the Administering Authority to comply with the Mission's recommendations. Control of the Trust Territory and its use for military purposes were, as the Visiting Mission had correctly pointed out, advantages for which it was only right that the Administering Authority should pay.

19. The way to develop the Micronesian economy was, first, to restore the conditions which had previously prevailed in the Territory, particularly the fishing industry, and then to go forward by creating a diversified and technically equipped economy. Costly imports of food—fish, meat, eggs, poultry—and other commodities that could be produced in the Territory itself should be reduced and then stopped. Those steps would make it possible to reduce budget expenditures as well as to lessen Micronesia's dependence on the United States, which used the Territory as an outlet for its agricultural surpluses. A very large portion of the funds allocated by the United States to the Territorial budget actually reverted to the United States: for example, nearly 70 per cent of the Territory's imports came from the United States, whereas the figures for exports to the United States were very low. It was also high time to put an end to the "surprising anomaly", as the Visiting Mission put it in paragraph 229 of its report, whereby United States companies and citizens in the Territory paid income taxes, not to the Territory, but to the United States.

20. Further, a unified plan for the development of the Territory was essential, for without it the Territory could make no progress. The Press of the United States had reached the same conclusion and had stated that a carefully elaborated programme of development was absolutely essential to bring the level of the Micronesian economy at least up to that which it had enjoyed under the Japanese occupation. An American missionary working in the Territory had said that after having neglected the Territory ever since the war, the least the United States could do for it was to pay it an honest rent.

21. The Soviet delegation did not share the enthusiasm shown in the Visiting Mission's report with respect to public health and education. What had been done in the Territory represented only the first steps towards overcoming the lag resulting from the inaction during the past seventeen years. He cited examples showing that conditions in the hospitals and schools still remained inadequate. Primary and particularly higher education were still unsatisfactory. In spite of the dissatisfaction of the youth of the Territory with the opportunities for higher education, the Administering Authority, according to the report of the Secretary-

General (T/1622), persisted in refusing to use the United Nations scholarship programme for inhabitants of Trust Territories.

22. On the whole, social conditions left much to be desired: many dwellings and many roads were in a deplorable state.

23. The USSR delegation had been happy to hear that the inhabitants of Kwajalein Island had won their fight with the Administering Authority over the alienation of indigenous land for military purposes. However, the Administering Authority had refused to provide the Trusteeship Council with the text of the agreement concluded on the question, there was nothing to indicate the attitude of the inhabitants to the terms of the settlement, the price was low (\$10 per acre per year) and the period long (ninety-nine years)—all of which compelled one to hesitate before reaching a final conclusion on the question. The Administering Authority was refusing to satisfy the claims of the inhabitants in respect of the damage done during the Second World War. No progress had been made with regard to the payment of compensation to inhabitants suffering damages resulting from United States atomic testing. The Administering Authority was offering no compensation of any kind for the established effects of radiation in the islands.

24. Thus an analysis of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands showed that while a few changes had taken place in the Territory, they were not very significant. The economy of the Territory was in a state of stagnation. The only economic changes found were connected with United States military needs. American companies monopolized the trade of the Territory and held back the development of its economy.

25. In the area of political advancement, the Administering Authority was not taking steps to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and was delaying self-government and independence. It was doing its best to erase the idea of independence from the minds of the people.

26. The Administering Authority's policy was still directed towards preserving colonial rule. It treated the Territory as one of the essential factors in the United States over-all strategy in that part of the world. The United States was against the application of the "open door" principle to the territories it administered in the Pacific.

27. In the circumstances, the Trusteeship Council should call upon the Administering Authority to set in motion immediately a broad, specific programme of development in Micronesia aimed at bringing the inhabitants to self-determination and independence. The provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples should be applied fully to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

28. All legislative powers should be transferred to the congress of Micronesia, whose functions should include the setting up of the executive and judiciary bodies of Micronesia. It was also necessary to begin replacing United States citizens by Micronesians in key posts in the Administration; for example, the district administrators, the members of the High Court, and the heads of all departments of the Administration should be Micronesians. In the near future the post of High Commissioner should also be

filed by a Micronesian. The process of "Micronization" should be completed before the elections to the congress of Micronesia were held.

29. It was also essential to prepare without further delay a unified plan for the Territory's economic development. The Trusteeship Council should submit a recommendation to the General Assembly for a study of atmospheric radio-activity and nuclear tests in that part of the Pacific by competent organs of the United Nations. Compensation should be paid without delay, as was requested by the inhabitants of the Territory. The Council should further call on all States to cease nuclear weapons experiments within the area of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The Council should recommend to the Administering Authority to take steps to change the closed character of the Trust Territory—a change which corresponded to the wishes of the population. Consideration should be given to freeing the Trust Territory from the designation "strategic area". Measures should also be taken to ensure that the Trust Territory no longer served as a United States military springboard and a source of tension and war danger in the Pacific.

