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Held at Headquarters, New York,  
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*Handwritten: 66/1*  
President:

Mr. BINGHAM

(United States of America)

*Handwritten: 66/1*  
Vice-President:

Mr. SALAMANCA  
(Vice-President)

(Bolivia)

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Examination of annual reports of the Administering Authorities  
on the administration of Trust Territories: conditions in the  
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands [3b] (continued)

Note:

The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.1186 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

## AGENDA ITEM 3b

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS (T/1590; T/L.1040; T/PET.10/34) (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. Wilfred Goding, Special Representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

General debate (continued)

Mr. RASGOTRA (India): I should like once again to extend my delegation's welcome to the Special Representative and his party, and especially to Mr. Andon Amaraich, who comes from the Trust Territory and holds a position of responsibility in one of the Districts in the Pacific Islands.

We have perused very carefully the annual report, the statement of the Special Representative, the statement by Mr. Amaraich to the Council yesterday and the answers which have been given by the High Commissioner to the numerous questions put to him concerning the various fields of the Territory's life.

After studying this material we have formed the general impression that there is a new approach -- a very much needed approach -- towards the Territory's problems on the part of the Administration, a more dynamic approach, I would say, even though the dynamism that is in evidence exists at this stage perhaps only in theory or in part in the sense that it is not yet matched or supported by the requisite funds which must be placed at the Territory Administration's disposal if this new approach is to be implemented and if the recommendations of last year's Visiting Mission -- which, I understand, the Administration has embraced -- are to be put through.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

I shall come to the financial and economic aspects later. At this stage, I shall submit a few brief observations concerning the political aspects of the Territory's development.

Generally speaking, I think it is well to remember that in any consideration of the political affairs of the Territory today, it has to be borne in mind that, over the last few years -- last three years in particular -- the context in which the Trusteeship Council or other organs of the United Nations viewed these matters has changed considerably. We have to bear in mind, in particular, the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which was adopted in 1960, which is applicable to this Trust Territory and non-self-governing territories. The central thought of that Declaration is that powers of Government, of administration, must be transferred to the inhabitants of the Trust Territory as quickly as possible; and it is in the light of those provisions that we view what is happening in this Trust Territory.

I might add at the outset that, in the past ten or fifteen years, this Territory, not only in the field of political advancement, but more particularly, I think, in the field of economic development, has suffered from a measure of neglect -- neglect which has to be made good in the short space of a year or two. The pace of political advancement, itself, has been slow. It has been stepped up in the last year or two, and we hope that there will be a further stepping up of development in the political field. Nevertheless, in the report and other statements that we have before us, there is impressive evidence of some important developments of a favourable character. Among them, first of all, is the unification of the two administrations that formed the peculiar feature in previous years of the administration of this Trust Territory. I am referring to the Naval administration over one part of the Territory, namely, the District of Saipan; and the civil administration over the rest of the Territory. The two have been unified -- or the process of unification

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

is under way, I believe. This, you will recall -- and my colleagues here will recall-- has engaged the attention of this Council over a number of years, and the Council must therefore take satisfaction at this development of very significant character.

It is my delegation's hope that the Administration, having at long last taken the step, will now concentrate all possible attention and assist in all possible ways in the integration of Saipan, in the emotional, political, economic and social integration of Saipan with the rest of the Territory.

Some of us in this Council have, at all times, been preoccupied with the sense of distances and diversity. I have personal first-hand experience when I had the honour of going to the Territory with the Visiting Mission last year. I certainly felt the great impact, which cannot lightly be set aside, of very long distances and somewhat inadequate and slow means of transportation; and we also viewed the diversity which is very much in evidence. But I think I am correct in saying that my colleagues of the Visiting Mission shared with me, all of them, the feeling that underlying this diversity and these distances was present at all times an innate sense of oneness, of unity, of community of interests and purposes. I was therefore very pleased to hear the High Commissioner -- I think it was yesterday or a couple of days before that -- himself, give expression to his impression or belief that neither the diversity nor these distances which were very much there were a hindrance to the development of the Territory as an integral whole.

I have said it during question-time, and I must give expression to some reservations that I have concerning the transfer of the Territory's headquarters to Saipan. To begin with, I should say that, in itself, it is a good step. The Council has recommended-- and my delegation has been particularly insistent -- that the headquarters must be transferred from Guam to somewhere inside the Territory. That has been done; and to the extent the recommendations of the Council -- the views of members -- have been complied with in that matter, the situation is satisfactory. But I continue to feel -- and this feeling is



(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

reinforced by my personal experience arising out of my visit to the Territory last year -- that Saipan probably is not the best possible site for the Territory's headquarters.

There are geographical reasons for this belief: Saipan is perhaps the furthest-away point, in the geographical area of the Territory, from five or six districts. It is true that plant buildings would be readily available in Saipan; but then, if the Administration, itself, feels -- and I believe it does -- that Saipan is not central, it is not easily accessible to remote districts such as the Marshall District or Ponape, remote islands like Kusaie and others, then, a more suitable site for the headquarters at some future date would have to be found somewhat closer to the heart of the Trust Territory.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

For several years we have been given to understand that the Administration contemplated the transfer at some eventual date of headquarters to the District of Truk. Truk has the advantage of being a central location. I think it has the potential for an excellent harbour and work on a harbour of some kind is going on there; it could be developed further. There are one or two landing grounds there which have not been in much use. These could be renovated. There is land area available for the development of a suitable landing ground and, if I am not wrong, one or two departments of the central Administration in the past have been located in this District. I am not here to weight the scales in favour of one District or another. Eventually, as the Administration itself says, this is a decision in the discretion of the people of the Territory, but I do not believe that the present decision of the Administration has been either supported or ratified by the people in any sense. I do not believe that the Inter-District Advisory Committee or the new Council were consulted in this matter. I therefore hope that, while provisional headquarters will remain in Saipan for a short period of time, in the very near future the Administration will take steps to consult the wishes of the people either directly or through the Territorial Council as to a more appropriate and more practical site for the eventual location of the headquarters. When I say "eventual" I do not contemplate a period of ten or fifteen or twenty years. I think it should be transferred to a more central location as soon as possible. Some expenditure will be necessary, but one of the responsibilities of the Administering Authority is to provide the Territory with the wherewithal of government and the buildings necessary for the headquarters are among those requirements of an administration. If these buildings have to be constructed, they should be constructed; I am sure that this is not outside the means of the Administering Authority.

We have noted with a measure of satisfaction the transformation of the Inter-District Advisory body into a Council, but I was a little disappointed to find on more probing that for the present it promises to be attained in name only. I think that Mr. Amaraich himself gave that impression in his statement. We have said for several years now, I think -- if I recall correctly, I have been here since 1958 and at each session we have brought this matter up, as have other of my colleagues here -- that this body should cease to be simply an advisory

body now; it should assume legislative functions. In this Territory we are dealing with people who are not sufficiently civilized or who are in some way or another lacking in comprehension provided opportunities are furnished to them to learn the ways of administration.

As a member of the Visiting Mission, I had the privilege of meeting a large number of people who were serving on District Congresses, some of them members of the Inter-District Advisory Committee. In my conversations with them they revealed a high degree of sophistication, a high sense of responsibility, a very commendable sense of duty toward their people and toward the affairs of the Territory. We believe that if this Council is entrusted with more tangible functions -- functions not simply of advice but functions of legislation, functions of thinking out the measures necessary for the betterment of the lives of the people, for the advancement of their political maturity, and so on -- they will not be found wanting.

We have been told that the Administration has in mind a target date of 1965, by which time a greater responsibility and greater powers of legislation and so on will be transferred to this body. I must admit, somewhat with dismay, that this target is too far away. I think that we have been hearing of this target now for some four or five years, and there are another three years to go. In any case, a target of ten years in a matter of this kind would have been considered slow, and in the light of the developments that have taken place in the Trust Territory and what is more important -- or equally important, at least -- in the world at large in which we have seen the stepping up of the emancipation of peoples, with larger numbers of countries becoming independent year after year, I think that this target is not only slow, but is also unrealistic. And I think that the Administering Authority would be well advised in a matter of this kind to keep ahead of the ambitions or aspirations of the peoples. It is not necessary to wait for a demand to develop that this Council should become a legislative council. That is the end contemplated, and therefore the Administration itself could encourage the people or stimulate such a demand. They have that sense of responsibility that is needed and, as Mr. Amaraich said -- I found this rather interesting and I should like to quote Mr. Amaraich's words:

"This occurrence" -- that is to say, the election of a Micronesian as President of the new Inter-District Council -- "clearly indicates that the dedicated people of whom the Advisory Committee was composed -- and there are many more dedicated people in the Trust Territory -- are willing to accept greater responsibilities and to dedicate their services to sharing the burden of developing the Trust Territory with the Administering Authority. I am certain that the Council of Micronesia, with the assistance of the Administering Authority, will soon become an effective Territory-wide legislative body which will determine the future of the Trust Territory." (T/PV.1184; pp. 7-8)

Therefore, it is not that there is an absence of willingness on the part of these people to accept great responsibility. I think that willingness is there, and therefore this target date should be brought forward. We said last year or the year before, I think, that by the end of 1962 this Council of Micronesia should become a full-fledged legislative council for the Territory. We are half-way in that year now and I do not see much prospect of this Council's being so transformed by the end of this year, but my delegation earnestly hopes that by the end of 1963 at least, this development will come about and that by the time the High Commissioner returns here for our next debate on the affairs of this Territory, a firm indication in that direction will be available.

There is one other area of political activity, political development, in which substantial progress, in my view, has been lacking, and this is a view which I think the Visiting Mission also shared last year and gave expression to in its report. I have felt all along, and I continue to feel, that in the matter of transferring the posts of high executive responsibility in the Territory, namely, the posts of District Administrators and Assistant District Administrators, the Administering Authority has been rather conservative.

(Mr. Pangotra, India)

I say this because I do believe that in the Territory there are people competent to hold these posts. There were people last year -- we met some of them -- and I am sure there are people today who could take over at least some of these posts. The High Commissioner himself, in his opening statement or in one of the answers he gave to a question, said that two or three Micronesians had ably filled these posts as Acting District Administrators, in one or two districts, over short periods of time. I think we are therefore justified in hoping that during this current year, or by May or June or July of next year, when we next discuss these matters, at least two or three Micronesian District Administrators will be appointed. The experiments that have been made in entrusting these posts to Micronesians, off and on, on a temporary basis, have been successful. They have carried out these responsibilities ably. There is therefore no reason why some of these posts cannot be filled by Micronesians on a permanent basis.

This is a field in which the transfer of powers to Micronesian personnel would be more appropriate and would be more appreciated by this Council and by the United Nations in general than in the field of health, for example, or education. I have always had the feeling that perhaps the Administration was moving too rapidly in transferring the post of District Medical Officer, for example, to Micronesian personnel, although some of them are excellently trained and are discharging their duties very well. We found that out for ourselves when we went there last year. But in some districts there were complaints that the withdrawal, too rapidly or prematurely, of some American doctors had caused certain difficulties or given rise to some dissatisfaction in the matter of the administering of medicine or attending to the needs of the people in the field of health. The same could perhaps apply with equal justification to the field of education. These are fields in which not only is there a need to retain some of the American personnel who have experience of the Territory and its needs, to retain them for some years to come, but in which a situation may arise, owing to the expansion of education which is now being undertaken, such that more American or foreign personnel, suitably qualified personnel, will be needed.



(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

However, that is not the case with administration or, at any rate, with all of the posts of greater responsibility in the administrative sphere. We therefore hope -- and I am not saying this by way of criticism -- that, while I would not suggest that in the field of health and education the Administration should replace American personnel with Micronesian personnel, in this other field, and I feel that I can certainly recommend this strongly, the Administration should perhaps view the situation a little more liberally -- a little more boldly or rashly, if you want to put it that way -- and should transfer some of these posts to competent people in the Territory, after a six-month period of training, if you like, supervising them in the actual discharge of their duties in these posts. Then, if that experiment works, a target should be set of a year or two, by which time all posts of District Administrators should certainly be transferred to Micronesian personnel.

In our view, the situation with respect to that represents a serious lacuna in the general picture, which, as I have said, is one of dynamism of approach, one of noteworthy progress and general overall forward movement. This is a shortcoming which we hope the Administration will not fail to meet, and meet very shortly.

In the areas of responsibility of District Congresses and Municipal Councils, there are notable features which merit the Trusteeship Council's commendation. I am sure my colleagues will take note of them, and I do not wish to dwell upon each one at length. I shall therefore move away from the political field with these general observations.

In the economic sphere also, there is in evidence a new tempo, a new approach, a more vigorous approach and the desire to push ahead, although I would not join the High Commissioner in saying that the Trust Territory has come anywhere near a breakthrough yet. I think that probably what he meant when he used that phrase was that a new start was being made on a much vaster scale and that it will bring the Territory much nearer to solving its economic problems, which are rather overwhelming or, at any rate, appear so.



(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

In the field of copra production, there has been a substantial increase, and I am glad to see that especially in the matter of the development of cacao the successes already registered by the people -- and I say that deliberately: by the people -- are far in excess of the most ambitious estimates or aspirations of the Administration. This should be a matter of satisfaction to the Administration itself. It is not a matter for criticism. If I recall, we were given to understand that the Administration's plan was to plant one million cacao trees by 1970, and the Visiting Mission -- particularly, I believe, Mr. Salamanca -- took the Administration to task for that. He felt, and I felt, and most of us felt, that this was a very conservative estimate. And here we have a situation in which this target, which was intended to be met in 1970, has already been left behind. This is a case of the enthusiasm of the people for the right kind of venture overshooting the targets of a very modest planning by the Administering Authority or by the Government of the Territory.

This development of cacao in the Territory is rather important. I think the representative of New Zealand noted this morning that the resources of the Territory are limited. These are raw resources, crops which are subject to the tyranny of a whimsical world market, and planning on the basis entirely of these crops can always be very tricky. There is no doubt about that: there is a lot of truth in that statement. We, or other countries with conditions similar to those prevailing in India, have experienced that. The first answer to a situation of that character is diversification of the crops, and the second is the establishment in the Territory of processing industries, so that the crops do not have to be exported in the raw but can be processed in the Territory. Some can be exported, as necessary, in the raw form, and others can be processed locally, which gives some work to local people and also enables the Territory to export more finished products, which are not subject to similar price fluctuations. It also provides the Territory with a measure of its own needs, which at present have to be imported. I am glad to note that a start has now been made in that

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

direction with the manufacture of soap, for example, and I am sure that this initiative that has developed will be carried forward in this and in other fields and there will be continued economic expansion in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

In the matter of diversification, I do not know what the Administration's plans are, and there is no very great indication of them available in the material before us. The Visiting Mission had made some recommendations, allocating different priorities to different suggestions. I think the central theme of the Visiting Mission's recommendations with respect to agriculture was that there should be a great deal more diversification of the crops.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

For example, until a year ago the Territory was dependent on the export of copra alone. Now cacao promises to become perhaps the major crop of the Territory in the next two or three years if the present pace of development or planting continues.

