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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ELEVEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 12 June 1961, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

U TIN MAUNG

(Burma)

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The Official Record of this meeting, i.e. the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.1144 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

AGENDA ITEM 4d

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE
ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: NEW GUINEA (T/1561, 1567, 1569; T/L.1010;
T/PET.8/16, 17; T/PET.8/L.6) (continued)

General debate

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dudley McCarthy, Special Representative for the Trust Territory of New Guinea under Australian administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand): It is not necessary for me to remind members of this Council of the great difficulties and complex problems confronting the Administering Authority in New Guinea. Nor need I remind them of the energy, vision and generosity with which Australia is tackling those problems and gradually overcoming those difficulties.

The Trust Territory of New Guinea, without Papua, is larger in area than the United Kingdom and only slightly smaller than my own country. Its enumerated indigenous population of over 1,300,000 live in small islands, in scattered coastal villages on the mainland or in hidden valleys in the vast and precipitous mountain ranges. Most of them have long been divided not only by a geography which must have taxed the imagination of nature, but also by a history of isolation or warfare, by hundreds of different languages and by the parochialism and mutual suspicion which was to be expected in such a setting among people who, except in some coastal regions, have until recently had little or no contact with each other or the outside world.

About one tenth of the Territory, with an estimated population of 80,000, is not yet under full administrative control although, through the strenuous and patient efforts of the Administering Authority, it is planned to extend control over this area by the end of 1963. This information will be warmly welcomed by the Council, even in a year which brings so much other good news from New Guinea.

The Special Representative in his illuminating opening statement has rightly stressed the human, social, historical and geographical difficulties which must be taken into account by the Administration in planning and implementing its policies. It is salutary for the Council, which in its enthusiasm for the fastest

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

possible progress in all fields is inevitably inclined towards optimism, to have these things brought so graphically to its attention. At the same time, as it is the function of the Council to encourage the Administering Authority always to strive to do a little more a little quicker, my delegation would like to emphasize some of the positive elements in the present situation and, dealing less fully with the truly remarkable accomplishments of the Administration than these accomplishments really merit, to make some suggestions concerning lines of possible advance.

But first, I should like to make clear my delegation's position on one or two basic political considerations which have been touched upon by other members during their questioning of the Special Representative. My delegation has no doubt that the policies followed by the Administering Authority are in full accord not only with the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement, but also with the "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" adopted by the General Assembly last December with the supporting vote of New Zealand. This Declaration declares the right of all peoples to self-determination and speaks of the transfer of all powers to peoples at present non-self-governing "in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire". This principle of self-determination has been fully endorsed by the most authoritative spokesmen of the Australian Government and Australia's policies, as we have been told, are aimed at the creation of that political "self" which can freely express its will and desire. Until such an entity exists, it is hardly helpful or responsible to speak of "immediate independence" ~~or to utter unfounded accusations that inadequacy of preparedness is being used as a pretext, or dishonest excuse, for delaying such independence.~~ In the last year, great progress has been made towards the achievement of this basic prerequisite to the implementation of the Declaration and it is clear that this objective -- the creation of a stable socio-political organism capable of self-determination and subsequent growth -- must be both the inspiration and the guiding force of all the policies followed by the Administering Authority. That this can be done only in a spirit of partnership, not through paternalism, however enlightened, is also realized by the Administering Authority, as the presence here of Mr. Jubilee from New Britain so amply illustrates.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

My delegation also believes that the administrative Union and other links between New Guinea and Papua serve the best interests of the people of both these Territories. Australia's technical and financial assistance to these Territories is generous and increases yearly but it cannot be unlimited. The present arrangements ensure that this assistance goes as far as possible without any expensive duplication of administrative machinery or services. While the future of these two Territories is something which the people themselves will have to decide, it does seem that they will be better advised to grow together, rather than to grow apart.

The Council will doubtless wish to welcome the recent reconstitution of the Legislative Council for Papua and New Guinea, with its great increase in elected and nominated representation of the indigenous people, and the disappearance of the "official" majority. The Administering Authority has told us that when experience of the new Council has been gained, in perhaps five years from now after the second general elections, consideration will be given to the next step forward. Clearly, the Administering Authority must preserve its full powers of discretion and maximum flexibility in this respect if it is to achieve its worthy objective of a legislature based on a common roll of all voters. To move either too slowly or too quickly could be harmful. We congratulate the Administering Authority and the people of New Guinea on the establishment of the new Council and on the orderly and intelligent manner in which the elections to it were held. We also welcome the action of the Administration in appointing an indigenous woman to the Council.

Now that the Legislative Council has assumed a more representative character, the Administering Authority may consider it appropriate to consult it concerning a matter which shows signs of becoming a hardy perennial in this Council -- the question of a name for the people of the Trust Territory. This does not seem to call for any sort of formal christening ceremony, but merely general concurrence that inhabitants of the Territory, regardless of their tribe, race or language, should be referred to in some agreed manner. If agreement were to be reached on this matter, the common name might assist in promoting that sense of community which is essential in a stable political unit. But, once again, the question of timing is important.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

The setting-up of an Administrator's Council in the place of the former Executive Council of officials is also to be commended. This Administrator's Council, although at present limited in its functions and its representative membership, should provide an essential nucleus for further growth and the eventual attainment of responsible Cabinet government.

At the other end of the political spectrum, the creation of nine more native local government councils is reported. The twenty-seven local government councils currently represent a population of over 200,000 and the early establishment of further councils is envisaged. This is a most encouraging development, as is the success of the Conference of Local Government Councils held in November 1960. The rapid expansion of local governmental organs will, we are confident, be given high priority by the Administering Authority. We also welcome the increase in indigenous membership of district and town advisory councils. This whole process of local government is partnership in action, in a highly practical and most important field. While political development on the territorial or national level can hardly be expected to proceed pari passu with the development of local government, it is to be hoped that popular participation at the lower level will grow fast enough to bear some significant correlation to wider political advances and that frequent Conferences of Local Government Councils will be held to encourage a sense of territorial unity.