30. Finally, it was high time for the question of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to be taken up by the Security Council and a recommendation to that effect should be made. That was all the more necessary as a supreme legislative body was to be established in the Territory, and the United Nations, including the Security Council, should devote the closest attention to that development.

31. Mr. YATES (United States of America) said that his delegation appreciated all the constructive suggestions made by the members of the Council and in the report of the Visiting Mission. The United States Government was now considering those suggestions, particularly those relating to political development.

32. He would not reply in detail to all the criticisms of the USSR representative concerning the administration of the Territory. However, he wished to make it clear to the Soviet representative that the United States Government took its responsibility towards the Territory most seriously and considered suggestions and criticisms directed to it equally seriously. Political decisions would be taken in accordance with the wishes of the population and the hopes it had expressed. The economic development of the islands was continuing and the United States Government recognized, as the Visiting Mission had pointed out in its report, that the pace of economic advancement could be accelerated. It planned to develop the fishing industry and to take other steps to accelerate development. The situation where consumer goods were being imported at high prices, to which the USSR representative had referred, was not unique and was practised in nearly all countries of the world. However, the United States delegation shared the opinion of the USSR delegation that the Territory's economy should become more and more self-sustaining.

33. The extracts from the Press cited by the Soviet representative contained some criticism which was undoubtedly true. But, in the view of the United States delegation and in the opinion of the members of the Visiting Mission, the picture given was very much exaggerated.

34. The fact that the taxes paid by United States citizens working in Micronesia went into the United States Treasury and not to the Territory was in no

way exceptional, for the same was true wherever Americans were working outside their country. Furthermore, he wished to assure the USSR delegation that the claims of the inhabitants of Rongelap would be paid.

35. With regard to the USSR proposal that the United Nations should undertake a study of the radio-active fall-out in the Territory resulting from United States nuclear testing, the United States delegation would like to recall to the Soviet representative that the Council had been told at its previous session (1211th meeting), that the tests which had caused the greatest fall-out had been carried out by the Soviet Union. Consequently, if such a study were to be undertaken, it should also deal with the effects of the Soviet tests.

36. The USSR representative seemed determined not to recognize the progress achieved. The United States administration in the Territory had been constructive, as would be seen from the fact that the budget had doubled in size in the past two years. As stated in the report of the Visiting Mission, emphasis had been placed on the education of the people, and that was an important development; the United States Government intended to continue its activities in that field.

37. He reserved the right of his delegation to make additional comments if necessary.

38. Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he did not wish to dispute the United States representative's statement that the United States Government was considering various steps to ensure the Territory's future development. The fact remained, however, that there was a considerable lag in all areas of development. The Visiting Mission itself had found that the Territory's economy was in a state of stagnation.

39. In reply to the United States representative, he would recall that he had particularly stressed the fact that companies operating in the Territory paid nothing to Micronesia out of their profits.

40. It was the President of the United States or someone representing him who would give final approval to the new legislature of the Territory. Neither the people nor the future legislature would be consulted. Even if the Micronesian congress was created, all the laws it adopted would be subject to veto by the United States.

41. His delegation disagreed with a number of the conclusions contained in the report of the Visiting Mission. Progress in health and education in the Territory were completely inadequate. The peoples living under colonial rule would bear those facts in mind, and some day an accounting would have to be made for that policy before the United Nations and the Micronesian people.

42. Not only must his delegation's criticisms be taken into account, but swift action must be taken to apply to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands the principles of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

43. Mr. YATES (United States of America) said that the best way to answer the Soviet representative's statement that the United States intended to impose its will in the matter of the Territory's political development was to recall briefly his country's past behaviour towards Territories under its administration. The Philippines, at one time a Non-Self-

Governing Territory, had become an independent country by agreement with the United States. Hawaii and Alaska had, also by agreement with the United States, become states of the Federal Union. In the future, similar opportunities for self-determination would be afforded not only to Micronesia but to other territories administered by the United States.

44. An assessment of the over-all administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by the United States was given in paragraph 15 of the Visiting Mission's report (T/1620), which in many ways answered the points made by the Soviet representative.

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Nauru: annual report of the Administering Authority for the year ended 30 June 1963 (T/1619, T/L.1072/Rev.1) (*continued*)

[Agenda item 4 (c)]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Marsh, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Nauru, took a place at the Council table.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TRUST TERRITORY AND REPLIES OF THE REPRESENTATIVE AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY (*continued*)

45. Mr. DOISE (France) noted that, as the special representative had stated, the powers of the Nauru Local Government Council had been increased in certain areas, in which it could now take decisions without prior approval from the Administrator. He would like to know whether, despite that innovation, there was any retrospective control over Council activities in those areas.