There are other possibilities. The experiment with pepper has, I think, suffered from certain inadequacies in the knowledge of the agricultural experts in the Territory in the past. We hope that these deficiencies will be compensated for. I believe that, in the light of climatic and other conditions which prevail in the Territory, pepper can become a good second or third crop in the Territory; there is a good world market for it.

The prospects are good for the growing of coffee in the Territory. This possibility has not been explored thus far and, although my friend, Mr. Salamanca, has never shared my optimism with regard to the growing of coffee in the Territory, I venture to reiterate my statement because some agricultural experts, on the basis of their own experience, have said that coffee is a crop which could easily be developed in the Territory. If that is the case, its growth should be developed.

Another possibility is the production of sugar cane, not for the large-scale manufacture of sugar because I believe that that is for the time being beyond the financial ability of the Territory, but for local consumption.

Furthermore, the production of fruits and vegetables should be augmented, provided that facilities for refrigeration and transportation over long distances can be provided.

These are some of the measures which, it seems to my delegation, could be undertaken. They are not new; we have considered them before and the Visiting Mission pinpointed some of them. We hope that the Administration will continue to give serious consideration to the necessity of diversifying the agricultural production of the Territory so that, after a number of years, the Territory will not continue to remain dependent on only one or two crops, particularly a crop such as coconut palm, which is subject to the hazards of typhoons that occur only too frequently in the Territory. The diversification of crops is not a matter of desirability; it is, as I said, a matter of necessity.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

I now come to the subject of fisheries and to what Mr. Salamanca usually likes to call the resources of the sea. I believe, as he believes, that the greatest economic hope of the Territory is its fish resources and it is a matter of regret, which I am sure the Administration shares with me, that these resources have remained almost completely untouched. For five years now we have heard of the pilot project in Palau. We saw that project ourselves last year and derived much hope from it. It does not seem to have progressed very much, in spite of the fact that a school has come into existence. To begin with, the project was begun on a very small scale. It could be enlarged because this venture cannot go wrong. I repeat that: I believe that any experiment in the development of fisheries in the Pacific Islands is a venture which cannot go wrong, which has no prospect of a loss in the long run, and which can only expand. Therefore, it seems to me that a somewhat bolder approach is indicated in the expansion of the present project and in its repetition in other districts, particularly in Ponape and perhaps also in the Marshall Islands and in Truk, possibly in Saipan. There are fine prospects for this kind of development in all seven districts. That being the case, it seems to me that the entire approach of the Administration is rather too timid. The priorities are such and the development so slow that, while year after year some increase is registered in the earnings of fisheries, by and large their development is not yet, and is not likely to be such for the next five years, as will make a tangible addition to the revenues of the Territory, whereas this should be one of the major sources of Territorial revenue.

We have noted the progress that has been made with satisfaction. But I submit that, in our humble assessment, this progress is insufficient. This area is capable of greatly expanded endeavour and we hope that the Administration will now immediately devote very special attention and sizeably larger funds to the development of fisheries in the Territory.

I, for one, fail to understand why, after this project is in full operation, it should be handed over to a commercial firm, whether local or foreign. I note from the statement of the Special Representative that the intention is to hand it over to a local commercial company. I do not see why that should be so. There is not a great deal of what may be called local capital in the Territory which has the skill, initiative or spirit of adventure that is needed to exploit resources

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

on a large scale. This is something which is being initiated by the Government. It is something from which the governments of the districts concerned could derive very substantial revenues. Why should these revenues or profits or the returns from a setup of this kind go into private pockets, unless it is the intention of the Administration of the Trust Territories to reclaim those returns by way of taxation. The district congresses, the district administration and the Territorial Administration are in need of revenues. Taxes, be they income taxes, export taxes or import taxes, do not offer a great hope of any substantial revenue in the near future. Therefore, a start having been made by the Government to develop projects of this kind, which promise returns, I really do not see the point of returning these projects to private hands. I would advise that perhaps the Central Administration should undertake to set up a good-sized project in each district, or at least in the three or four districts where this type of development has good prospects. And it should place no bars on either local or foreign enterprise to compete with it because there is a lot of room for competition. These are vast seas. They are laden with tuna and it is one of the ironies of life, I think, that a visitor to these islands should find, not local tuna canned by local people, but tuna which was caught either in Hawaii or in Japan and which was conveyed over long distances, at heavy costs of transportation.

I do not know how my colleagues feel about this, but I must repeat that this project is a good one. It should be expanded and, far from handing it over to a commercial company, the Government should continue its interest in its development and develop similar projects in other districts simultaneously, allowing private parties who may be interested to come in. Outside interests should be allowed to develop not only fishing techniques, but also to set up canning factories, for example, which would make possible the export of fish.



(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

Revenues will come in any substantial size only through exports; and, therefore tied up with this whole idea of developing fisheries is the idea of the development of the export of fish caught in these seas to the outside world. There is a market for them which is not subject to fluctuations, as the market for copra is, for example, and this should be fully exploited.

In this field, again, I do not want to go into too much detail, taking up each and every area of development and each and every area of possibility and I want to conclude by submitting one or two general observations concerning the planning of economic development. I come from a country with which planning has become a creed, and I would be the first to admit that planning is no panacea for all the economic ills of a country. The purpose of planning is to lay down priorities, to exploit in the shortest possible time what is exploitable, to mobilize the resources and to canalize them into what promise to be the more productive areas for the economy of the country. The whole purpose of it is a full, realistic, proper assessment of the resources and needs. And, once the resources are established or a fair estimate of them is prepared, and the needs are assessed, then to develop a proper inter-relation between the two, and if internal resources are inadequate, then to seek external assistance. In that sense I continue to be haunted by this thought which I do not like -- that there is no planning in the Territory even today.

The Visiting Mission said last year, and the Council is aware, that there was no planning. What the Mission saw, what it found, were isolated projects, and even among those isolated projects there were no well defined priorities and no provision for funds. We saw too many schools and too many hospitals whose construction was suspended year after year for six or eight months because the funds had expired. There was no provision of funds, for example, for the continued construction of a hospital -- I believe it was in Majuro. I do not know what the situation is today, but that was the situation last year as we saw it. The building had been started three or four years earlier. It was a small building, nothing like the United Nations -- a small hospital which should be built in the normal course in the space of six months. But, for lack of funds, one wing was completed in one year, and then the following year a wall was built but there was no provision of funds to make it possible to put the roof on top. In any case, the roof could not be put on because the second wall had not been built, and so on. The financing of development, therefore, assumes a very great significance.



(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

I took a look again this year, as I have been doing for the last four years, at the budget of the Territory. The High Commissioner informed the Council the other day that for the financial year beginning in July 1962 he had asked for a budget of, I believe, \$10 million. He said:

"... we presented to the Congress of the United States a budget of \$10 million for the fiscal year 1963 beginning 1 July 1962, an increase of 65 per cent over the budget of \$6,304,000 for the current year."

(T/PV.1181, pp.26 and 27)

This is certainly very encouraging and my delegation hopes -- in fact it is certain -- that the Congress will most generously and ungrudgingly grant this sum because we do believe that the demand is extremely modest. It has no relation to the needs of the Territory. For the last four or five years we have a picture of expenditure given us on pages 188 and 189 of the report, and there is an item in that budget which is called economic and political development. I believe that economic and political development do in fact go together, but I do not know how they can be budgeted together or what the priorities are respectively. In 1956 the Administration provided a sum of \$552,860. In 1957 it rose to nearly \$580,000 and in 1958 it went down to a little more than \$466,000. In 1959 it went up again to just over \$551,000, and in 1960 there was a decline and it came down to \$547,000, in round figures. In 1961 there was a sharp decline, when this item in the budget dropped to \$452,613, and in the estimated budget for 1962 the figure is given as \$497,000.

The High Commissioner is an experienced administrator in under-developed areas. I believe he knows a lot about these things. I should like to ask him what he plans to do with \$497,000 by way of developing the economy of Micronesia. If I had that amount of money, and if I were given the responsibility of doing something by way of economic development in the Territory, with all my ideas I would not know where to put what, because this is an amount of the kind which should be allocated, let us say, to agriculture or to another area of cottage industries, or to the development of cacao. This is not an amount of any overwhelming size, and to devote that much money to the whole vast field of the economic development of this entire Territory raises this question in my mind. The Territory needs roads; it needs aerodromes -- and aeroplanes to begin with; it needs ships and

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

boats for transportation and canoes of all kinds; it needs cacao plants -- of which I believe there is a shortage; it needs small factories to manufacture soap, twine, rope and things of that character which could be made easily in the Territory; it needs small mills to press oil from copra, for example; it needs small processing plants for cocoa beans, and so on. So what is one to do with this amount of under half a million dollars?

I see, and I am encouraged by, this prospect of an increase in the funds available to the Territory's Administration. There will be a net increase, I believe, of some \$2.5, but I should like to submit that this sum is not of an order which is going to set this Territory firmly in the direction of economic expansion -- even if the entire increase were to be devoted to the economic field, which I believe cannot be the case. Therefore my delegation's hope will be that -- this being the first year of the new Administration's handling of the affairs of this Territory -- in the coming year and in the year after this Council will have the great pleasure of seeing an increase in the territorial funds of the order of \$10 million or \$15 million.

Mr. Amaraich said in the course of his statement that this was the great need of the Territory, and, having been there, I would say that that was a very honest, straightforward and truthful statement. He said:

"Last, but not least in importance, is the problem of meeting the financial needs of the Territory because of limited budgets." (T/PV.1184, p.8)

And I am afraid it is a question of budgets for the time being because little money has been put into the development, with the result that the Territory's own revenues are extremely limited, and unless these internal resources -- fisheries, cacao, copra and other things -- are developed and properly exploited the Territory is not itself likely to yield the capital for investment that is needed. It has, therefore, to come from outside. Therefore, the Visiting Mission last year found that if the Government were to continue the policy which it had been pursuing for some years of forbidding the entry of foreign capital then the Government must make the loss good. It must itself provide the capital needed.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

My own view is that some compromise will have to be struck somewhere. Some foreign capital, private capital, will have to be allowed into the Territory in certain areas. The manufacturing of soda-water, for example, is one of the odd instances that come to my mind. All over the Trust Territory we drank soda-water and Coca-Cola and lemonade and canned beer, made and bottled in San Francisco. Surely the manufacture of some of these small items could be set up locally by the local people with the assistance of loans from Government, or by co-operative societies, or by small venturers who like to go around the globe finding their opportunities in small investment and making good money out of it. There is a good market for Coca-Cola, lemonade and soda-water in the Trust Territory; all over we found that to be the case.

The representative of New Zealand said something this morning which I found very interesting. He said that economic development is more a state of mind than a question of physical resources. I think this statement is capable of a very great deal of expanded interpretation. Basically I agree with it, but I would go on further to say that in this Territory we have a situation where the people have the right state of mind at this moment. We found that there was a great clamour for employment in all types of activity, for more work, for more money. There were a lot of ideas afloat -- this could be done and that could be done -- but what was lacking, or at least what I thought to be lacking, was guidance in the right direction, a little assistance at the right time to the right people, to set up enterprises -- quite irrespective of whether they are big, small or medium -- so that there would be great economic activity. The people of the Territory I believe are ready to move forward in the area of development. What is lacking there is capital, because local capital is practically non-existent. What capital there is seems to be engaged in trade rather than in any productive activity. In this field, as in some others, there is great need for the development of small co-operatives -- producers' co-operatives, manufacturers' co-operatives -- of all kinds, with a little financial assistance and with some technical, expert advice that they need, to be provided by the Administration. I am not at all pessimistic about the prospects. I have, in fact, gathered the impression that Mr. Goding's mind is working in that very direction. This is what I meant when I said there was a new approach in evidence, and I hope that there will be greater encouragement

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

given to the mobilization of whatever small capital is available and to the inflow, restricted if you like, of amounts of private capital from outside for the development of small industries -- handicrafts, small processing industries, and so forth -- in the Territory. Because this frame of mind which is necessary for economic planning and the pushing-ahead of planned implementation exists; it is not lacking. There is a great desire on the part of the people, a desire very much in evidence, to undertake extensive economic activity. What is lacking is, as I said, guidance, advice, capital, investment, and this situation should be rectified.

In connexion with planning and economic development, the long-term provision of finances is, in our view, absolutely essential. This provision has not been made in the past, and unless the Administration is capable of assuring that if a plan is prepared it will not remain unimplemented or unfulfilled for want of funds and that it will not be left dependent on appropriations which may or may not materialize, long-term planning will not be possible. Long-term planning is possible only with the provision of finances, capital, on a long-term basis. Therefore, with respect to development, or at least certain areas of development which should be tied together into a plan, the Administration should see that the provision of the necessary funds is made and that appropriations are made in such a way that the implementation of the plan will not be dependent on annual appropriations.

I will not go into details, but I will say that my belief remains that tourism offers very substantial prospects for the Territory. I think much greater thought and attention should be given to the development of tourism and the facilities which are necessary for the tourist industry, such as hotels, motels, residences and all the other facilities. Mr. Goading gave the impression that this is under consideration, and I should like to hope that this matter is being given serious thought and that considerations of security, or anything else which in the past may have prevented consideration of this matter, will not now stand in the way.