My delegation has noted with satisfaction that the over-all staffing position in the public service shows some improvement, that energetic efforts are being made to recruit and train expatriate officers and that the number of positions for indigenous officers has been increased, as has the number of indigenous officers actually employed.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

It is, of course, particularly important that the latter trend be continued and that every opportunity be seized for training indigenous personnel not only in clerical and technical skills but in the professions and for higher administrative posts. This may well call for a long-term but intensive programme which could form part of a more general plan for improving the general level of education and training in the territory. The feasibility of such a programme should be given urgent consideration.

It has been said that the three essentials that should be given to peoples of under-developed areas are hope, development and education. Recent political and constitutional advances in New Guinea must surely inspire great hope -- especially among those indigenous inhabitants who live in regions which have been under administrative control for some time and who are aware of the political and social trends of the modern world. As these are the people who may be expected to provide most of the first leaders of New Guinea it is important that they should be imbued not only with hope but also with a strong sense of responsibility towards those of their fellow New Guineans who cannot be expected to reach an equivalent stage of development in the immediate future or share fully in the same aspirations. We welcome the efforts being made to promote this feeling of solidarity.

This is one reason my delegation was pleased to hear the Special Representative say that considerable attention is being given to the planning and construction of ~~more roads~~ in the Territory. Communications of all sorts pose great difficulties in such a country and the work done in building airfields and organizing air services has been unexcelled elsewhere. But we agree that many more roads are needed and that their extension can have most profound political and psychological effects as well as serving to open up the land for economic development.

The work done by the Administering Authority in this field of economic development is well known to members of this Council. As the Territory's economy must remain, for the foreseeable future, overwhelmingly agricultural, we have noted with interest that progress is being made for working out plans for ultimately bringing all land under a single system of landholding which will provide for secure individual registered titles. The successful, although

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

necessarily gradual; implementation of such plans could provide a great incentive to increased agricultural production. The Departments of Agriculture and of Extension Services have expanded their activities in the year under review, experiments are being conducted with regard to the introduction of new crops such as tea and the export of already established crops -- such as coffee and cocoa -- has increased. We are confident that this programme of agricultural expansion and diversification will continue and be intensified and that due attention will also be paid to food crops that can be produced locally.

The establishment of a new Department of Trade and industry will, we hope, give greater impetus to the establishment of secondary industries and thus broaden the basis of the Territory's economy. We trust that it will prove possible for the planned development of the economy to be along lines which will have a substantial and fairly early effect on the revenue raised locally. In the meantime it would seem expedient to keep the present systems of taxation under constant review to see whether this revenue cannot be increased without detriment to that private economic initiative and financial investment, of which the Territory stands so much in need. In some cases, of course, it could prove desirable to encourage certain industries and manufacturers by some measure of tax relief or other forms of assistance.

As far as social advancement is concerned, we welcome the establishment of a Department of Labour and the bringing into operation of a further impressive series of labour laws. We should like also to commend the Administering Authority for its achievement in the field of public health -- especially in the building of new general hospitals at Madang and Wewak and in planning financial assistance to local government councils which will permit them to devote more funds to such basic preventive measures as environmental sanitation and the improvement of water supplies.

In the latter work, the part played by the women's organizations can be of great importance. The considerable growth of such organizations and their encouragement -- with the assistance of the South Pacific Commission -- by both the Administration and local councils is good news indeed. Women's clubs and committees can make a splendid contribution towards the social advancement of their communities and do much to break down traditional social and psychological resistance to progressive change.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

It may well prove worthwhile, now that women's organizations are becoming popular, to organize them on a Territory-wide basis and to hold annual or bi-annual conferences to promote among the members that sense of wider community of which we have been speaking.

The scope of the activities of ~~women's clubs~~ should be as broad as possible and should form a vital part in those schemes of adult education and community development, the value of which, we are glad to see, the Administering Authority recognizes. The necessity for adult education of all sorts in New Guinea can hardly be overemphasized. Education, in its broadest sense is the key to progress. Community development schemes assume great significance in this context. Apart from their more immediate economic and social consequences they are in many ways the apotheosis of partnership between the people and the Government. We hope they will be extended as rapidly as possible and that the Administration will take steps to ensure that sufficient trained and devoted staff -- never easy to find but essential to the success of such schemes -- are available.

The Administering Authority is the first to admit that the present position with regard to ~~formal~~ education is far from satisfactory. It is making vigorous efforts to ~~make good these~~ deficiencies but the task is enormous. We welcome the increased expenditure on schools and teachers' houses, the special courses being held to train as teachers people from many walks of life, the intensified recruiting of expatriate teachers and the greater number of indigenous people enrolled in training colleges. These are steps in the right direction. But at present out of more than 250,000 children there are only about 130,000 in primary school, half of them in so-called "exempt" Mission schools, and the number of children who qualify to go on to secondary school, although increasing, is still very small.

We endorse the view of the Administering Authority that an early increase in the number of teachers is the key to rapid development. It is clear, however, that most careful planning should be given to this development. The action taken to expand facilities for primary education should not be such that there are no resources left for educating more children at the intermediate level, where one at least of the bottlenecks seems to occur. Endeavours to spread the

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

base of the education system and achieve universal and compulsory primary education should not so dissipate the available resources as to prevent urgent action in eliminating these bottlenecks. A certain concentration of effort therefore seems called for. Other Territories have tried "crash programmes" in education, and the Administering Authority has begun such a programme in New Guinea. It will be expensive but it will be most worthwhile. It should, I suggest, include the expansion of scholarships to indigenous people for education in Australia, the accelerated training of indigenous public servants, and increased technical and vocational training, if possible with the assistance of appropriate commercial firms. My delegation is confident that in tackling this most difficult, complex and costly task the Administering Authority will stint no effort and that it will secure the full co-operation of those Missions which have done so much for education in New Guinea.