46. Mr. MARSH (Special Representative) replied that those executive functions of the Council were not subject to any such control.

47. Mr. DOISE (France), referring to the reorganization of the Public Service, asked when the posts reserved for Nauruans—the special representative had estimated the number at about forty—would be occupied by them.

48. Mr. MARSH (Special Representative) said that those posts, while open to Nauruans, were at present occupied by non-indigenous persons. In the Nauruan Gazette of 4 November 1963, applications from Nauruans had been invited for those positions. The Nauruans themselves felt that expatriate teachers were necessary to ensure educational development. Only two applications had been received, and neither of the applicants had had the minimum qualifications for providing the service which the Nauruan community needed. As the Administering Authority had already indicated, the Australians would be replaced by Nauruans as suitably qualified Nauruans became available.

49. In reply to a further question by Mr. DOISE (France), Mr. MARSH (Special Representative) said that the Nauruan who now held the post of Official Secretary, the highest post in the Nauru Public Service, would be largely responsible for deciding whether candidates were qualified for advertised positions.

50. Mr. DOISE (France), turning to economic questions, asked what the life of the phosphate deposits was.

51. Mr. MARSH (Special Representative) said that the life of the deposits depended, of course, on the reserves, which were not uniform throughout the Territory; it also depended on the rate of export. He believed that at the current rate of mining the deposits would probably last for twenty-five to thirty years.

52. Mr. DOISE (France) wished to know what, in the Administering Authority's view, would be the standard of living of the Nauruan community if it agreed to resettle on Curtis Island.

53. Mr. MARSH (Special Representative) said that if there was to be resettlement on Curtis Island, the plan would require for the Nauruan people a standard of living fully comparable to that enjoyed by the people of Australia.

54. Mr. DOISE (France) asked how the area of Curtis Island compared with that of Nauru, which, in his recollection, was about eight or nine square miles.

55. Mr. MARSH (Special Representative) replied that the area of Nauru was a little more than eight square miles. The area of Curtis Island approached 200 square miles and was thus more than twenty times that of Nauru. The island's entire area was, of course, economically usable.

56. Mr. DOISE (France) asked whether he could infer from that reply that the Nauruans could use the entire area of Curtis Island.

57. Mr. MARSH (Special Representative) said that they could. It should be noted that the size of the island was very close to that of Singapore, which supported 1.5 million people.

58. Mr. DOISE (France) thanked the special representative for his co-operation.

Mr. Marsh special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Nauru, withdrew.

Report of the Secretary-General on credentials (T/1626) (*concluded*)*

[Agenda item 2]

59. Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he wished to stress his delegation's view that the continuing violation of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the various bodies of the United Nations hindered the Organization and, in particular, the Trusteeship Council in the fulfilment of their tasks.

60. The representative referred to by the Secretary-General in his report (T/1626) under the heading of "China" represented no one but himself. Accordingly, the Soviet delegation could not recognize the credentials of that representative as being in good order. The legitimate representatives of China in the Trusteeship Council and in all other United Nations bodies could only be persons appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

61. With that reservation, his delegation would vote for the Secretary-General's report.

62. Mr. Chiping H. C. KIANG (China) said that his delegation represented the only legitimate and freely constituted Government of China, which alone could rightfully speak for the Chinese people in the United Nations.

*Resumed from the 1225th meeting.

63. Mr. YATES (United States of America) observed that the destiny of the peoples residing in Trust Territories was in the hands of the members of the Council; that imposed a grave responsibility upon them. Hence, his delegation deeply regretted that the Soviet representative saw fit to interrupt the work of the Council to engage in propaganda on political matters. The position of various Governments on that question had been stated quite clearly in the political organs of the United Nations, and it served no useful purpose to repeat those statements in the Council.

64. However, since the Soviet representative had raised the issue, his delegation wished to emphasize that the Government of the Republic of China was alone entitled to represent China in the Council and other United Nations bodies. That position was in keeping with the view taken by the General Assembly, at its eighteenth session (1248th plenary meeting),

when, on 21 October 1963, it had rejected by 57 votes to 41, with 12 abstentions, a draft resolution designed to replace the representatives of the Republic of China by representatives of the People's Republic of China in all United Nations organs.

65. Mr. DOISE (France) said that in the view of the French Government only a delegation of the People's Republic of China was entitled to represent China in the Council.

66. The PRESIDENT suggested that, if there were no further observations, it should be recorded that the report of the Secretary-General on credentials had been noted by the Council, together with the observations that had been made.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.