(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

I am particularly glad to read what has been offered to us in the field of education. Here, more pronounced than in any other field, I think, is a new departure in the right direction. A decision has been taken which I think will in due course alter the character of the educational system and greatly improve its quality. That decision is the decision to impart instruction in the English language. I have had the belief for some time that education in the Territory has suffered, or has remained inadequate, because in several different districts primary instruction was given in the local languages, which were not very efficient media of instruction. Some of the schools, in one and the same district, would use more than one medium of instruction. I think that I was among the first to acknowledge in this Council, two or three years ago, that education was pretty widespread, that almost all children who ought to be in school were in school in the Trust Territory and that that was a thing for which the Administration could at all times take great credit. But I did find the educational system because of the factor I have just mentioned, extremely defective and rather self-defeating in purpose. This was a very vital decision, therefore, which my delegation welcomes most warmly. My only hope is that the transition will not take as long as the High Commissioner indicated it would. A period of three years I think is too long. Here also what is needed is money. Basically, I think the whole picture in education also revolves around the question of funds, because without funds we cannot recruit teachers, I believe that teachers, either local or foreign, would be available if the money were available. We hope, therefore, that the High Commissioner will persistently demand more money for this field of education -- primary education, secondary education, and tertiary education which I will come to later. We also hope that the transition will be completed in a period of a year or eighteen months rather than a period of three years, which I do believe is too long and may give rise to difficulties in other areas of education if the transition is indeed that long.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

I also note with satisfaction that the age of enrolment in primary school has been lowered. I have myself advocated the lowering of this age in the last two or three years, and many members of the Council have supported my delegation in that. But I do believe that here also the approach is rather conservative. Why should the age of entry be seven years? Why not six? Six is the normal age of entry into a school practically all over the world. It seems that a child is allowed to waste a year of his life for no rhyme or reason. He should start at the age of six, complete his education at the age of fourteen, if he is to be given eight years' instruction, so that then he would go into life completely equipped. The spectacle which we saw in the Territory was that of great big bearded fellows of twenty-two and twenty-five years of age in junior high schools, which resulted from this policy that was pursued in the past of admitting a fellow to school at the age of eight, or ten, or twelve, or fourteen, or whenever he found it convenient to go there. I do insist -- while, as I say, this is a step in the right direction -- that it is a rather conservative measure.

I do think that I have an idea of the difficulty. It is probably the lack of proper schools, the lack of teachers, since, if children begin going to school at the age of six, there will be a larger number of them in the first two or three grades, they will need more teachers, and the Administration is probably not in a position to provide those teachers.

Again, it is a question of funds. I think that any flaws in the educational field are due largely to the inadequacy of funds, and I should like to hope that funds will cease to stand in the way of the development of this Territory any more. I think that the Administration in the Territory and the Administering Authority in the United States have become aware of the slow tempo of development prevailing in the Territory for too long. I also feel that they have the desire to push ahead in order to make good the loss of previous years and, therefore, it is our earnest hope that whatever funds are needed to step up to the requisite degree any progress in the spread of education and in the field of economic development will be provided. Of course, I am not suggesting that funds should be provided in such a way that they cannot be usefully employed in the purposes for which they are sought. That, of course, would be futile; that is not the purpose of these suggestions. Hence the need for planning. Once estimates have been prepared, plans drawn up and certain targets set, then the United States cannot



(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

possibly advocate the idea that funds are not available. The United States has just one Trust Territory; it is a small area. The United States does give very substantial aid to many countries of the world -- my own country being one of the beneficiaries -- and there is no reason to think that the Congress of the United States or the United States Government cannot provide the requisite funds to this Territory for its economy, its education and its social development. After all, at best, it is not a matter of not more than \$15 million or \$20 million a year -- and for how many years? One day this Territory will come into its own, and we hope that that day will be very soon.

I am glad to note that the aim now is to set up at least one high school in each district. That is a very great step forward in the right direction. There are schools in most of these districts -- in some of them there are already high schools or intermediate schools. They are capable of upgrading, and I would hope -- while this development is satisfactory and we hope that it will materialize very soon -- that the High Commissioner will now give due thought to the suggestion which has been floating around here -- not in any concrete form, but it has been made more than once and by more than one member -- that some provision must exist in the Territory for education beyond the high school level.

I have said myself -- and I want to repeat it -- that in the Pacific Islands Central School they have in this Territory an excellent institution. To this school should be added, I think, -- the mission recommended it and the recommendation has been accepted -- a teachers' training college, or a class or two. But in addition to that should be added at least two years of college, one year to begin with, followed by the addition of a further year. It has been argued that this is an expensive project. It probably is, but I do not believe that it will bring the Administration into any greater expenditure than it is incurring now in sending a large number of Pacific Islands boys to universities in the Philippines, or Hawaii or the United States, or elsewhere. It is not necessary to have a full-fledged university there. Even in the two years of college that I suggest should be added to PICS, all sorts of subjects do not have to be taught. The Territory needs education beyond the high school level in a number of fields. The importance of those fields should be assessed and, to begin with, probably three or four courses should be started. There is too much

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

reliance on the facilities available at Guam. These facilities are perhaps satisfactory, but this does, I think, require some adjustment between the curricula in the schools in the Trust Territory and in colleges at Guam, which adjustment we did not always find to be coming about very easily. In fact, the teachers both in the Trust Territory and at Guam had some complaints with respect to that. Furthermore, it is only right and proper that when there are six or eight or ten high schools in the Territory, the Territory should itself provide a converging point in these grades for those who want to go on to higher studies. At all times, some students will have to be sent out for special studies in medicine and other fields, but I believe that if there is a provision attaching to PICS of this kind, it will work in the direction of promoting that sense of integration, of unity, of oneness, of the wholeness of the Territory to which I referred earlier.

I do not intend to say very much in the fields of social development and health. I think that the picture is by and large satisfactory. Some diseases are still prevalent -- bilharziasis, tuberculosis and some minor ailments here and there -- but, from my personal experience, I know that there is steady and continued progress being maintained in the Territory. Therefore, I shall not say much about it, but that should not be taken to mean that I am not interested in this area or that we do not appreciate the progress that has been made during the year under review.

There are three or four matters which need special attention. These are of a miscellaneous character, although each of them has very great importance, and the first among them is the question of war damage claims.

I think that the representative of Bolivia said yesterday that for ten years now we have asked the same questions and heard the same answers and there is no progress in this matter, the disposal of which is necessary. A large number of claims have accumulated and more than a large sum of money, a sum of money of a character which could go very profitably to a development fund in a district or in the Territory as a whole. The claims are of a specific nature. It is not that these are very general demands. I believe that some studies of them have been made in the past. We saw one or two of such, and I believe that others exist.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

If all the data are not available, they could be collected. I should like to suggest that, if, within a year -- that is to say, when we come to the next consideration of this matter -- there is no specific progress in the report with relation to this question, the Trusteeship Council should be associated with whatever talks or negotiations take place. I believe that members of the Council will feel a certain measure of responsibility in this matter since complaints and petitions have come to us in the past. It is a matter affecting the vital interests of the inhabitants, and similar matters in other Trust Territories -- For example, in New Guinea -- have been settled by the Administering Authority in the first instance, the claims being proffered to the appropriate Government later.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

There is no reason on earth why the demands of this Trust Territory should not now be settled. Fifteen or eighteen years have passed, and this Trust Territory does need capital -- does need money. These are claims of people who live there, who belong to the Territory, who have suffered the damage, and compensation for this must be paid to them, if necessary, the United States Government assuming the responsibility in the first instance and then seeking reimbursement from whatever quarters from which reimbursement is due; or if this is a matter of talks, negotiations or settlement between the Administering Authority and other governments, and if this is not settled within a year, by the time we come to a debate next year, I should like to suggest that the Trusteeship Council, in some form or another, should be associated with these suggestions so that, at least in the discharge of our own responsibilities, we have knowledge as to the status of these discussions and the prospect of fulfilment of these claims. Having said that, I shall say no more about it.

I come now to the claim of the Rongelapese people. These people -- I do not recall their exact number -- 170 or 200 -- represent one of the gravest human tragedies which can be witnessed on an island. I was a witness to it; my other colleagues of the Mission were; and we presented to the Council what we felt was a very realistic and, I believe, a very moving picture of the sad state of these people. I do not want to go into the details of the matter: it is a thing, I hope, of the past.

In passing here, I should like to take notice, with encouragement and satisfaction, that while these horrible things are blowing around the globe, the Territory has been spared the direct impact of the new tests which are now being conducted. But this matter of the claims of these people, the people of Rongelap, must be settled. We were told last year that this would be settled very shortly -- immediately. I find it is still not settled. The High Commissioner told the Council that legislation has been initiated to compensate these people. I do not know what the character of this legislation is, the amount of compensation involved. I think the claim of the people ran into some \$4, \$5 or \$6 million; and my only hope is that when a settlement is offered it will attempt to give satisfaction to

these people whose suffering is great, whose tragedy is of a very moving character, the compensation for whose losses or sufferings should not be a matter of too great bargaining or negotiation. I am sure the Government of the United States will take a very generous view of this matter and will, in the interests of these inhabitants -- in the interests of all concerned -- attempt to satisfy this claim as early as possible, to the maximum satisfaction of the peoples concerned.

In connexion with the question of the claim of the people of Kwajalein, we have a resolution to start with which was adopted by the Council last year. This resolution recommended that the Administering Authority consider making an initial lump-sum available, on a provisional basis, subject to adjustment when a final settlement is reached; and it required the Administering Authority to inform the Trusteeship Council at its next session -- that is, at this session -- of the results of the negotiations with the petitioners to settle the claims of the latter. I regret to say that on this matter there has been no progress. I say this because here was this draft resolution worked out in consultation with the United States which was represented in the deliberations of the Standing Committee on Petitions. This resolution, I believe, was supported by them. The sole purpose of this resolution at that time -- or one of the purposes of this resolution -- was that, in view of the great dissatisfaction among a substantial number of people in the Territory, in view of the losses suffered by them for which no compensation had thus far been paid, a lump-sum should immediately be advanced, because they were subjected to financial loss because of the loss of their fields -- and they are not a very prosperous people; they are not rich; they need money which they could invest elsewhere.

This complaint had gone on for a long number of years; and I am sorry to say that no payment to these people has as yet been made. Initial payment -- lump-sum payment -- did not have to be a matter of detailed negotiations. It was subject to adjustments according to this resolution, subsequently, when a final decision was reached. That is one aspect of the matter which has caused me a great deal of disappointment and dismay. As a result, we have another petition which has been discussed by this Council, in respect to which I said I would submit my observations now.



(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

The Visiting Mission went into this matter in great detail last year, and that was a year after the resolution to which I referred had been adopted. By then, no progress had been made. Another year has gone by and no progress has been made. The Visiting Mission gives expression to this matter in the body of its report, to the effect that this and other land claims in other parts of the Territory were causing a great deal of unhappiness, a great deal of dissatisfaction among large numbers of people, and that there were political overtones and undertones to these matters, not always of a very desirable character. The Mission therefore recommended that this matter must be settled. It recommended in its report and also in conversations with Administration officials in the United States and in the Territory -- and impressed this very strongly -- that this matter must be settled. The Mission, of course, proceeded on the assumption that any settlement in this matter would have to be satisfactory to the people concerned.

Naturally, we cannot support any arbitrary payment. But when an administration takes over the lands of a group of people, then it offers compensation. That compensation must have some relation to the demands of the people; and on that basis, we suggested that this should be done.

The Mission went on to recommend that, in the event these cases pertaining to the compensation for land under the use of the United States Government are not brought to a satisfactory close in the very near future, the amount of compensation to be paid to the people concerned and the manner in which such compensation is to be paid should be determined by arbitration.

You can well imagine that the Mission was not wedded to any particular mode of settlement, but it did recommend that if this matter was not settled in the very near future -- I should have thought that one year would be the equivalent of "very near future" -- then, this matter might be the subject matter of arbitration.

Why did the Mission recommend arbitration? We met these people in the Territory -- all of them, individually and collectively -- we met and talked with them, and we reiterated the suggestion that was made earlier in 1960, that they might take this matter to the Trust Territory courts for a judicial settlement; and these people -- their representatives here and the people generally, in the Territory -- stated that they refused to take this matter for a judicial settlement to the Territory's courts. They felt that this Administration was a party to it and, therefore, they could not go there. Rightly or wrongly, they felt that.



We then told them that perhaps, since the Administration felt that the rentals demanded by them were too high, and since they felt that the rentals offered by the Administration were too low, perhaps they might then consider arbitration in this matter.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

They all, I think with one voice, stated that they would accept arbitration. Now we are told that the United States Government has initiated a measure in the Congress to enable a judicial settlement of this case to be made in United States courts. In principle, I take no issue with that position, but I do think that this measure is likely to have value or worth only if there is a willingness on the part of the people to seek a judicial settlement in the United States courts. If, from the very start, it is not their intention to do so, then this case will not be taken any further. My question therefore to the High Commissioner would be this: I would like to know from him, and if he wishes he can reply in the course of his closing statement, which will give him and the representative of the United States time to find out what the actual position is, whether the parties to this case, the people of Kwajalein and their lawyers, agree that they would prefer a judicial settlement of this matter over arbitration. If that is the case we shall not press for arbitration, even though the Visiting Mission made a recommendation to that effect. But if these people are not willing to take the matter to the courts and if they want a quick settlement, then I think the Visiting Mission's recommendation, which was unanimous, should be given due weight and should be given the necessary attention.

I would add that whatever the mode of settlement that is ultimately agreed upon, it is still within the powers of the Administration, in conformity with the intentions of the resolution adopted in 1960, to offer a lump-sum payment to these people so that whatever financial distress they may suffer from now is alleviated at least to some degree -- subject, of course, to an adjustment of this initial lump-sum advance when a final settlement is reached.

I must confess that I came to the Council today ill-prepared to make my statement, but I was told that the Council must conclude its debate today and this is in all probability the last occasion on which I shall speak here with regard to this Territory, for which I have a great deal of emotional feeling because I have visited it and made many good friends there. I have therefore ventured to submit my observations although, as I said, for lack of preparation they have perhaps been discursive and disjointed. If so, I hope the President and my colleagues will forgive me.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of India and venture to express the hope that this will not be the last occasion on which he will address the Council.

Sir Hugh ECOT (United Kingdom): I hope to be quite short in what I have to say to the Council and I should explain at once that I have not sought to intervene in matters of detail in regard to this question, nor do I wish to do so now. I have preferred to leave the discussion mainly to those who know what they are talking about and there are several members of this Council who speak with close first-hand knowledge of the Territory with which we are concerned.

Perhaps I may say with reference to the speech to which we have just listened, if that is an ill-prepared speech I look forward to hearing further speeches by the representative of India which he has closely prepared. It seemed to me that it was lucid, forceful and certainly most effective.

I have just had the exhilarating experience of travelling for a month or two with the representative of Bolivia, who has also been on the Visiting Mission to the Pacific Islands. He used to regale us as we proceeded with lessons which he had learned and lessons which he wished us to learn arising from his intense interest in the affairs of the Pacific Islands. The same intense interest has been exhibited by the representative of India and it is, I am sure, of the utmost value, and also greatly to the credit of the Trusteeship System, that members of this Council should become, as the representative of India has become, emotionally involved. We are delighted that we have been able to listen to such an able and exhaustive review of the circumstances of the Territory from the representative of India, and we are glad too that his eloquence is only equalled by his sense of impatience -- impatience to see rapid progress towards the ends on which we all agree.