My delegation would like to thank UNESCO for its observations on educational conditions in the Territory. I should also like to thank, before I conclude, the representative of Australia and the Special Representative, Mr. McCarthy, for the patience, intelligence and good humour with which they have so much assisted the Council in its consideration of this item, and to repeat how pleased my delegation has been to meet Mr. Jubilee and to welcome the first indigenous New Guinean to be a member of a delegation to this Council. Mr. Jubilee's presence here, in such a capacity, augurs well not only for the future relations between New Guinea and Australia, but also for the relations between the indigenous people of the Territory and those from outside who have made their home in New Guinea. These latter must learn to live, not merely as equal partners, but as brothers. We are confident that this will be so, for we have seen in the recent policy statements of the Administering Authority a realization of this need and a touch of that vision without which the people perish and great plans come to nought. In New Guinea there is beginning to run that tide in the affairs of men which must be taken at the flood if victory is to be assured. We believe that the Administering Authority fully appreciates this fact and that no country is better qualified in all respects than Australia to ride this tide, as it rises and breaks, and to bring its charges at last into calm, still waters.

Mr. BINGHAM (United States of America): I shall be quite brief, particularly as the representative of New Zealand has just now given a statement with which my delegation, I feel, can associate itself in every particular. I think that he has presented the situation extremely well and I should just like to touch upon some of the highlights, as we see the picture.

First of all, we have been most impressed with the presentation, in the first part of the Special Representative's report, of the peculiar difficulties under which the Administering Authority is labouring in the administration of this Territory. Probably nowhere in the world are there conditions comparable to those in the Trust Territory of New Guinea--in terms of the difficulties presented by the terrain itself; the problems involved in establishing contact and communication with the people in the more remote areas; the truly incredible difficulties of language, where literally hundreds of languages are involved and, as I understand it, there are cases where communication involves a chain type of interpretation from one language to the next, and then to the next, and then to the next, and so forth; the total lack of appreciation, in many areas, of the problems of the outside world, of the political realities of the day, not to speak of the lack of appreciation of the political, economic and social institutions in the more advanced countries of the world. So, like my colleague from New Zealand, I should like to express our admiration for the way in which the Administering Authority has been approaching the most difficult problems and for the vigour and imagination of their programmes.

I should like to mention some other respects in which it seems to me that the recommendations of the Council last year have carried forward to a remarkable degree. For example, the Council last year expressed itself as concerned about the pace of the programme of the Administering Authority for extending its control over the more remote areas of the Territory, and referred to the fact that in the year then under review only 550 square miles had been brought under full control. We now know that in the year 1959-1960 this was multiplied by five and 2,620 square miles were brought under full control. This year the estimate is that 3,000 square miles, with a population of 18,000, will be brought under control and the Australian Government has established as a target full control within the next two years. I should like to call the attention of the Council

to the fact that the achievement of that goal will require a further intensification of this programme because it means that an average of more than 4,000 square miles, and an average of more than 26,000 population, will have to be brought under control during the next two years. The excellent map at page 188 of the annual report makes very clear the magnitude of the task still remaining in this respect.

The Council last year also called attention to the greater need for staff in the Administering Authority, and especially for indigenous personnel. Again, I should like to refer to some of the facts that have been presented to us, and to the very rapid progress in this regard. In June of 1959 there were a little less than 3,500 people involved in the service of Papua and New Guinea. The following year the figure had risen to almost 4,000. As of March of this year it was up to 4,838 -- an increase of almost 40 per cent in less than two years -- and this, it seems to me, is a remarkable achievement. The rate of increase in the staff has almost been doubled in these two years.

We welcome, too, the steps for in-training of indigenous personnel in the Third Division, and hope that the numbers of indigenous personnel involved, which still appear to be small in terms of the total picture, will be rapidly increased as we know the Administering Authority is anxious to do.

The Council last year referred to the desirability of encouraging political organizations. On this score we are inclined to agree with the Special Representative that this is more a matter of creating the proper climate, which we think is being done, and that it cannot be a matter of imposing conditions from above. Political organizations, in the true sense of the word, cannot be created by the Administering Authority. Certainly nothing has been done, or will be done, to discourage their growth and we hope that the political consciousness of the people will increase rapidly and as that grows, so will the natural growth of political organizations.

With regard to the very important Legislative Council, the Trusteeship Council last year had several recommendations to make and tremendous progress has been made in carrying out these recommendations. As the Council had recommended, the majority of "official" members of the Legislative Council has been ended, there has been a large increase in the number of elected members, and there have been six posts created for members elected by the indigenous population. All of these represent valuable steps towards representative government. We can hope that

this trend will be expedited and that the number of elected members will be increased as rapidly as possible, particularly those elected by the indigenous population.

We have been delighted to have with us in these sessions Mr. Jubilee and to hear his interesting commentary the other day. He is certainly an example of the superior type of representative becoming available for service on such bodies as the Legislative Council.

We believe that the Administering Authority is to be commended for its efforts to ~~arrange~~ elections of the members elected by the indigenous population under the most difficult circumstances and in this regard they have shown truly extraordinary ingenuity in overcoming the problems of language and so forth. I was particularly struck -- indeed, moved -- by the quotations given in the Special Representative's statement of some of the statements made at the election conferences by members of the indigenous population.

Last year the Council was concerned with the expansion of the native local government councils and there has been substantial progress in this regard, with the formation of nine new councils, bringing the total number of such councils to twenty-seven, and the total population covered to 200,000.

(Mr. Bingham, United States)

This represents an increase of over 50 per cent in two years and is certainly noteworthy. The creation and growth of these local government councils certainly establishes a firm foundation for increasing political activities among the indigenous people. By beginning with local affairs with which they are familiar and branching out as they develop further knowledge and experience at the district councils and ultimately the Legislative Council and the Administrator's Council, we believe that the indigenous population can most effectively be prepared for taking on an ever-increasing share in the management of their own affairs.