While, however, I do not wish to raise questions of detail perhaps I might be permitted for a few minutes to reflect on some of the wider issues which come to our minds when we read the report and hear the High Commissioner and participate in this discussion. I would suggest that there is one main problem which must be uppermost in our minds, in the mind of the Administering Authority and of the United Nations equally, namely the future of small, isolated and remote dependent territories.

(Sir Hugh Foot, United Kingdom)

May I suggest that no subject requires more new thinking than this. The large colonial territories have advanced in the past two decades as we well know, particularly in the period of sixteen years or so since the last war, to self-government and independence, and we have come most of the way, as we in this Council know. As I have said before, out of a total population of 666 million in the British Commonwealth all but 5 per cent are now living in independent countries. The remaining 5 per cent I need scarcely remind the Council, present special difficulties, particularly in Central Africa. Apart however from the problem of the remaining dependent territories of Africa, the other main remaining colonial problem is, I suggest, the problem of small, remote and scattered territories, most of them islands. They are often too small to stand alone, their economies are too weak to enable them to do so. Few can afford to carry the whole superstructure of a modern State, with its overseas representation and the costs which are inevitable in consequence of independence. What is their future? May I suggest to the Council that it is this problem which gives to the study of the Pacific Islands a special interest and a special urgency at this time.

May I also go on to suggest that, in dealing with the scattered, isolated territories all round the world, each of them different, each of them with special problems, each indeed with a unique difficulty or even many difficulties to face, the one basic principle is the principle set out in the Charter, the basic principle that the interests and the wishes of the people must invariably be paramount. It may seem that that is a truism which it is scarcely necessary to state, but it is necessary to state it, because while we believe it there are others who do not care about the interests and the wishes of the people. There are others who are interested in a propaganda exercise. There are others who are interested in the application of a rigid formula rather than in the human needs and interests of the people concerned.

(Sir Hugh Foot, United Kingdom)

We know that the application of a rigid formula without regard to the wishes and the interests of the people can certainly lead to poverty, chaos, and misery. But there are those who are more concerned with theory and with formulas than they are with seeking the interests and the wishes of the people at all times.

I may say that on listening to the account of the High Commissioner, reading the report and studying the papers, it is against that background of the interests of the people of these islands in this remarkable entity, covering such a wide space of ocean, that I think there is a great deal of encouragement to be gained, not only from what is taking place in these islands but also the greatest encouragement is to be gained as an example to the world elsewhere.

What do we find? Certainly there are causes for impatience; certainly there may be instances in which particular problems could be tackled more quickly or in a different way; certainly there may be failures and setbacks. But no one bringing a fresh mind and a fair mind to the reports which have been presented to us can deny that we have in front of us a picture of steady progress towards unification. Perhaps that is the principal message which the High Commissioner brings us on this occasion, the unification of these islands so widely scattered, and a further development in the system of representative government in which we all so firmly believe.

Then again, there is advance in the participation of the people in their own government, particularly in the public service. And all this is backed by generous and massive financial assistance and it has now reached the stage when the contributions from local revenues, I believe, is not yet \$1.5 million a year compared with what is proposed should be a contribution from the United States Government of \$10 million a year. And the gap is widening, so it appears, and is likely to continue to do so.

Over all, as the representative of India has so rightly emphasized, we see most valuable advances in education, with an increasing number of the people of these islands coming forward to take their full part in the administration of their own Territory. I am bound to say that it is an



(Sir Hugh Foot, United Kingdom)

impressive presentation and that it offers, it seems to me, the greatest promise for the future because there are three main questions which I think we have to ask ourselves in this matter of the small, scattered Territories. I am particularly interested in this problem, naturally, because I think some thirty of them are under British administration around the globe. There are three main questions which we have to ask ourselves; I do not wish to suggest that we know the answers to them. But we can draw from the experience of others, and I think that we can certainly draw from the valuable experience we find in the reports before us.

The first question is: Can the problems of some of these Territories be settled by unification, by federation? We have some examples of attempts to establish federations in different parts of the world, some successful, some unsuccessful. I think that I can say to the President, who comes from the United States, that the process of federation, it is well recognized, is the most difficult political act or function in the world. It is not easy to achieve when there are Territories separated by vast distances of ocean. We see the new attempt which is being made in the West Indies, for instance, the eight smaller Territories originally part of the larger West Indian Federation, now having successfully concluded their consultations in London with the purpose of going forward to self-government, three-quarters of a million people in eight small islands. We hear of the new proposals and developments in the plan for a greater Malaysia, another imaginative effort which is now in process of consideration. We ourselves, in a Visiting Mission to New Guinea, saw how it was possible to make the beginnings of a welding together of a mainland with some hundreds of scattered islands.

So it may well be that one of the solutions in dealing with this question of the small, scattered remaining colonial Territories of the world may come from federation. We have reason to believe that it may provide an answer in some cases, but we also have a great deal of reason to be cautious and some reason for misgivings. Here we have a Territory more scattered and more sparsely populated than in the other Territories of which I speak, in which, so it appears from the full report we have in front of us and from what the High Commissioner tells us, there is an intense and growing enthusiasm to come

(Sir Hugh Foot, United Kingdom)

together as one unit, in one legislative unit. From what I have heard from members of this Council who know far more about it than I do and from the reports before us, I gather the impression that this is a natural, a spontaneous and a successful enterprise. If it is so, then I believe that it is a magnificent achievement on the part of the people, no doubt, and I believe -- and this is more important still -- that it offers great hope elsewhere in the world. I say that this first question is whether the problem of the scattered Territories can be solved to some extent and in some places by bringing scattered Territories together. It can be, if the experience of which we are now informed is to be relied upon.

Then there is the other question, more difficult perhaps, can there be a new form of association of a small and remote island with a larger and wealthier Metropolitan country in the future? There are some people, of course, who merely wish to see these small territories abandoned, to see them become desert islands in fact, who wish to put a stop to all the development that takes place and to leave them to rot. But those of us who have been concerned in bringing them forward would not be prepared to contemplate such a fate. Surely there should be, there must be some new association between the small territory and the larger Metropolitan Power, to the very great advantage of the small Territory. So there is another question on which we may get some guidance from the experience before us in this Trust Territory.

Then there is a third question, perhaps even more difficult, the question whether self-government can be consistent with continuing economic and financial aid. This would give rise to one point on which I should like to take issue with my friend from India, who spoke last. I speak respectfully, but he will not mind my saying that we can all be experts in spending other people's money, that if you are to add up the bill which the speech of the representative of India would involve, \$10 million would be hopelessly inadequate, and in addition to that development capital has to be found.

It is easy to run through the various commitments, the various social services, and to indicate where advances and improvements ought to be made. But where is it leading? The representative of India says it is to last for only a year or two. But is it our purpose to lead people, step by step, to some financial pinnacle, and then to cast them down? It is very necessary to think of what happens beyond the short period of years of which the representative of India speaks, and I believe it is very necessary, in the plan of which he rightly speaks, that we should consider whether perhaps we are not, by this injection of finance, making it less likely that the people can ever take full and responsible charge of their own affairs.

Again, in regard to capital -- I mentioned this before, and it arose from remarks of the representative of India -- he says that Government must provide the capital. Very well. But Government must have some limitation, because I suppose an appropriation must be approved by the Congress of the United States.

I myself believe, from my experience in different parts of the world, that these new countries are advancing in these days in direct proportion to the success of their encouragement of outside capital for investment purposes. I was in Malaya recently, and I saw the advance which is taking place as a result of this specific encouragement. It is not enough to speak, as the representative of India does, of allowing capital in certain restricted circumstances. Capital is essential to development. Governments cannot supply the full need. I have served in countries where we spent the greater part of our effort in drafting and carrying through legislation to encourage the importation of capital, because it is by capital that you must raise the standard of living of the people.

I think that this last question, of the relationship of self-government and outside financial aid, is probably the most important. I would not wish the representative of India to gather from what I say that I believe that any country that I know of can be fully viable or self-supporting financially. We have to find means whereby it is perfectly possible for a country to carry out full self-government and at the same time make use of outside assistance from one major Power or from the international organizations. Indeed, these countries cannot hope to go forward without that sort of assistance.

That, then, is the third main question. And, as we consider the problem in this Territory, I think that we may well get some guidance in dealing with the problem as it will arise in so many different territories of the world.

As I come new to the study of this particular Territory, and as I hear for the first time in this Council discussion upon it -- because I arrived last year when the discussion was practically over -- I am greatly impressed, if I may respectfully say so, to those who have served in this Council much longer than I have, by the example of the effectiveness of the Trusteeship System as we see it developing before our eyes at this time. There are those who would decry the Trusteeship System and take every opportunity to pour contempt on the efforts which this Council has made through the years. I think that, if you wanted an example to show how the United Nations and the Administering Authority and the people can work together for the effective advance of the Territory and its increased development, you could not want a better example than this. In that connexion, I pay great respect to the Visiting Mission which visited the Territory last year. Here you have constructive proposals being put forward, the Administration considering them, the people welcoming them -- and each reacting effectively on the other. I believe that it may well be, when we look back in a few years' time, that this will be the textbook example of the best use of the Trusteeship System. In saying that, I pay tribute, of course, to those who have worked in this Council longer than I have, and also to the Administering Authority, and also to the people of the Territory concerned. It is a triple partnership. Here, then, we get this example of co-operation which is already achieving so much and which will, I am sure, achieve more by the use of the methods which have now been well tried.

If we take a general look at the Pacific in relation to the work of the Trusteeship Council, what do we see? In all the difficulties that exist there, of distance and diversity and division, we see an encouraging picture, it seems to me, of political and economic advance. In the light of this dawn of self-government, if it may be so described, we see people coming forward rapidly to manage and participate in their own affairs and to participate in increasing prosperity. In Western Samoa, we see independence already achieved. And therefore, in this wide Territory, with all its difficulties, I think we can see



the effect of the sunlight of international interest, international concern, international inquiry. We all know that, as we look at the Pacific as a whole, there is another area on which we receive no information. There is another area which has remained, since the days of the war, in sinister silence. No talk there of representative institutions. No talk of presenting information on political advance to the United Nations, as is done in respect of all the other territories of the Pacific. No talk there of distributing United Nations declarations on freedom for colonies. The searchlight of international opinion has, in my view, done nothing but good in the Pacific as elsewhere. And I look forward to the day when in that remaining area also, which I believe in population is not dissimilar from the population of the territory we are now considering, we shall receive information, and when the beneficent influence of international inquiry will have its effect.

I am grateful for the opportunity of taking part in this discussion and listening to what has been said by those who represent the Administration and by those who take such a keen, such an affectionate, interest in the Territory, and I would wish to convey my very sincere congratulations to those who bring us such an encouraging report for the future.

Mr. KIANG (China): As we listened to the report of the Special Representative, we were very much encouraged by the picture we were able to form of the future of Micronesia, and we found his expressions of federation and unification most stimulating.

Let me say at once how much we appreciate the assistance which the representative of the United States and the High Commissioner, Mr. Goding, have given to the Council in the examination of the annual report of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The opening statement of the High Commissioner has indeed foreshadowed the shape of things to come in Micronesia.

I hope I do not embarrass the High Commissioner when I say that his oral report, supplementing the annual report, reflected a great deal of hard thinking and good work that has taken place in the short period of time since Mr. Goding assumed his duties as High Commissioner.



(Mr. Kiang, China)

The response of the Administering Authority, as elicited by the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council last year, is remarkable. The Council has every reason to commend what the Administering Authority did in the various fields of development in the Trust Territory in the course of the year under review. I also wish to say, without the slightest hesitation, that the Administering Authority is now reaping the benefit of its exertions in the past decade. Were it not for the ground-breaking efforts in those years, in political education and work, the people of Micronesia might not have achieved the political, economic and educational progress which they have today, regardless of how limited it may appear to some. I do not think that I have to recall in this Council that an excellent relationship, based on mutual confidence between the people of Micronesia and the Administration which was gradually and steadily built up during the past years, contains the key to the success of the continuing efforts of the Administering Authority. The achievement of this good human relationship is of great importance, particularly since the people of Micronesia had their own varying experiences, first with the Germans and later with the Japanese. That which is now taking place in Micronesia confirms our earlier evaluation that such good relationship and mutual trust will go a very long way toward overcoming whatever difficulties may still lie ahead in the growth of Micronesia.

I believe that the Trusteeship Council itself can legitimately take pride in the fact that the Council, in exercising its function of supervision all these years, has done nothing which will mar the orderly progress of the Territory's development under the best possible conditions of peace and security. It is almost unthinkable to consider what would have happened had the Pacific Islands been left in the hands of those who have long coveted them for selfish purposes.

When this Council begins to assess the progress in the development of the Territory, let us not forget the formidable barriers of geography and cultural and linguistic diversity that has separated the people of Micronesia, who are scattered over a vast ocean region, equal in size to the total land area of the continental United States. The traditional forms of local rule which give rise to a strong sense of parochialism throughout the Territory have inevitable influence upon the development of territorial consciousness. It is under such

(Mr. Kiang, China)

conditions that the present Administering Authority and the people of Micronesia themselves had been making efforts to introduce the concept of representative government and to change the traditional structures. Starting from the local organs of self-government at the municipal and district levels, they were aiding the entire process of the transformation of Micronesia into cohesive territory-wide organs of self-government. The whole process seemed to defy human attempt. We, therefore, could not help marvelling at the success of the political advancement at both the district and municipal levels, as reported to us by the High Commissioner. In this connexion, it is most encouraging to hear Mr. Andon Amaraich say that the leadership of many of the district congresses and municipalities has been vested in elected younger educated men, rather than in customary chiefs. With this political advancement, it is hoped that these organs of local government will have more effective authority and that the Territory will have a uniform system of municipal administration at the earliest possible date, as the Council recommended last year.

The Administering Authority has evidently taken a meaningful step in the creation of the Council of Micronesia, whose members are to be elected by popular vote on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The Trusteeship Council certainly looks forward to the early transformation of the Council of Micronesia into a territorial legislative council. At its present stage, the Council of Micronesia will, it is hoped, enable the people to become more closely associated with the plans for the development of the Territory and to have a better understanding of their common problems. The activities of the Council of Micronesia will, no doubt, give impetus to the growth of Territorial consciousness which, in turn, will bring about the greater cohesion and unity of the country.

This Council warmly welcomes the wise decision of the Administering Authority for the unification of the administration of the Territory under a single civilian authority and the integration of Rota and Saipan into a new District of Mariana Islands. This decision will have a desirable impact upon the integral development of Micronesia into a political and economic unit. Therefore, the Administering Authority deserves commendation for the implementation of one of the major recommendations of this Council.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

It is also most gratifying to know that the Administering Authority acted upon another recommendation of this Council by transferring the Administration's headquarters to the newly-designated provisional capital of the Trust Territory. Indeed, the transfer of the headquarters, together with the consolidation of many other headquarters activities formerly scattered throughout the Territory, would make the Administrative operations far more efficient, as the High Commissioner indicated to this Council.

In the field of public service, we are happy to see that more qualified Micronesians have assumed positions of responsibility in public health and education. While it is important to accelerate the replacement programme in the districts, we feel that a balance needs to be maintained between the concentration of the Micronesian staff at the district centres and the assignment of adequately-trained Micronesians to outlying islands. I think the High Commissioner will agree with us that trained Micronesians, if assigned to outer islands, could more usefully assist the people in solving their problems than they could in offices at the administration centres. There is a need in Micronesia for progressive decentralization of services at the district centres and a corresponding need for an increase in the number of staff assigned to the outer islands of the Territory, where the services of skilled Micronesian personnel are in growing demand. Such deficiency is particularly apparent in the sector of public works. It is for this reason that an urgent need for greater emphasis on the training of Micronesians in technical skills exists.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

Before I turn to the field of economic development may I comment very briefly on the land claims in Kwajalein and Majuro Atolls, the displaced Marshallese and the war damage claims. It is disappointing to note that the land claims in Kwajalein are still unresolved after protracted negotiations. In order to avoid dissatisfaction and discontent that may arise from undue delay in the settlement of the claims, it is hoped that the Administering Authority will give further consideration to the matter and see if a satisfactory settlement can be reached in the very near future by such equitable means as are in full accord with the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement. If, in the judgement of the Administering Authority, no solution can be found by negotiations and such equitable means, the only recourse is to determine by arbitration the amount of compensation and the manner in which such compensation is to be paid, as recommended by this Council at its 27th session last year on the suggestion of the 1961 Visiting Mission.

My delegation is, of course, fully aware of the fact that the Administering Authority has full powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the Trust Territory, subject to the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement, and this morning I tried to obtain from the United States representative information on whether the parties concerned had agreed to the proposed procedure of the judicial settlement as outlined by him to the Council. I am sure that the Council will be in a better position to reach a judgement after having taken fully into account that information which we hope will be forthcoming before long.

With regard to the displaced Marshallese it is good to know that the recent medical examination has found the general health of the Rongapalese satisfactory and no further discernible aftermath of the fall-out. The United States Government has, in our view, done the right thing in submitting to the Congress legislation for the equitable settlement of the claims for compensation from the people of Rongelap. As to the war damage claims, the Council wishes the Administering Authority success in its renewed efforts to reach a final settlement of the matter that has engaged the attention of this Council for many years.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

In assessing the economic progress in the Trust Territory we find it encouraging to hear the High Commissioner say that "a new attack has been launched on the long-standing economic problems which have faced the people of Micronesia". In 1959 not all members of this Council seemed to be convinced when we expressed the view that of all the problems confronting the Administration the most important was how to increase economic development in Micronesia. At that time we placed great emphasis upon economic planning and increased economic development, especially in the fields of agriculture and fishing. While we fully appreciated the substantial financial contribution which the Administering Authority had generously made to the development of the Territory, we were nevertheless concerned with the relatively slow development of the Territory's economy, which was largely due to lack of funds. With the political and educational progress in Micronesia the growing number of young, educated Micronesians would inevitably have a greater desire for productive and useful participation in public and private life which, in our view, only rapid economic development could offer.

Now the Administering Authority has taken a step in the right direction by forming a task force to deal with the economic problems of the Territory. Since the Administration is at present preoccupied with the preparation of a long-range economic plan for the Territory we do not wish at this stage to go into great detail with regard to the economic problems of Micronesia. We only hope that the economic unit newly added to the headquarters has at its disposal sufficient up-to-date data which will enable the economic experts to formulate specific plans for economic development in all fields, taking into account available markets both within and outside the Territory.

To achieve a break-through on the economic front in Micronesia the Administering Authority would have to provide funds not only sufficient to ensure the maintenance of adequate services in the Territory but also ample enough to follow through a vigorous start of more ambitious and realistic economic development plans, which Mr. Goding himself called "economic ventures" when he outlined the Administering Authority's economic policy to the Council last year.

For the year under review the plans for outside capital participation in economic enterprises, the creation of a Micronesian Economic Development Fund,



(Mr. Kiang, China)

the establishment of a Micronesian Products Centre, the increase of credit unions and the expansion of co-operatives are all commendable measures of great importance.

In attacking the economic problems of the widely-scattered island communities of the Territory the Administering Authority has certainly done the right thing by making greater efforts in tackling the problem of communication and transportation, the heart of the whole problem of the Trust Territory and its economy. Since the transportation system is the lifeline of the future Micronesia we hope the Administering Authority will consider extending the plans for outside capital participation to the strategic field of transportation.

Before I leave the economic field may I say that the people of Micronesia must have warmly welcomed the institution of the master planning of district centres as total communities. I remember the members of the 1959 Visiting Mission had broached the idea of the master planning of district centres to the Administering Authority when the problem of replacing the school, hospital and administration buildings -- in varying degrees of disrepair -- was under discussion.

In the field of educational advancement the Administering Authority should be congratulated for having adopted policies that could greatly improve the educational system in the Territory. The lowering of the elementary school admission age, the use of English for instruction in the elementary schools, and the subsidizing of elementary school teachers' salaries are all excellent measures. The Council must be happy to note that the burden of financing and maintaining educational facilities has been lifted from the local communities. In our view grants-in-aid for education will have to be increased and administered in such a way as not to lower the quality of education of the poorer communities.

It is certainly a great step forward that the Administration has decided to provide full secondary school programmes in all districts by expanding the present intermediate schools into full junior-senior high schools. We still hope that, in order to improve the standard of the teachers at the primary and secondary school levels, a special teacher-training department will soon be added to the Pacific Islands Centre School, as my delegation urged last year. I am aware, of course, of the fact that great attention has been given to teachers' education

(Mr. Kiang, China)

and supervisory programmes with a view to broadening the outlook of teachers. May I close by congratulating Mr. Andon Amaraich on his excellent statement which we had the pleasure of hearing him make in the Council the other day. He certainly greatly impressed us by the manner in which he addressed himself with such remarkable lucidity to the questions put to him.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): The straightforward and honest statement of the Special Representative, his replies to the questions, and the replies of the representative of the Administering Authority to the questions, both pertinent and insidious, which were put to him, as well as the statement of Mr. Amaraich, whom we have been glad to welcome among us, seem to us to have reduced what we have agreed to call the general debate to modest proportions.

In this "watery plain", as men of old called it, of some 3 million square miles of sea in which the dry land is broken up into thousands of islands which add up to an area of only 687 square miles with a population of less than 80,000 people, the Trusteeship Council did not expect any miracles, and no miracles did in fact occur. But important results have indeed been noted within the meaning of our recommendations, and we wish to acknowledge them with satisfaction.

In response to the wishes of the Visiting Mission of 1961, the United States administration has reviewed its methods and procedures for arriving at the objectives laid down in the Charter. Important changes have been made in the political status of the Territory. Above all, a start has been made to unite it by the establishment of a single civilian authority.

On many occasions during the course of these last years the Trusteeship Council has expressed the wish to see the Saipan District integrated with the rest of the Territory. This has now been done. This administrative measure will have as its corollary in the near future the integration of the island of Rota in the new district of the Marianas, and the Territory will finally have a political capital. Thus close co-operation should rapidly be established among the inhabitants of all the islands, while at the same time the various administrative activities will be from now on grouped together in Saipan and the functioning of the various ministries will be assured under far better conditions.

If such a head is necessary, if such a central impetus is essential, it goes without saying that a certain administrative deconcentration is the necessary corollary of this centralization, as was pointed out a little while ago by the representative of China. But these two things are not mutually exclusive. As the training of Micronesian cadres proceeds, this will permit the parallel development of district administration.

Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

Thanks to the establishment of the administrative headquarters in the new capital, the training of qualified Micronesians, coming principally from Truk, Yap, Palau or Ponape, should become easier and should permit an acceleration of the replacement of United States administrative personnel by indigenous officials. The information and examples given us by Mr. Goding in this regard are encouraging. It would obviously be desirable for this movement to be broadened and, without awaiting the results of the enquiry into this matter, that the problem of the salaries of Micronesian officials be settled in a satisfactory manner. Next year the Special Representative should no longer find it necessary to mention only isolated cases. We hope that he will be able to report a large percentage of Micronesians in public office, principally in higher managerial posts.

A certain decision the importance of which Mr. Goding has quite rightly emphasized, should speed up political development. The Council of Micronesia, with an elected Chairman, came into being on 1 August of last year. District elections by universal suffrage of the various members will certainly make it easier for political consciousness to take root among the people. We cannot, however, fail to regret that this evolution is proceeding with a certain slowness and that the formation of a territorial legislative council is not foreseen before 1965. Likewise, political activity in the districts could be developed more rapidly, particularly, as was indicated by Mr. Goding, through acceleration in the chartering of municipalities.

The economy of the Pacific Islands has been the subject of the careful study on the part of the Administering Authority. The difficulties due principally to the facts of geography and the nature of products should not be underrated. But the changes that have occurred and the plans that are at present being worked out enable us to envision a favourable development of the situation. In particular, we are entitled to expect that the investment of foreign capital now being authorized to some degree will in certain industries, especially fishing, produce a certain growth.

Similarly, the creation of an economic development fund will tend to promote an increase in the volume of business, principally that of small businesses and co-operatives which will benefit from loans to be granted by this fund. Quite obviously, the success of this programme is tied to the development of an

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

infrastructure which is not immediately profitable. But economically and politically one cannot overstress the need to give priority to that which is the necessary condition of all development, namely installations and means of transport and communication.

The expansion of banking has fortunately continued and the credit system has been likewise extended. The co-operative movement is particularly well adapted to the market conditions and the needs of the population. It deserves to be boldly promoted.

We note the very considerable progress that has been made in production. Copra production this year will exceed 13,000 tons and its sale seems to be assured at a remunerative price, in spite of unfavourable market conditions, thanks to the efforts of the Copra Stabilization Fund. In comparison with past years, the production of vegetables and the exportation of fish show an encouraging increase. The Special Representative has given us figures in this respect which bear witness to the efforts put forth in this field as well as in those of cocoa cultivation and fishing.

As was the case last year, my delegation fully approves the measures taken with a view to diversifying the economy, particularly those involving the introduction of new cash crops. The initial results achieved should encourage the Administering Authority to continue its efforts in this direction.

The United States administration seems to be on the verge of attaining some of the objectives it has set for itself in the field of public health, particularly as concerns the construction of new hospitals and the training of nurses, dentists and medical students at present in the universities.

In the matter of teaching and education, notable progress has been made, particularly in secondary education. The decision to teach in a language of universal culture, widely spoken -- in this case English -- from the elementary level on is one for which we are bound to congratulate the Administering Authority. The French and English languages have historically served as instruments of emancipation and unification for peoples whose ethnic and linguistic separation had condemned them to misunderstanding and tribal fragmentation. This has been one of the great positive aspects of the colonial system. This does not in the least mean that the vernacular languages are without cultural and national value,



that they should not be to a certain extent cultivated, passed on and studied, sometimes even affectionately. But it does mean that peoples who are to form an integrated political community and whose interest lies in not isolating themselves from the great world currents, must first of all understand each other and have at their disposition the indispensable instrument for mutual understanding and development. So this vital decision for the future of Micronesia has been taken in response to the wishes of the Council of Micronesia and the Micronesian teachers and students.

We believe that the Administering Authority is on the right road. Our role is to spur it on to quicken the pace somewhat and clear the last stages at a gallop. The rider -- Mr. Goding, that is -- is fully convinced of this himself, since he himself recognizes that a quicker pace is called for.

We would wish that this debate may assist Mr. Goding at least in obtaining from the Government and the Congress of the United States the necessary funds. If one considers that the population of the Territory is not at all numerous, in comparison, for example, with the population of other Trust Territories which we have dealt with, one feels that the efforts required for the fiscal year 1963 do not reach a high level in absolute terms but, relatively speaking, open up perspectives for great betterment in the lives of the inhabitants of the islands.

Let us therefore hope that Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Goding and Mr. Amaraich will be heard by those who should hear them. It would be fitting gratitude for their contribution to our task and only what is justly due to the people of the islands which will soon achieve self-determination.

Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): After listening to the statements which have been made in the general debate, I feel that very little remains to be said. I should like particularly to refer to the statement of Mr. Rasgotra, representative of India. In submitting the views of his delegation, he announced that possibly this would be the last time his voice would be heard in this Council. I wish to say that I shall miss Mr. Rasgotra very much. I have had the honour of working with him in the Pacific Islands, as well as with other able, capable and intelligent representatives who gave effective direction to the Visiting Mission to the Pacific Islands in 1961. I was Chairman of that Mission simply because I was considered a veteran on account of my years, but I greatly admired the dynamic spirit of the other representatives, as well as of Mr. Chacko who is an expert on the Pacific Islands and who made it possible for us to make a constructive contribution to the future of the Islands.

I shall make a few brief observations in connexion with the future development of the Territory, but I wish to stress in the first place the statements made by the Special Representative, Mr. Goding. There is no divergence between the recommendations of the Visiting Mission, of which I had the honour to be the Chairman, and the initial statement made by Mr. Goding. Thus, our debate has been facilitated, although some difficulties have appeared.

In the political field, Mr. Goding has told us that the Council of Micronesia met in August and elected Mr. Heine of the Marshall Islands Chairman of that Council with terms of reference which were somewhat limited. In addition, the Council set up a number of drafting committees as well as various sub-committees, including one on political development and one on economic and social development. Mr. Goding told us that the Council of Micronesia had taken some significant steps towards the positive transformation of that body into a genuinely legislative body which should be in existence by 1965 or earlier. Mr. Rasgotra stated that he believed that the date of 1965 should be put forward. As I see it, it would, of course, be desirable that the date should be put forward, but those of us whose voice this opinion are obliged to state the reasons why we maintain that point of view.

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

I very much regret the absence of Sir Hugh Foot at the moment. He said that he had some doubts as to whether a Territory divided into so many districts and separated by such vast distances could achieve the necessary cohesion.