The conferences held among the representatives of local governments such as the one held in Rabaul last November also offer an excellent means of providing an area in which these people can exchange ideas and can learn more about the problems of the Territory as a whole. This development, certainly, is to be commended and encouraged.

We noted with particular interest the statement by the Special Representative that the stages in the political advancement of the people of the Territory will be set essentially by the response of the people themselves to the actions that are being taken and that they may expect to move to a system of elections on a common roll. We hope that the attainment of this objective will be as rapidly as sound political development will permit.

In this connexion I would like to associate myself with the remarks of the representative of New Zealand, with particular reference to the application of the Declaration on Colonialism and to express my agreement with his conclusions in that regard. We have noted with satisfaction that there have been indigenous personnel added to the district and town advisory councils. The ratio here still appears to be a rather low one, as we are sure the Administering Authority is aware, and we hope that in this area there can be rapid progress made in bringing in more indigenous members to these activities. We would hope, also, that before long it would be found possible to place a qualified indigenous person from the Trust Territory on the Administrator's Council.

We noted with interest the continuance of the administrative union between the Trust Territory and the Territory of Papua. We believe that ~~this union does~~ work to the advantage of the peoples of both Territories, whose stage of development and future prospects are similar. We welcome the statement of the Special Representative that the Administering Authority has common policies and plans

(Mr. Bingham, United States)

for the two Territories and that the avowed aim of self-determination will apply equally to both Territories. We hope that the two Territories will be given every opportunity to work together toward common goals. Certainly, the Legislative Council provides a valuable means of encouraging this result.

In the economic field we are glad to note that the Territory established another record during the year under review in foreign trade, with exports increasing by 18 per cent as a result largely of a substantial increase in the production of coconut oil and increases in other primary products. The figures for the last half of 1960 seem somewhat less promising but perhaps that is due to the shifts during the year and we hope that the trend will continue up. The increase of almost 100 per cent in coffee production from 1960-1961 is specially encouraging. However, we have noted that with regard to the production of agricultural products, it appears that the indigenous people are responsible still for less than half of the total production in the case of, I believe, all major crops. This is surely a situation which the Administering Authority wishes to see changed with a greater proportion produced by the indigenous people and in this regard their intensive efforts to develop the Extension Service, which provides the answer to this problem, are to be commended.

We naturally regret that secondary industries have not expanded to any important extent although there has been some expansion and we fully understand the difficulties involved in undertakings of this kind. We welcome the formation of a new Department of Trade and Industry and also the reforms in the tax structure and hope that these steps will result in the encouragement of the establishment of new sound industries. I would like to emphasize the word "sound" in that connexion because we feel that there is sometimes the temptation to establish industries in a situation of this kind merely for the sake of having industries even though they may be economically unsound. It seems to us that it is most important that careful analysis be made of any such proposal so that the industries do not turn out to be more of an economic burden than a benefit.

A note of caution should perhaps be introduced with respect to the question of the problems of land and of the alienation of land. Considerable discussion of this problem was engaged in during the question period and we feel that special care should be exercised to avoid creating a serious problem for the future.

(Mr. Bingham, United States)

While the totals concerned are small in relation to the total unalienated land, still we are sure that the Administering Authority recognizes the potential dangers and will be cautious in its approach to this problem. As I suggested at one point during the discussion, it seems to my delegation that this is an area in which it is particularly important that the indigenous representatives on the various governmental bodies be consulted and brought into the discussions at all levels.

On one point of detail with regard to the tax structure, it was the feeling of my delegation that the apparent discrepancy with regard to the burden of the taxes applicable to the indigenous people and to non-indigenous people provided a question that could well be looked into and we are certain that the Administering Authority will do so.

In the field of social advancement, we welcome as real steps forward the coming into operation last year of a considerable body of labour legislation as well as the creation of a Department of Labour and feel that these actions as well as the beginning of associations among indigenous workers will help to promote satisfactory relations in the labour field.

The Administering Authority is surely to be commended for its many activities in the field of public health particularly for the construction of the new general hospital at Madang costing almost £1 million and the new hospitals under construction at Wewak and Lae.

(Mr. Bingham, United States)

With regard to the field of education, my delegation was struck by the enormity of the problem, and we are convinced that the Administering Authority is proceeding vigorously in the right direction, recognizing, as we are sure it does, that the small numbers involved, particularly at the intermediate level and the high school level, are still somewhat depressing.

We welcome the suggestion that a programme is under way for the establishment of scholarships, making it possible for indigenous personnel to attend universities and thereby to acquire the kind of education that will make it possible for them to make even greater contributions to the political, economic and social life of the country.

In the field of education it is clear that the shortage of teachers is one of the key problems, and we noted with interest Mr. Jubilee's statement in that regard. This is an area in which it would be impossible for the Administering Authority to devote an excess amount of effort. It is certainly one of the key problems in the Territory.

I should like to conclude by complimenting once again the Australian Government for the quality of the presentation that we have had in this Council, for the remarkable way in which the questions have been answered by the Special Representative; and I can only say that they have set a high standard for Administering Authorities to achieve in the future.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation wishes to begin its statement by welcoming and expressing its best wishes to Mr. Jubilee, who is the very first representative of the indigenous population of New Guinea ever to attend our meetings here in the United Nations. It is a new event and one which has very great significance. This alone is sufficient to show that times have indeed changed and we can see here in the United Nations an ever-increasing number of true and genuine representatives of former dependent countries and peoples who have now been liberated or are in the process of liberating themselves.

(Mr. Obarenko, USSR)

In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, at this session of the Trusteeship Council, all questions pertaining to Trust Territories, including New Guinea, must be considered in a different manner in the light of the historic decision of the General Assembly, that is, the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. This Declaration fully applies to all Trust Territories, without any exception whatsoever, and the Trusteeship Council is in duty bound to be guided by that Declaration of the General Assembly in all its work and to seek its immediate implementation in all Trust Territories, including New Guinea.

During the year that has just elapsed, scores of former colonies have become independent. All the shameful remnants of colonialism are disappearing. In the next few months all the Trust Territories remaining in Africa, along with Western Samoa, are to obtain independence. Thus, three Trust Territories remain: New Guinea, Nauru, and the Pacific Islands under United States administration, for which no time-limit for independence has been set. It goes without saying that those Territories in the Pacific area are by no means an exception, and they must also obtain independence without delay. The Trusteeship Council must take measures to ensure that the Administering Authorities fulfil their obligations under the Charter and the Declaration of the General Assembly.

At the same time, it is to be noted that in no document, in no statement, has the Administering Authority actually referred to the General Assembly Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It takes the position that the most important decision by the General Assembly does not apply to the Australian colonies and that the old policy could, in fact, be carried out, which does not even provide for the granting of independence to New Guinea.

The consideration of the actual situation in New Guinea and the practical action taken by the Australian Government in that Trust Territory show that the Administering Authority continues to carry out its old colonial line, which is in direct contradiction to the United Nations Charter and to the General Assembly Declaration. And here we must say, quite openly and quite frankly, that we are in no way in agreement with the assertions made by the two previous speakers, the representatives of New Zealand and the United States,

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

who, without any justification whatsoever, affirmed that the present policy carried out by the Australian Government concerning New Guinea was, in fact, in full accord with the Charter of the United Nations and with the General Assembly Declaration adopted on 14 December 1960. It is very significant that those representatives were not able to produce any convincing argument or proof to show that the Administering Authority is, by its deeds, fulfilling its obligations under the United Nations Charter and the General Assembly Declaration.

It is our intention in our statement to adduce facts and data which will clearly show that the present policy of the Administering Authority is not in accord but is in fact in direct conflict with the Declaration of the General Assembly and the United Nations Charter. It is essential first of all to emphasize the fact that the Administering Authority has taken no measure for the transfer of all powers -- I stress these words "all powers" -- to the people of New Guinea without any conditions or reservations, so that they may enjoy full independence and freedom. And this was indeed the most fundamental requirement of the General Assembly when it adopted its Declaration: that such measures should be taken without delay.

The full scope of power in the Territory of New Guinea continues to be in the hands of the Administering Power. In his introductory statement, the Special Representative gave considerable attention to the reorganization that was carried out last year of the Legislative Council for the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The Administering Authority is trying to depict the change brought about in the membership of the Legislative Council as though it were some kind of revolutionary measure contributing to the political progress of the Trust Territory.

But let us take a look at the substance of the changes that have taken place. First of all, it appears quite clearly that the anti-democratic and unrepresentative character of that body remains unchanged. Indeed, out of the thirty-seven seats on the Legislative Council, the indigenous population of Papua and New Guinea have only eleven seats. Thus, 1,800,000 people, the indigenous population of the Territory, are represented on that Council -- and indeed, not as a result of democratic elections -- by a mere eleven members, whilst a small handful of foreigners, amounting to some 20,000 people, have

(Mr. Oberenko, USSR)

twenty-six representatives on the Council, and they thus have a crushing majority. Is that democracy? Is it a fair and equitable representation of the indigenous population in the basic organ of the Territory?

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

Secondly, the Legislative Council, even with its present membership, with the entrenchment of officials of the Australian Administration, has no right to make decisions that are mandatory for the colonial administration. In fact, the Legislative Council has no rights or powers. It is fully dependent upon the colonial administration. This is openly stated by representatives on the Legislative Council. Thus, a former member of the Council who represented New Guinea, Mr. Dudley Jones, stated that the Legislative Council, even with its new composition, remained "to a very large extent a subsidiary body". He went on to indicate his reasons for such a view. He said that the Legislative Council with its new composition is to a very large extent a subsidiary body because the Australian Administration retains very broad powers under the Papua-New Guinea Act. Only the Administration has the right to submit bills for consideration by the Legislative Council. Furthermore, the promulgation of laws remains in the hands of the Governor. Finally, there is an overriding provision that any bill adopted by the Council must be approved by the Australian Administration before it can become law.

As regards the formation of the so-called Administrator's Council, even the representatives of the Administering Authority recognize that this is a purely consultative body and that the Administrator has no obligation to act in accordance with the advice of that body.

Thus we can see that the colonial regime in the Trust Territory remains in full force and that the indigenous population is in fact being deprived of the right to manage its own affairs. The colonial order which has been prevailing and still prevails in New Guinea is profitable only to Australian and other foreign companies which are exploiting the natural resources of the island with the use of cheap labour. What a wealth of gold, copra and timber have been exported from New Guinea during this period. What a wealth of resources have been pumped out of that territory by foreign monopolies. The fabulous profits made by foreign companies through the exploitation of the wealth of New Guinea can be judged by the following example. An Australian company, New Guinea Coffee Plantation Ltd., published a communiqué to the Press in which it stated that it had paid its shareholders dividends amounting to over 40 per cent -- I repeat: 40 per cent. Can the representatives of the Administering Authority give us the name of even one company operating in Australia that pays such dividends?

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

The indigenous population in New Guinea is living in conditions of astounding poverty. Indeed, the British journal "Round Table", stated that "The indigenous population of New Guinea is among the poorest in the world". Unmitigated misery, harassing labour conditions on foreign plantations, miserable pay, the most primitive type of economy, the absence of any kind of hope or prospect for the improvement of their life under present colonial conditions: that is the lot of the indigenous population of the Trust Territory. We read in the Press that prices for foodstuffs and consumer goods are rising constantly. It is interesting to note that even European employees, whose salaries are much higher than those of the highest-paid indigenous workers, are complaining about the rise in prices and about the constantly increasing cost of living. What, then, must we conclude about the conditions of the indigenous population?