The remarkable thing about the population of these islands is that, because of a curious accident, it is a young population, not more than half being over twenty years of age. These young men whom we found in Hawaii, in PICS, in the secondary school of the Jesuits in Truk, were all from different districts but beginning to be aware of the unity of Micronesia. There is a young generation prepared to create such unity.

Those of us who are acquainted with the historical background of these islands know that the Melanesian and Polynesian groups were great navigators and had no fear of distances. Naturally, it is difficult to conceive of a federation of islands covering such vast distances and comprising the Micronesian world. When I first visited them I had serious doubts as to their political future, but now having observed that they are prepared for this evolution, it is interesting to find in the islands that all the members of the Congresses are young men. Mr. Amaraich himself is a typical representative of the islands. These young men are willing to accept what may be a difficult fate together.

The Administering Authority of the Pacific Islands, unlike other Administering Authorities, has never in the Council raised the problem of the difficulties of transport and communication. The United States Administration has believed it possible to achieve unity, and when that day comes it will be a most remarkable political achievement.

The representative of the United Kingdom said that he would like to believe in this experiment. For my part I have very little doubt as to its feasibility and its effectiveness in the future.

The political development, of course, involves economic problems. The Special Representative has told us that, of the eleven economic measures recommended by the Visiting Mission, many have already been implemented and some completed. In the period of questions and answers, Mr. Goding tried to clarify the exact financial resources available in the light of the recommendations made by the Visiting Mission, and we do not know whether the \$10 million to be requested from Congress will be approved. Mr. Goding described some of his uncertainties, and I shall quote from some of his remarks as follows:

(continued in English)

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

"What would suffer most would be the programme of construction of physical facilities. We would not have the funds that are carried in the 1963 projected budget -- that is, the budget for the fiscal year beginning 1 July, for accelerated construction of hospitals, schools and other plant facilities. We would still be able to increase, to some extent, our programmes of education and health and, to a lesser extent, the economic development programme " (T/PV.1183 p.7)

(continued in Spanish)

The representative of India, with the perceptiveness and competence which are so typical of him, referred to the economy of the islands, which is basically simple. It comprises the production of cocoa, copra and possibly coffee. As regards coffee, the representative of India said that I had not shared the enthusiasm of many, but this is due to the fact that I represent here not only Bolivia, but all the Latin American groups and, as representatives are aware, there is a world surplus of coffee. This does not imply, however, that I cannot foresee the possibility of coffee-growing in the Pacific Islands. In any case, he has made some very interesting suggestions with all of which I fully agree.

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

In particular, I believe that we should insist on the need for more exploitation of the resources of the sea; and in this connexion, the problem has many aspects. In some of the islands, particularly in the Marshall Islands, the economy is created by the exploitation of copra in this sector of the islands. This is the sector which produces most of the copra in the islands; and in these islands it has, to some extent, stagnated their actual dynamic character. In other islands, they have to learn to fish again. The process, therefore, is very difficult in all its aspects. They have to be re-educated in the fishing technique, and all the necessary resources must be made available to carry forward such projects as are already underway.

In some of the islands -- I believe in the Ponape Islands -- there was a group of fishermen from the Kapingamaranga Islands who started to work on a co-operative. I agree with the representative of India that these co-operatives should be promoted. I would not wish to delve into discussion as to whether this impetus is to be given at the Administration level solely, but I believe that there is room in the islands to give impetus to the fishing industry intensively.

To continue with the views of the representative of India, who was a member of the Visiting Mission, it has been very satisfactory to me to see the changes that have occurred at the educational level. Possibly, of all the recommendations which we made in connexion with the islands, this is the one which will have the greatest positive value in the future; and I note with satisfaction that the Administration has taken up these suggestions.

In the economic field, some problems remain, such as land ownership; and I did not wish to touch upon this subject at this time because it is a rather complex subject. However, it seems to me that a statement made by Mr. Goding could pave the way and channel the way for land holding and ownership in the future. He said that all the available land belongs to the Administration. Basically, we must then bear in mind that this 25 per cent of available land has to be held in reserve if we are to think of the future growth of the population of the Territory.



(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

In connexion with this matter, there are several related and difficult problems. In some islands, it is possible to follow the inheritance laws; and in other islands, perhaps other processes should be followed in order to exploit the land. I believe here that a flexible, pragmatic attitude is called for. But, in any case, I believe that for the future development of the population, a minimum of land held in reserve must remain in the hands of the Administration, but, rather, later, in the hands of the Legislative Council of Micronesia when its time comes, when the Legislative Council actually governs the fate of these islands.

Of course, in any territory, however good one's intentions, some problems remain; and here we have two. Fortunately, one of the most difficult problems, that of the victims of atomic radiation, in accordance with the information received from Mr. Goding, has been solved by way of financial compensation. I believe, however, that the obligations of the Administering Authority do not end there. I believe psychological rehabilitation for all these inhabitants who have been superficially or deeply harmed -- I do not know and I do not think, either, that any expert can clearly give us the limitations of this problem -- is necessary; it is a continuing situation, even though agreement has been reached by both parties on the financial compensations.

During the period of questions and answers, I directed the Council's attention to the problem of compensation claims for damages suffered during the Second World War. One of the reasons, apart from the legal one, since this is a matter involving a question of justice, is, I believe, that any compensation which the island inhabitants would receive would improve the economy of the Territory. And here I shall once again cite the view of the representative of India who was so exhaustive in his statement. I have to agree with him completely; I agree with his point of view.

Basically, the treaty between the United States and Japan does give room for Japan, on its part, to ask for compensation for damages suffered. If the position of Japan is deemed reasonable or unreasonable in respect of the treaty between Japan and the United States, I wish to discuss here, after we take the question of justice, the reasonableness of this point of view.

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

We all have to agree that these islands, which were originally under Japanese administration and which were freed by the United States in the name of the United Nations -- the inhabitants of these islands are entitled to ask for more compensation from all countries: from Japan, from the United States, and even from the United Nations. What is remarkable is that since they are Trust Territories, or for difficulties which we do not know, which have gone on for more than ten years, the inhabitants of the islands are not able to get this compensation which is fair and has been paid everywhere else.

The representative of India said it was time to set a deadline for this compensation. I agree entirely; and, of course, here another aspect has to be considered on which I do not wish to dwell at length; but both the Special Representative and the United States representative told us that an inquiry is being made into individual damages suffered by the members of the community of the South Pacific islands.

In discussing this problem with both representatives of the Administration and the State Department before going to the Pacific Islands, I insisted on a viewpoint which I held to be logical: I agreed that personal indemnities should be paid, but in a war such as the one that took place in the Pacific Islands, there are direct and indirect damages; and it is possible that a small island may not have been damaged, for example. But at the economic level its inhabitants may have suffered severe damages. In my opinion, all these matters are important, because whether or not an agreement is reached at a given time, the United States Government will have to settle this matter which really goes beyond the specific terms of reference of the Administering Authority: this is an obligation incumbent upon all of us. Those of us who founded the United Nations actually have the obligation to compensate them for the damages suffered by the inhabitants of that territory under United Nations trusteeship. This is a critical and difficult point.

Another item which has been discussed -- and I believe most of us here have touched on the heart of the matter, and particularly Mr. Morozov -- is the question of Rongelap. As the representative of India said, resolution 2063 (XXVI) was in existence before the Visiting Mission went to the islands. We have spoken about this subject and, actually, it is a very painful one; and when we reach a solution of this problem, I think we will then have fulfilled part of our obligations towards the inhabitants of the island.

Mr. Rasgotra stated that there were two aspects, first that the Visiting Mission recommended that a sum of money be paid to them as a preliminary advance and second that if no agreement could be reached arbitration should be resorted to. That suggestion was at the end of the Council's recommendation. Of course, the Council cannot impose arbitration nor can it impose a solution, so that in any case I think it has to be left to the initiative of the persons concerned to continue with their claims.

The representative of France suggested that the record of the discussions held here in the Council should be transmitted to the persons concerned, and I agree with that suggestion, which the representative of France made to me personally.

There is another matter which as I see it is very important. In replying to the representative of the USSR the Special Representative stated that Micronesian participation in the Administration has increased in recent years. This is most desirable, and I believe that actually there is a spirit of co-operation in this field. We found during our visit last year that throughout the islands there are capable and competent people, able to hold responsible positions, although of course they have to be trained. There are also some students who are going to be employed immediately in the Administration.

I have touched on these subjects somewhat at random but if I have been rather disorderly Mr. Rasgotra was the author of my disorder, because he gave such lucid and exhaustive analysis of the subject that little remained for me to say. However, I might add that I hope that the United States Congress will look with sympathy at the future of the Islands and will find it necessary to increase the budget for them.

At one point in our discussion the representative of the United Kingdom expressed some doubt regarding the effectiveness of increasing the financial resources now and letting them drop at a later time, a process which he suggested would be detrimental to the people, who would become accustomed to receiving financial assistance over a long period. I have in mind now some of the islands where it would be possible, as was stated by the representative of France, to centralize some aspects of the economy. During our visit in 1961 we went to Kusaie and found that it was wholly managed by indigenous inhabitants. Actually, the petition made to us at that time was that they wanted to have de facto independence, because they were already independent. Obviously, when indigenous inhabitants with some feeling of responsibility start to assume political responsibilities, the cost of administration diminishes, and we found in particular in that island that

(Mr. Salazar, Bolivia)

the economy and political unity progress along parallel lines. The process should not be too difficult because of the fact I mentioned at the beginning of my statement, namely the willingness of the inhabitants and their natural feeling of community.

In conclusion I should once again like to thank Mr. Masgotra for his contribution to our work which carried on the tradition of the Visiting Mission. With his natural skill he has dealt in great detail with points which I have only touched upon.

The PRESIDENT: The last speaker on my list is the representative of the Soviet Union. May I ask him whether he will be able to finish his comments this afternoon before about six o'clock or whether his statement should perhaps be left until tomorrow morning, when we could hold a meeting?

Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I shall not be able to speak tomorrow morning and I am not able to guarantee that I will be finished by six o'clock.

Mrs. TENZER (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I would like to ask the Secretariat to put my name on the list of speakers, so the representative of the Soviet Union will not be the last speaker. I should like to speak after him.

The PRESIDENT: May I consult the Council? We did plan to conclude the general debate this afternoon; does the Council wish to proceed now?

Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): This puts me in a somewhat awkward position because my name was on the list for today's meeting and I have waited while others have spoken before me. I must repeat that for reasons beyond my control I shall not be able to take part in the meeting tomorrow, so perhaps it will be necessary to postpone the meeting until Monday, because on Friday we shall have a meeting of the General Committee and the Assembly will be in session. I myself at least intend to take part in the work of the General Committee and of the Assembly. We are really wasting time in this discussion because the President's question to me cannot be interpreted to imply that I shall definitely finish by six o'clock, because I shall need some

thirty or forty minutes and I fear that if we continue this discussion we shall still need that amount of time. Would it not be simpler for me continue now?

The PRESIDENT: With the consent of the Council, that was what the Chair was about to propose, so I give the floor to the representative of the Soviet Union.



Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): It seems to me that it should be pointed out first that there is a characteristic feature here which can easily be recognized by any impartial observer who takes upon himself the rather difficult task of reading the voluminous material in the archives of the Trusteeship Council dealing with the question of the Pacific Islands, involving hundreds of pages. First of all, this characteristic fact and this typical circumstance which applies equally to all periods in the discussion of this Territory rests, first of all, in the situation that fifteen years ago, and now too, the basic task which was placed by the Charter on the Administering Authority in the person of the United States -- in other words, the granting to the population of the islands first, self-government and subsequently independence -- remains unfulfilled. This basic and important circumstance is nothing new to the members of the Council. It has been stressed in numerous discussions in the Council by various persons who represented different countries here in the sessions of the Council. The representatives of the United States have changed, and there have been changes in the representatives of other countries.

Other far greater changes have taken place in the world in the general international situation in this current period and during the years separating us from the end of the Second World War, years which are rich in eventful and important political phenomena. However, all of these changes have somehow not affected and have somehow passed over the great area of the Pacific Islands and have not affected the lives of the people of this region in any significant way.

In the discussion of the question of the Pacific Islands from year to year, some of the members of the Council -- unfortunately the smaller part, which does not represent the so-called Administering Authorities but, speaking simply, those who do not represent the colonial Powers -- have tried to convince the majority of the Council, namely, the representatives of the colonial Powers, of the need for energetically, as is stated in the Charter of the United Nations, contributing to the political, economic and social progress of the populations of the Trust Territories.

During all of these years the minority in the Council have energetically called for the carrying out of specific programmes and concrete measures which could or might lead in the shortest possible time toward self-government and,

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

subsequently, towards the independence of the peoples of the Pacific Islands. On the other hand, the majority in the Trusteeship Council, consisting, as is known, of the representatives of the colonial Powers, have also from year to year tried quite obstinately -- with an obstinacy deserving a better fate as a rule -- to represent the situation as one in which the United States is doing everything in the best of all possible worlds, that all the necessary measures are being taken to ensure independence for the people of Micronesia as soon as possible. As in past years and during the course of the present discussion, they have constantly avoided giving any hints as to the setting of any definite policy for the carrying out of the plans and preparations for the granting of political independence to the people of the island.

In past years, just as in the course of this present session, as soon as matters came to this cardinal question, which constitutes the ultimate objective of the very principles and system of trusteeship as set up by the Charter of our Organization, a particularly thick cloud fell not only upon the island, but also upon the room in which the discussions on the Pacific Islands were taking place, the room where the current discussion is taking place. Hundreds of thousands of words were spoken in order to demonstrate the ephemeral nature of setting up such target dates, the ephemeral nature of any planning or measures of any serious kind which would involve any specific period, measures designed to give independence to the indigenous people, measures designed so that the people would exercise such independence.

Years have passed and the system of colonial subjugation and the colonial yoke has been falling apart and has finally fallen due to the pressure from below. Only vestiges of that system remain now, and the clearing away of these vestiges is now being measured in other parts of the world not in terms of years and not even in terms of months, but in terms of days and weeks. But the Pacific Islands continue to remain as a kind of charmed zone around which the United States of America has placed a veritable iron curtain in its attempts to shield the people living in these islands from the vital and life-giving effects of independence and from those political movements which have already cast aside the yoke of colonialism in the majority of the so-called Trust Territories. This rotation around the same pivot, this following the same vicious circle with the same ultimate result is the first characteristic feature in the activities of the Trusteeship Council which cannot be overlooked in the course of our discussion.