Indeed, it is difficult to realise the extent of the misery of the indigenous worker. He gets only thirty to thirty-five shillings a month -- in other words, expressed in terms of United States currency, about fifteen cents a day. The Administering Authority has given quite wide publicity to a recent decision to raise the minimum wage of unskilled workers among the indigenous population in urban areas to three pounds sterling a week. At first glance it might seem that this is an increase in the wages of the indigenous workers. However, in fact we see that what is involved is a mere arithmetical trick. Up to now, the employer has been compelled to provide food, housing and clothes free of charge to his workers. Now, the employer will deduct from the three pounds sterling paid to the indigenous workers about twelve shillings for housing, nine shillings for transport, and at least one and one half pounds for clothing and food. Thus, the worker will keep only about nine shillings a week. Now, taxes must still be paid out of that, as well as alms to the church, which are compulsory, and other expenses. How will it be possible for the worker to maintain his family, feed and clothe his children and send them to school? It is quite obvious that three pounds a week is a miserable salary in these conditions. Even the officials of the Administering Authority consider that this sum should at least be doubled in order to meet a man's minimum requirements. For instance, a Regional Administrator, Mr. Marsh, feels that minimum wages of no less than six and one half pounds sterling per week should be established.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

The situation of the indigenous population is so bad that it has lost faith in the Australian administrators. It expects nothing from them. In fact, military units recruited on the spot are rebelling in order to obtain better pay.

What is being done to achieve ~~equal conditions for the indigenous and the non-indigenous population?~~ In fact, no measures have been taken. Indeed, the representatives of the Administering Authority are trying to produce some kind of theoretical basis justifying their present policy of racial ~~discrimination~~ as regards the labour conditions of the indigenous population. Thus, Mr. Dow of the Australian Department of Agriculture states that it is quite impossible to foresee in the near future a situation in which the indigenous people of the Trust Territory will receive wages that would more or less come close to Australian wages. Moreover, Mr. Dow states that even if the skill of the indigenous worker is the same as that of the European worker he should not get the same pay as the European.

Those are the facts concerning the lot of the indigenous population in New Guinea. They run counter to the assertions made by the Administering Authority that it is making every effort to improve the conditions of the indigenous people. Is it really possible to believe the statement of the Administering Authority that it is doing everything to secure better sanitary conditions and better hygiene for the local population when we read in a recent petition from the Communist Party of Australia, Sydney District Committee (T/PET. 8/L.6), dated 19 April 1961, that seven out of ten New Guinea children die before the age of five?

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

I believe that the representatives of New Zealand and the United States should ponder these facts before expressing their admiration and satisfaction in the face of the present situation and the policy that is being carried out by the Administering Authority in New Guinea. Is it possible to believe assertions to the effect that the Administering Authority is trying to secure education for the New Guinea population and this at a time when there is not one amongst them that has reached the level of higher education?

As to the number of people of the indigenous population who have a full secondary education, the Administering Authority can say nothing concrete to the Trusteeship Council. It would appear that the statistical data pertaining to this situation does reflect the true situation. It is impossible in fact to produce statistics in respect of things that do not exist. The representatives of the Administering Authority are quite keen on referring to the difficulties with which the Administering Authority is confronted in the Territory: that the population of New Guinea is still at the Stone Age, that there are no cadres, that there are no educated people, and that all this taken together is a brake and a serious obstacle towards independence and freedom for the Territory. Of course, we cannot accept this colonizer's theory. It is a false theory which is meant to justify the desire by the colonizers to perpetrate their domination. This view has been rejected and condemned by the General Assembly when it adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and nations and when it clearly stated:

"Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence." (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV))

The fact that after forty years of presence in New Guinea the Australian representatives continue to maintain that it is appropriate to describe the savagery and backwardness of the indigenous population, the fact that it is living still in conditions of the Stone Age, the very fact that over these long years the Administering Authority has not been able even to reach all parts of the Territory, without even saying that it has done nothing for its development, all this clearly bears out the complete bankruptcy of the colonizing policy of Australia in respect of New Guinea, and that it is unwilling to fulfil its obligation under the

(Mr. Oberenko, USSR)

United Nations Charter, under its agreement for the Trust Territory, and also under the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples of 14 December 1960.

The representatives of the Administering Authority tell us that there are no qualified and skilled cadres in the Territory; but at the same time the Administering Authority has done nothing in order to develop public education in the Territory. Is it really progress to say that the number of students have increased from 12,000 to 14,000 and this at a time when the entire population of New Guinea amounts to 1,300,000? Is it really progress to say that the number of teachers rose from 543 to 573, and this, according to the testimony of the Administration, when at least 15,000 teachers are required? Is it a testimony to successes gleaned by the Administering Authority that at present there are only two secondary schools in the Territory and that there is not one educational institution of higher learning, that the percentage of illiteracy among the indigenous population is particularly high and that there are in fact an enormous number of children in the Territory who have no access to elementary education? Is it progress that in 1959, secondary education in Australia would be received by twenty-five persons of the indigenous population in New Guinea, while in 1960 there were twenty-six; in other words, the number has increased by only one in one year.

Information pertaining to this highly unsatisfactory situation in education in New Guinea can also be found in the report submitted by UNESCO. In para.19, document T/1569 in the table on schooling in New Guinea some figures are quoted concerning the number of pupils in higher and primary schools. What can be seen from that table? In 1955-56, in all these schools, 6,838 had been in attendance, while in 1960, that is five years later, they amounted to 1,911 pupils. So five years ago there were 6,838 whilst today there are only 1,911. It would be interesting to know whether there was the data that produced so much admiration on the part of the representative of the United States when he spoke before me, and when he congratulated the Administering Authority on the success achieved in the field of education in the Trust Territory? It would be appropriate to find out how many centuries would be necessary for the Administering Authority to introduce over-all education for all people in the Territory if the present rate of development were to be maintained? These are in fact movements backward when we

(Mr. Ocheremko, USSR)

take into account the growth of the population and particularly the enormous requirements of the country in educated people.

We must say that as far as the education of Europeans living in the Trust Territory, the Administering Power is showing some concern. All European children have an opportunity of being educated. Inasmuch as it is impossible in the Trust Territory to obtain secondary or higher education, Europeans prefer to send their children to Australia. They are materially assisted for this by the Administration. Thus, in 1959 there were 379 European children being educated in Australia -- and I might say that there were only twenty-five from the indigenous population. In 1960 there were 401, whilst the figure for the indigenous population remained more or less unchanged. All these and other facts clearly show that the time has long since come for the Australian authorities to change their policy in order to bring it into accord with the Charter and with the Declaration of the General Assembly on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries.

We believe that we must say quite frankly and openly that the present policy carried out by Australia towards the Papua-New Guinea Territory is a typical example of the colonial policy and it is in direct contravention of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration passed by the General Assembly on 14 September 1960.

In the opinion of the Soviet delegation the Trusteeship Council is in duty bound to demand that the Administering Authority should reconsider and drastically change its policy towards the Trust Territory so that the granting of independence to the Territory should be carried out without delay. The Administering Authority should renounce its desire to annex the Territory of Papua and New Guinea to the metropolitan country. The Declaration of the General Assembly makes it quite clear that Papua-New Guinea and all other Trust and colonial Territories should aim at independence -- and that is the only goal. All Trust Territories have the right to exercise self-determination. They are entitled to independence. It is essential therefore that concrete measures should be worked out so that New Guinea, without delay, should obtain full independence and freedom. It is essential that concrete time limits

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should be set for the attainment by that Territory of its independence. It is essential that in order to ascertain the will of the population a referendum should be carried out in the Territory in order to determine the fate of the Territory. The Soviet delegation proposes that in 1961 or in early 1962 a special United Nations mission should be sent to the Territory in order to exercise control over this national referendum and in order to determine the concrete time limits for the attainment by New Guinea of its independence.

(Mr. Oberenko, USSR)

We should also like to indicate that, inasmuch as the Territory of New Guinea is being administered at present together with the Australian colony of Papua, the question concerning the granting of independence to New Guinea and Papua should be settled at the same time without any artificial division as between those two dependent Territories.

To conclude, I should like to draw the attention of the Council to two petitions that have been circulated this morning. The first is contained in document T/PET.3/16 and is from the Secretary of the Kilsyth Branch of the Communist Party, and the other is contained in document T/PET.8/17 and is from seven petitioners. These petitions concern the death sentences rendered by the Court in New Guinea against ten natives. They contain an appeal to the Trusteeship Council to take a decision that these sentences should not be executed and that the matter should be reconsidered. At the same time, the petitions contain information and justifications for an appeal.

The fact that these petitions have been submitted testifies to the keen concern displayed by this progressive organization of Australia in respect of the lot of the indigencus population of the Trust Territory. The Council should take steps to save the lives of those ten natives of New Guinea. We expect an official and unconditional statement by the representative of the Administering Authority here to the effect that the death sentences will not be carried out against these ten natives and that the whole affair will be reconsidered. I hope that I will hear such an assurance given to us in the concluding statement of the representative of the Administering Authority here in the Council.

U Aung THANT (Burma): At the outset, let me express the sincere appreciation of my delegation to the Administering Authority for the manner in which it has co-operated with members of this Council during the last few days. If it were not for the immense wealth of information and valuable data put at our disposal by the Administering Authority, it would have been much more difficult, if not entirely impossible, for us to make our observations and comments in the dispassionate and objective way in which we are attempting to make them now. If some of my delegation's observations sound far too critical of the Administering Authority, I can assure this Council that they are made not in a carping spirit

(U Aung Thant, Burma)

but with a full awareness of our responsibilities and an enthusiasm to discharge those responsibilities as a member of the Trusteeship Council. Our responsibilities -- and, for that matter, the responsibilities of the Administering Authority -- are, to say the least, very heavy, and they cover wide and varied fields of human endeavour.

Regarding political conditions in the Territory, my delegation has noted with satisfaction that a good many progressive changes have been made in the year under review. Under the new amendment to the Papua and New Guinea Act the Legislative Council has been expanded in its membership from twenty-nine to thirty-seven; there will be six elected and at least five appointed indigenous members; and at the same time the number of official members has been reduced from sixteen to fourteen. These progressive reforms in regard to the legislative organ of the Territory are a special source of gratification to my delegation, because the need for such measures was strongly emphasized by my delegation in its statement during the general debate at the twenty-sixth session of the Trusteeship Council. In fact, it will perhaps be recalled that the delay in introducing this report gave rise to some misgivings in the minds of many of us when we were examining conditions in the Trust Territory of New Guinea at about this time last year.

However, as I had occasion to indicate when I was putting my question in the political field to the Special Representative, a mere enlargement of the Legislative Council will not mean as much as it should unless it is based on a broad system of franchise. The fact that every person living in the Territory, except for indigenous people -- I underscore that: except for indigenous people -- is entitled to vote will not reflect very favourably on the newly reformed Legislative Council. The Trusteeship Council, at its twenty-sixth session, recommended that this restriction on the right of indigenous inhabitants to vote should be removed as soon as possible.

In this connexion, I should like to make it very clear that my delegation does not mean to advocate any hasty enforcement of universal adult suffrage or of this or that method of franchise or of voting or of election, regardless of particular circumstances obtaining in the Territory. But my delegation holds the view that, even if a person is not educated in the sense of having academic

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qualifications, that does not necessarily mean that he cannot exercise his right to vote intelligently and choose his representative. My delegation is confident that in New Guinea, as in any other country, there must be many people who are willing and able to exercise their right to vote intelligently.

Accordingly, my delegation hopes that the present session of the Trusteeship Council will reiterate its previous recommendation that the right to vote with respect to elections to the Legislative Council should be extended to indigenous inhabitants of the Territory.

My delegation would also like to express the hope that the Administering Authority will spare no effort to transform the present Legislative Council into a truly elective organ representing a majority of the inhabitants of New Guinea.

It may be appropriate to state that our confidence in the capacity of the people of New Guinea to exercise their vote intelligently has been justified by the fact that the Local Government Councils, elected by all indigenous people over the age of seventeen are contributing significantly to the development of the Territory.