Secondly, another typical characteristic of all the discussions in the Trusteeship Council on the Pacific Islands, and that includes this discussion too, is the attempt by the United States to procrastinate further, just as it procrastinated in the past fifteen years, and to delay the process of the liberation of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Another characteristic is the fact, as may be seen from the meetings held this morning and this afternoon and the speeches made therein, apart from a very limited number -- speeches by two members, in fact, who of course have to be isolated as not belonging to the colonial Powers -- that such a position and policy has been fully supported by the allies of the United States and by the other representatives of the colonial Powers. This characteristic policy of the colonial Powers in the Council, led by the United States, has come to the surface during the course of the discussions in which we are now participating. Many arguments were adduced today in the statements of a number of the Council members here. The representative of New Zealand, who is absent now, was the first to assume the role of a theoretician to place a kind of theoretical basis on all the discussions which would have justified the practical consequences and, I would say, the rather more than unsatisfactory practical results of the United States policy in regard to the Trust Territory. Here the whole compendium of weapons from the arsenals of the colonialists can be utilized, and this was in addition to everything we have heard on many occasions -- arguments which do not need to be repeated -- regarding the lack of ability of persons on a lower level or allegedly on a lower level of development to manage their own affairs, and all that.

In addition to all of these arguments we also have geographical factors, such as the scattered nature of the island, the special psychology of the islanders who are surrounded by the sea, and we also heard of the further miraculous achievements of colonialist theory and techniques and technology which were utilized for the purpose of whitewashing the unsatisfactory political situation resulting from the activities which we have all seen, activities which we denounced.

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

In past discussions, just as in the present discussion, the minority in the Council, which does not represent the colonial Powers, by means of questions addressed to the representative of the United States and the so-called High Commissioner of the United States once again put a number of questions designed to ascertain the situation, a situation which runs counter to the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, and the policy carried out by the United States with regard to the people of the Trust Territory. Let us not recall all of this.

The questions which have been put to the representative of the United States by the representatives of India, Bolivia and myself and the answers which we were given -- some of the questions, as a matter of fact, have not yet been answered by the representative of the United States and are still pending -- as in the past shows that the position of the United States does not leave any room for doubt that the United States Government is continuing to shirk its responsibilities in terms of defining not only the date when independence will be granted to the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, but it also shirks any responsibility for presenting a plan of measures for the handing over of any of the authority to the indigenous population; in other words, even to fulfill that very modest and completely inadequate recommendation which the Trusteeship Council adopted in this regard at its last session.

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

All this is explained, as in the past, by the fact that the population of the Trust Territory itself does not attempt, as was stated by the representative of the United States, to achieve speedily its own political independence. Of course, the representative of the United States was unable to make facts tally when he was asked to explain on the basis of what concrete circumstances such an allegation was made. No referendum has been held, since it has been objected to by the United States over many years. Nor have any specific questions been put to the population, or any other method used to ascertain the will of the people. Nor have any figures been indicated here. As a matter of fact, this could not be done, because all of this is simply a figment of the imagination. In support of this futile allegation to the effect that the population of the Pacific Islands does not wish to attain its own political independence, the High Commissioner said that he has not heard a single voice in favour of the speedy granting of independence. One can only be surprised at how the representatives of the Administering Authority can make such assertions when all the members of the Council recall the clear-cut statements of the petitioners representing the indigenous population of the Pacific Islands at the last session of the Council and their demands that the Trust Territory be given independence. Also, the representative of the indigenous population who spoke at the present session quite naturally did not try to undermine the significance of the statements which had been made by the representatives of the indigenous population at the previous session of the Council. It will be recalled that in one of those statements a representative of the indigenous population said:

"Many years ago, we defended ourselves without the assistance of any other nation. And then came the Spanish, who 'protected' us, and we became a colonial property. Then the Germans came in order to protect us, and this was even a greater colonialism. Then the Japanese protected us, under instructions from the League of Nations. And now the United States is protecting us. We are still an integral part of colonialism.



(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

"We consider that we can protect ourselves better on our own. We wish to learn democracy. We consider that democracy is a good thing, but we do not believe that the system used on us is a good example of democracy. Perhaps it would have been better if we had been given our freedom of olden times. The peoples of Africa and Asia are attaining their freedom. We consider that we can manage ourselves as well as those other new countries."

Nevertheless, the High Commissioner of the United States repeatedly tells us that he has not heard a single voice in favour of the speedy granting of independence. One can only remark that it is stated in the Scriptures: "They have ears, but they hear not."

Such a dialogue, under those circumstances, can be continued endlessly, and I wish to terminate it -- having demonstrated, however, the complete lack of justification for the assertions of the representative of the United States that the population of Micronesia does not yearn to attain independence most speedily.

It is known that at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly there was a definite attempt to establish that the colonial peoples had not matured to the point necessary to manage their own affairs. The history of the development of scores of new countries which received their freedom after the Second World War shows the complete groundlessness of such assertions. It is sufficient to see the tempo at which these countries are developing, to see how many talented workers in all the branches of economic, political and social life these people have come forward with -- people who yesterday were still considered by the colonialists as representing countries which had fallen thousands of years behind the so-called civilized nations.

That is why, with all firmness and determination, the fifteenth session of the General Assembly came forward with a declaration on the handing over of all authority to the indigenous populations, including the populations of the Trust Territories, which are not included in the colonies. However, as has been made clear since the adoption of that document, it has apparently not had the necessary effect upon the United States of America. While declaring itself,

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

in words, to be in favour of the liquidation of colonialism, the United States continues to take no concrete steps toward the fulfilment of the Declaration of the General Assembly of 14 December 1960 and the resolution of the twenty-seventh session of the Trusteeship Council, which is based upon that Declaration.

Let us give some proof in support of this statement. Let us begin with the fact that the United States concealed from the indigenous population of this Territory, up to the most recent times, the text of the Declaration. The explanation given by the High Commissioner, and then by the representative of the United States, in connexion with the fact that only after a year and a half was a translation prepared and circulated among the population in a few copies, and not in all of the languages of the Trust Territory, illustrates the complete groundlessness of the justification that is advanced. The High Commissioner has explained that one of the reasons for the delay in the circulation of the Declaration was the fact that the document was received in the Territory of the Pacific Islands only five or six months after the approval of the Declaration by the General Assembly. Another representative of the United States, who in this matter attempted to rescue the High Commissioner, tried to create the impression that the United States was not obliged to circulate the text of the Declaration before the decision which was taken by the General Assembly on 21 April 1961, in which there was a specific reference to the need to popularize and circulate the provisions of this Declaration.

The groundlessness of such allegations is clear. That has been apparent in the course of the questions and answers on this subject. It should be stressed once again that in the text of the Declaration itself, as we have already pointed out, it is specifically stated that it applies to all Trust Territories. Moreover, it is precisely these Trust Territories which have been mentioned in the Declaration in the first instance. Then why has it not been found necessary by the United States to bring it to the attention, if not of the indigenous population, at least of its own High Commissioner? Why did not the United States bring to his attention that Declaration, which has a direct bearing upon the Territory entrusted to him?

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

What does this mean? What does it mean in connexion with the fact, which has been confirmed here by the representative of the United States himself, that for the translation of two and a half pages of the Declaration -- in fact, I would say two pages of the Declaration in the English text -- which contains approximately one thousand words at the outside, 365 days were required? In other words, you had to have twenty-four hours for the translation of each three words -- if one includes all of the prepositions and all of the conjunctions in that Declaration.

We must note, in the light of these circumstances, the very clear and obvious fact that the text of the Declaration has been concealed, up until the most recent times, from the population of the Trust Territory; that at the present time it is being issued in numbers which do not ensure proper acquaintance with this document by the population at large; that, up to the present time, no substantial proof has been presented that this very inadequate number of copies has reached the population of Micronesia and is not accumulating dust in the godowns of the military bases of the United States.

We do not wish to accuse the United States of sabotage or anything like that. But, in the political sense, this is immaterial. Regardless of how you look at it, the political responsibility remains the same -- and it lies squarely, of course, upon the United States of America. This is clear, and it does not call for any further comments.

Let us now compare these data with the systematically promulgated propaganda organized by the representatives of the United States in order to convince the peoples of the Pacific Islands that they are not ready to assume responsibility for the management of their own affairs. On the one hand, the text of the Declaration is being concealed from the indigenous population by the representatives of the United States. On the other hand, the same representatives of the United States are waging a well organized, well planned, and well-thought out propaganda campaign among the indigenous population, the substance of which is quite clear -- and one need not go very far for examples.

Take, for instance, the annex to the report of the Administering Authority for the Pacific Islands; I shall only mention a few of these "classical examples" of this kind of propaganda which is being waged by no less a person than the Military and Naval Administrator of the United States in Saipan. I shall quote a few excerpts from the question which he asked of the population of the Pacific Islands. He asked: "Do you believe that you, as a people who belong to a specific race, will some day be able to form an independent, self-governing and economically self-reliant nation among other similar nations in the world?" This did not appear sufficiently clear for him and he went on to perfect it. He went on to ask: "Do you hope to become a State similar to the United States of America, France, Britain or any other similar country?" Quite a charming and a rather clever posing of the problem which, of course, can be described in no other way than an attempt to frighten the indigenous population, to undermine their faith in the national forces and to spoil the whole programme of granting independence to the Pacific Islands. It is not a child saying this who is in the first grade of the Micronesian primary school, and who does not understand the import of what he says. This is the Military and Naval Administrator of the United States who is speaking. If such were the bases and criteria for the granting of independence to such countries as now sit around the Trusteeship Council table -- and I do not refer to the scores of countries which recently obtained independence -- then on such bases many countries are not yet equal to the United States of America nor to any of the other countries that were mentioned in the Military and Naval Administrator's question and they would never have attained independence. They would still be under the colonial yoke to this day.

But that is not the only masterpiece with regard to this. The same military and naval attaché goes on to ask: "Could the Territory" -- in other words the Pacific Islands -- "become independent in the manner of Samoa, which, administratively and politically administers itself but needs economic and financial assistance from the United States?" Further, "If you were to associate yourselves with Guam and were to subject yourselves to the Organic Law of 1952,



(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

then your Governor would be appointed by the Government of the United States". You see where the trend is. Then, "Guam has certain powers and privileges. It may be hoped that it will one day become the fifty-first state of the United States". And then, for the sake of politeness, the following is added: "Perhaps you wish that; perhaps you do not wish it. Do you hope some day to become an independent nation, or do you consider that, as far as you are concerned, the only question which arises is that of association with another Territory? Perhaps that is precisely what you wish".

But even these questions turned out to be inadequate and the following poll was taken: "Do you wish to be under the management of the USSR, Japan, India" -- unfortunately, the representative of India is not here and I do not know what his point of view would be on this score -- "or of the United States of America?" Now the thread has returned to that point from which it began to be unravelled.

What is the political significance of these exercises? The political significance of this systematically promulgated propaganda is quite clear. Although I cannot speak for India, I must say here that the Soviet Union definitely does not pretend to any rights to administer the Pacific Islands. The purpose of posing this question is simply to becloud and confuse the issue even further.

Another example of this type of propaganda occurred when the High Commissioner of the United States raised the same question at the fifth inter-district congress. He asked: "Would Micronesia become completely independent and assume responsibility for its activities under this independence?" Unfortunately, this manner of posing a question makes the intent of the questioner a bit too obvious. Then the High Commissioner asks whether Micronesia would like to become an independent formation with its own political administration but one which would still depend on some other State and would receive economic and financial assistance from it. This is what is called in a court of law a leading question, one which is completely prohibited if a barrister were to confine himself to proper behaviour. Here, apparently, another set of ethical laws applies and these questions are supported by rather transparent promises and hints of economic and financial assistance if one thesis is accomplished and, on the other hand, there is a threat that the



(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

Territory would remain completely alone, without any assistance, and in complete isolation if the Micronesians were to adopt another decision.

The High Commissioner asked: "Would Micronesia join with some other Territory such as Guam and gain in the same way and would it merge with it administratively?" The substance of the matter does not change when, in asking such a question, the High Commissioner says that it is necessary to ascertain the will of the people with regard to the attainment of independence of the population of the Pacific Islands. No declaration of such a formulation -- the political significance of which is more than clear -- can be used to conceal the nature of the policy of the United States and it is not possible to conceal the orientation of such a policy.

As a matter of fact, what orientation is being given to the preparation of this expression of the will of the people? That is indicated by what the High Commissioner stated. It is quite clear that, by means of such more than obvious methods, a definite psychological situation is created so that a decision suitable to the United States will be made and not one which would be compatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, nor compatible with those obligations which the United States undertook under the Trusteeship Agreement.

I ask the Council now to compare all this with another clear fact. The United States for the past fifteen years in the Pacific Islands, counter to the Trusteeship Agreement and to the Charter of the United Nations, as we have been able to ascertain here, has not led to the creation of either legislative or executive organs of authority which should have been in the hands of the indigenous population of the country. The United States, under pressure of world public opinion, realises after all that one cannot let matters go as far as they have in the last fifteen years of their administration of the Trust Territory. Therefore, at the next session, a similarly transparent and rather obvious technique is used, which calls for no further comment. At the current session of the Council we have seen an attempt on the part of the United States to advertise before the Council and the world the transformation of an inter-district consultative committee into the Council of Micronesia. Much has been said about this and many euphemisms have been used to describe it. But what does

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

all this mean? We have ascertained that thus far no definite changes have occurred. In answering our questions, the representative of the United States was obliged to recognize that the substance of the activities of the so-called Council of Micronesia has not changed as a result of a change in title. As the renamed Council of Micronesia, the Council is not provided with any rights or powers. They have no function of either a legislative, and certainly not of an executive, kind.

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

There is not even any statute or any charter regarding the rights or the terms of reference of that council. What is there? What does exist? There are only promises that in the future this body will gradually be converted into an organ which will be authorized to show legislative initiative, and that in the future members of this council will be elected by the indigenous population. But this is sixteen years after the beginning of the United States administration of the Trust Territory. I could understand it if such a promise had been made in the second or the third year after the United States became the Administering Authority. Such a promise could have been believed then -- although with some difficulty. Now, fifteen years later, such promises sound, of course, like a clear-cut attempt to erect a screen -- something that runs counter to the United Nations Charter and an attempt to justify one's self in the eyes of world public opinion, which is less and less inclined to reconcile itself to such vestiges of the colonial epoch.