My delegation is extremely pleased to note that nine more Native Local Government Councils have been created since the Trusteeship Council met last year. The second Conference of Native Local Government Councils was held in November 1960 and was concluded successfully after its discussion of thirty-six agenda items. At present, there are twenty-seven Local Government Councils representing a population of 20,187. My delegation would like to express the hope that the pace of development in this field will be maintained and indeed increased.

Regarding the Administrator's Council, my delegation is happy to note from the opening statement made by the Special Representative that the Administering Authority considers it as "the embryo of the cabinet of the future", far as it may be in its form and functions from a true and full-fledged cabinet at the present stage. My delegation is confident that this embryo cabinet will not take unduly long to grow and that the Trust Territory will in due course achieve its final goal of self-government or independence, as envisaged in Article 76 (b) of the Charter of the United Nations.

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At a time when the Territory is marching towards such a goal, a strong, stable and competent public service is of primary importance. The public service of the Territory is classified as the First, Second, Third and Auxiliary Divisions. According to the figures available as of 31 March, there were 4,430 persons in the First, Second and Third Divisions of the service, of whom only one was a New Guinean.

In this connexion my delegation has noted with great concern that the development in the field of public service leaves much to be desired, to say the least. My delegation would like to express the hope that the Administering Authority will do all it can to train and produce increasing numbers of indigenous people for positions of high responsibility in the Administration of the Territory. My delegation also hopes that the Administering Authority will have more encouraging steps and programmes, in this matter, to report to the next session of the Trusteeship Council.

I stated at the outset that the responsibilities of the members of this Council and those of the Administering Authority are heavy and that they cover a wide and varied field of human endeavours. It is also a commonplace that political advancement unaccompanied by economic welfare for the general public is merely illusory. My delegation is happy to note that the achievements of the Administering Authority in the economic field are of no mean measure.

My delegation is extremely gratified to note that a separate Department of Trade and Industry has been created to promote the development of secondary industries. The encouragement of secondary or light industries is a correct approach to the economic problems of New Guinea, one which the Council, in its wisdom, has recommended in the past.

The questions and answers that preceded the present debate and a study of export and import figures reveal an anomalous situation in which the Territory has to export a good quantity of raw materials only to have them come back to the Territory in the form of refined, processed and manufactured goods for daily consumption. If only some kinds of light industry can be established for production of consumer goods, it will mean a lot of savings, a lot more of opportunities for work and a lot more to be spent on general welfare services. My delegation is confident that the newly created Department of Trade and Industries will see to it that everything possible is done in this direction.

My delegation is satisfied to note that in the year under review the number of factories has increased from eighty-one to ninety, although, of course, we cannot be oblivious to the fact that few of them belong to the indigenous inhabitants. My delegation is also happy to note that a marked increase in the volume of production has been registered in respect of coffee, cocoa and copra.

You will recall that in his opening statement the Special Representative told this Council that the economic framework of the Territory rests, and is likely to rest for a long time to come, on primary production. My delegation fully agrees with the Administering Authority on this proposition, and our suggestion for the establishment of secondary industries does not imply in any way our rejection of that proposition. My delegation deeply appreciates the efforts of the Administering Authority in encouraging agricultural research and extension in order to diversify agriculture, bring in modern methods and introduce new crops.

But on the other hand, it will be precarious for the Territory's economy to continue to depend entirely on agriculture and agriculture alone, and a steady growth in industries is extremely important in order to bring about finally a balance between the two sectors of the economy. In this context, my delegation looks forward to hearing more details about the investigations that are said to be in progress with a view to drawing up a comprehensive plan for economic development.

As regards the field of public health and social services, my delegation would not wish to weary the Council by referring to all the achievements, which are well known to all of us. Nevertheless, regarding educational conditions, my delegation has noted with regret that over half of the population of school age are out of school because of the shortage of teachers, the lack of school buildings and other facilities. It is even more pathetic to learn that the children of New Guinea, whose enthusiasm for education the Administering Authority greatly admires, are denied the opportunity to get education through no fault of their own. My delegation would like to express its fervent hope that the Administering Authority will further intensify its efforts in the field of education.

The fact that there is not a single university graduate amongst the indigenous inhabitants after a decade and a half of the Trusteeship does not speak very well for the Administration's record in the field of education. My delegation cannot help stressing this point in the context of the present-day world, when we need not look far back into history to realize the very dark fate which awaits a country that does not possess a strong corps of competent and educated persons amongst its citizens. Indeed, the opening of a new teacher's college and of a new secondary school at Rabaul is a step we should all welcome.

As the Council is aware, in New Guinea conditions are difficult, the terrain is rugged and the problems are challenging. Such programmes as the Administration has, to bring the vast expanse of the entire Territory under full administrative control by 1963, are bold and courageous. Many of the problems in New Guinea will defy solution by any power short of Australia's dynamism and pioneering spirit. Taking full cognizance, as we always do, of these special circumstances, my delegation once again would like to express its general appreciation to the Administering Authority for the continued, steady advancement made in the Territory.

On the other hand, my delegation feels that the Administering Authority does not need to be reminded of the fast-changing phenomena in the world with respect to dependent peoples and countries. We are confident that the Administering Authority will not fail to read the signs of the times that are truly reflected in resolution 1413 (XIV) and resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly. We should also like to express our confidence that the Administering Authority will no longer leave its future course uncharted and that it will come out in due course with plans and programmes with successive, intermediate and final targets and dates.

In conclusion, once again I should like to thank the Special Representative for the courtesy and co-operation with which he has treated our questions and assisted the Council in its deliberations. I also wish to express my delegation's appreciation to the representative of UNESCO for the valuable observations contained in document T/1569; and it is my delegation's ardent hope that other specialized agencies will also give us the benefit of their observations in the future.

The PRESIDENT: Since the list of speakers for this morning is now exhausted, I declare the meeting of the Security Council adjourned until 3 p.m.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.