We assert further that in such important matters as the question of economy, national education and health, which are intimately connected with the vital interests of the population, the Administering Authority, in the person of the United States, is acting in accordance with the aforementioned basic United States policy with regard to the Pacific Islands, which is aimed towards not permitting in the near future the proclamation of political independence in that region.

Because of the unsatisfactory situation to date, even the steps in the development of the economy of the Territory which had taken place under Japanese administration sound like an achievement. It is unfortunate to have to say that, but it must be stressed. It will be recalled that the High Commissioner acknowledged in reply to one of our questions, that in fifteen years the United States administration had not re-established even those fishing industries which under the Japanese had yielded rather high exports -- at fair prices -- of the order of as much as 30,000 tons a year. It must be recalled also that the United States representative acknowledged that in the waters surrounding the islands there is an extreme wealth of fish and other living resources. Why are these not being developed? Why is the population continually doomed to a very low level of life which is the result of the so-called management of natural economy? The United States is the wealthiest capitalist country in the world, and the population of the Islands is only something of the order of 80,000 persons.

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

Who will believe, then, that if the United States really were interested in raising the standard of living of the population of the Trust Territory it would have been unable in fifteen years to restore the economy at least to the volume at which it existed before the United States accepted responsibility for the administration of the Pacific Islands? Who will believe that the United States, in fifteen years, would have been unable, had it so wished, to formulate a plan for economic development in the Trust Territory? This was said quite appropriately by the representative of India. It was mentioned even by the representative of New Zealand when he spoke. For reasons which I have indicated I do not agree with him, but he had a rather correct thought regarding the meaning of this economic planning. Why do they stress the importance of this problem which should have been tackled at the very threshold of the United States administration, as it were, at the very beginning. Only now is the United States beginning to realize that perhaps some planning in the economic field might yield results. But this, after all, is not done in the sixteenth year of management, and the importance of such planning has already been pointed out on numerous occasions in the course of the discussions which have taken place here in the Council.

Compare this now with the completely unsatisfactory situation in relation to public education. Think what is meant in practice by the fact that only one out of six children of school age, if we are to use the data given by the United States itself, has the possibility -- and that only theoretically -- of continuing its education beyond that very low elementary level of primary education which the Micronesians obtain in their schools. Even on the basis of the limited data which does filter into this chamber, the population of Micronesia is trying to acquire knowledge. Why, then, has the wealthiest country in the capitalist world been unable to satisfy this yearning for over fifteen years? Not, of course, for the technical or secondary reasons which have been adduced here by the United States representative. They have asserted that they, for their part, have done everything needed, but that there is this Congress in the United States which, apparently, cannot see its way to approving their noble endeavours. That is a very weak excuse.

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

Recall now the Visiting Mission's characterization of the rather deplorable situation in education -- the Visiting Mission, two of whose members are here taking part in the discussion. Remember the data which has been published in the United States Press regarding education in the Trust Territory. For instance, in the spring of this year The New York Times published a special correspondence on the situation in the Territory, and among other things it was noted in that correspondence that even Americans who are employees of the Administering Authority are expressing dissatisfaction with the policy there. They are tired, it was stated, of attempting to support these schools on a few hundred dollars a year, and tired of sending their own estimates for improvements and seeing them gathering dust in various departments. United States citizens working in the Islands have indicated directly that the indigenous population has lost its faith in the officials of the administration after having had so many promises from them. As was pointed out in the same newspaper one of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory had expressed in the following colourful terms the opinion of the Administering Authority that had grown up in the minds of the indigenous population. He said:

"We have birds which are called coolings, and all day they fly around you and sing their own name. Where they come from and where they fly away to we don't know. You" -- he said, addressing himself to the United States Administrator -- "look like those birds".

The health services in the Trust Territory are of a particularly low level. On the evidence of the American Press itself the population is still suffering from tuberculosis. In the existing hospitals there is an inadequate number of doctors and nurses and a shortage of medical supplies. The hospital on the island of Truk is set up in a rusty iron hut, where there are tubercular patients in a serious conditions separated by just a small curtain from children and new-born babies. One's blood curdles at such information, yet here one listens to speeches on the improvements in the field of health services in the Trust Territory made without the slightest embarrassment.



(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

The Trust Territory has not enough schools, and as a matter of fact the majority of them are in a pitiful condition, even in the view of the American officials themselves. Again, the burden for this is placed upon the indigenous population and the money required is drawn from it. I have already spoken of the limitations that are set upon those who complete primary school, and I wish to connect that with the fact that there are not any local specialists. We are still awaiting a reply on what is the percentage of members of the indigenous population in such key posts. We do not want to know who generally is on the payroll of the United States, but to ascertain to whom these key posts are entrusted. We can say in advance that it will be a very insignificant number of the indigenous population holding these executive posts because of the deliberate policy of not training any specialists. This policy is being carried out deliberately and intentionally.

I could adduce more facts, but I think what I have said is sufficient to make it clear that the picturesque diagram that has been drawn and the incense that has been burned here by the United States and by the other colonial Powers can be dispelled. Of course, one can assert that black is white and white black, and so forth, and go on with this kind of useless dialogue ad infinitum. But that is something which would lie upon the consciences of those who like to resort to such methods.

In conclusion I wish to ask what is the explanation of the incorrect policy, running counter to the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, which the United States is applying in the Pacific Islands Trust Territory. I should like to reply to my own question with information drawn from the United States Press itself. The magazine Time -- which could hardly be suspected of sympathy with world communism and similar forms of social structure -- indicated in its issue of 23 June 1951 that in substance Micronesia was a military reservation of the United States of America. The magazine went on to say:

"The United States is maintaining powerful military and naval forces. ...Further to the east nuclear installations have been set up, and on Eniwetok and Bikini atolls there are centres for atomic weapon tests."

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

In regard to the real destinies of the population itself, we see how the United States has expelled the populations from these islands wherever the United States decided that they were required for its own use. This has been obvious and we hope that we shall be able to revert to this in order that we may take some kind of decision which will improve the condition of the inhabitants who have been forced from their home islands. The attitude of the United States towards the population has become clear from the statements of the representatives of India and Bolivia, who referred to the United States refusal to make good before now the damage done to the inhabitants of the island of Rongelap and certain other islands as a result of nuclear weapons tests.

The whole of progressive mankind resolutely objected to those tests, as it is now resolutely objecting to the testing of weapons in the upper reaches of the atmosphere. Again the United States has chosen an area which, although it does not fall within the area of the Trust Territory, is located in such a way that harm can be done to the population of the Trust Territory. Think of it: for seven and a half years the richest capitalist country in the world, the United States of America, refuses to pay compensation to the indigenous population for damage resulting from the testing of atomic weapons. Is not this proof of the trampling of the most elementary rights of mankind? Is it not something that is a reflection upon the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council, both of which are unable to force the United States to do what it has undertaken to do? This shameful powerlessness of the Council is also shameful for me, as a member of this Council, in that I am unable to do anything about it. A great Power refuses to fulfil the elementary obligations which it has undertaken under the Trusteeship Agreement and violates that agreement by dooming the populations of the islands to unheard of suffering. This unbelievable suffering is not being compensated, nor can it be compensated by any number of millions of dollars, because there is no value at all for which a human life can be purchased.

In these circumstances the Trusteeship Council is still beating about the bush and is unable to say what should be done or even able to say what it should say. This, of course, is a tragedy, not only as far as the island populations are concerned. It is a tragedy for the United Nations as a whole and for the Trusteeship Council. The new series of tests now being conducted by the United States will inevitably lead to further contamination of the atmosphere in this

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

part of the world and to further contamination of the resources of the sea which are used as food by the populations of the Pacific, including the population of the Trust Territory. In answering our questions, the representatives of the United States have tried to assure us that the series of tests now being conducted will not do any harm since Johnson atoll and Christmas Island, on which the tests are taking place, are located far from the populated areas of Micronesia. However, it is well known that there are other countries located in the Pacific Ocean which have another point of view. They object to the carrying out of the present series of tests by the United States. Japan has protested and apart from what was said by the representative of New Zealand -- not the one who is here now, but the one who spoke earlier -- it is well known that the Premier of New Zealand was stated by Time magazine of February 1962 to have expressed his own doubts about the tests in the Pacific islands. The Premier of New Zealand, as distinct from his representative here in the Trusteeship Council, asked for assurances that the radioactive fallout would be reduced to a minimum, since Christmas Island is located next to New Zealand's colonies, Cook Island and Western Samoa, which are not far away.

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

The Prime Minister of New Zealand spoke of the possible decision to conduct nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean -- and this was when it was only a possibility, when the decision had not actually been taken and the tests themselves were not yet a fact -- the Prime Minister of New Zealand spoke of these possible tests as something regrettable and he expressed the hope that the tests would perhaps not take place. But if concern is justified with regard to Western Samoa, it is quite natural to show concern in regard to the fate of the population of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, some islands of which are located at a shorter distance from the area of the tests than is Western Samoa.

Representatives of the peoples of the Trust Territory have protested against the conducting of tests among the Pacific Islands, as can easily be understood, and the Trusteeship Council cannot disregard their protests. I wish to point out that on 11 December 1961, the Christian Science Monitor -- not Pravda, not Isve tin -- published a letter from an inhabitant of the Marshall Islands -- not a member of the Communist Party, but a priest. In that letter he wrote:

"If no one heard the cry of the people of the Marshall Islands in the United Nations in 1958, voiced through Mr. Dwight Heine, and if no one cared what happened to the people of Rongelap Island, then it is indeed time for us to wake up. The danger is no longer limited to the Pacific region; it now threatens the whole world, and if the United States resumes its tests in the atmosphere, then the population of the Marshall Islands will have new sufferings immediately inflicted upon them and the atmosphere will be contaminated to a far greater extent."

One could continue with the description of the great and good things that have been done by the United States administration, but I should like to spare you this and conclude my remarks speedily with an indication of the reason for the arguments I have set forth. The true situation is quite clear. It is obvious and undeniable that the situation is the result of over fifteen years of deplorable and completely unsatisfactory administration. The Soviet delegation considers that the time has definitely come for specific and far-reaching changes and that the Trusteeship Council cannot fail to be aware of this. The situation must be changed and changed radically, and this must be done as soon as possible. It is no longer possible, after fifteen years, to be content with vague promises and minor adjustments and improvements, as the United States is trying to persuade the Trusteeship Council to do. The Trusteeship Council must demand from the administering

Authority, the United States of America, unconditional fulfilment of the resolution of 14 December 1960, now a year and a half old, which calls for the handing-over of authority to the indigenous peoples of colonial countries and territories, the termination of the Trusteeship System in the Pacific Islands, the immediate -- and I emphasize this -- the immediate granting of independence to such peoples. This is what the Council must do, this is what the United States must do if we in fact, and not only in words, wish to see maintained, here in the Council, the lofty aim of the liquidation of colonialism as proclaimed in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly.



Mrs. TENZER (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I should like, in the first place, to dispel any possible anxiety which might arise at this hour. As the last speaker, my task is both ungrateful and easy. It is ungrateful because everything that should be said in this debate has been said by some of my colleagues who are more capable of judging the situation than I am since they have had the good fortune of visiting the Trust Territory by other means than those of written or oral reports. My task is easy because all the problems had been dealt with thoroughly.

I shall limit myself to stressing certain points which appear to me to be important. I think, first of all, that debates on the Pacific Islands under United States administration have been different this year from those which took place at our last session, especially since last year the debates were centred upon recommendations contained in a report of the Visiting Mission, which had studied the situation thoroughly and had submitted frank criticisms. This year the debates have been centred upon an evaluation of the achievements in the last year, and in this respect one must realize that one year, so far as administrative is concerned, is not very long. These achievements, in the view of all those who have spoken in good faith, have been remarkable. I think that, as the representative of the United Kingdom has said, this has been due to the unity of work and conception which has been established between the Trusteeship Council, the Administering Authority and the population of the Territory. The fact that the Administering Authority has accepted, without any false modesty, the criticisms which were addressed to it last year and has set about making an improvement in some of the situations which could have given rise to complaints or accusations of the slowness of the Administering Authority, has meant that in one year the Administering Authority has made such a leap forward as makes it possible for us to feel that a new start has been made which is full of promise.

I think that we should note particularly the concern of the Administering Authority -- and everyone has stressed this -- to create in the Territory a feeling of national unity, first, through unification under a single civil authority, and also through the designation of Saipan as a provisional capital, as well as by means of the important formation of the Council of Micronesia which, we all hope, will be able to function quickly within a broader framework and will become a truly legislative organ.

I am convinced, as far as I am concerned, that it will be possible to bring this result about before 1965. Being equally concerned with the recommendations of the Visiting Mission, the Administering Authority decided to grant far greater attention than it had in the past to the economic development of the Territory; and we congratulate the Administering Authority for having, in particular, established an economic development fund which we hope will soon be firmly established. The Administering Authority has quite rightly devoted its attention to the improvement of transportation and, in particular, land-transportation. Obviously, in any development programme, and also in order to be able to create this feeling of unity which is so important, transportation facilities play a primary role. May I say in passing that this role in the question of unity, the fact that it has been decided now that education is to be given in English, will likewise certainly serve to dispel a large part of the difficulties of relations among the inhabitants of the various islands of the Territory.

Some problems which have, for years, been of concern to the Council -- and quite rightly so, since these were humane problems -- seem to be on the right road; and we hope that these problems will soon be solved and that it will no longer be necessary even to speak of them at the next session of the Trusteeship Council. I am thinking in particular of the draft bill before Congress which provides for indemnity payments to the Rongelap inhabitants; and I would like to state that it is with satisfaction that we have taken note of the results of the last medical examinations of the inhabitants of the islands, and we feel sure that the Administering Authority will see to it that these medical examinations continue to be made at regular intervals.

We learned, too, that the files are ready to be submitted for official negotiations with the Government of Japan. It seems to me, therefore, that a great step forward has been taken and soon a solution will be reached.

Finally, the Administering Authority, in its concern for the economic development for the Territory, has decided, contrary to its previous principles, to admit foreign capital to the Territory. We wonder whether in this field a more positive effort could not be made in order to encourage investments.

Lastly, it remains for me to say that we trust that Congress, in its wisdom, will take a favourable decision and will agree to an increase of funds provided for under the law so that the Administering Authority will feel encouraged in its development plans and may proceed with them on the basis of a \$10 million budget as contemplated.

In conclusion, I would like to thank Mr. Goding, the High Commissioner, and those who have worked with him who have given us such a sincere picture of the situation in the Territory.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): This meeting is adjourned. The Council will meet at 10.30 a.m. on Friday to hear the conclusion of the statements of the representative of the Administering Authority.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.