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President: Mr. Mason SEARS (United States of America).

Present:

The representatives of the following States members of the Trusteeship Council: Australia, Belgium, China, El Salvador, France, Haiti, India, New Zealand, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

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

Examination of the annual report of the Administering Authority on the administration of the Trust Territory of New Guinea for the year ended 30 June 1954 (T/1175, T/1187) (continued)

[Agenda item 4 (c)]

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

GENERAL DEBATE

1. Mr. BARGUES (France) said that in order to form an impartial judgment of the administration of the Trust Territory of New Guinea it was necessary to take into account the peculiar geographical, climatic and ethnic conditions of the Territory. A mountainous area, including many scattered islands, it had a heavy rainfall and luxuriant tropical vegetation. The thick forests with which it was covered, except where the land had been cleared for cultivation, were an obstacle to penetration, with the result that the population was backward and, in some remote areas, outside the control of the Administration. Such areas were decreasing in extent and number, but four members of a patrol had recently lost their lives in the Telefomin region. The Council would no doubt wish to pay a tribute to those men, who had fallen in the cause of civilization.

2. Elsewhere, the population was scattered and communications difficult, with the result that the Administering Authority's task was a difficult one. Contact with the population was intermittent and the inhabitants had shown very little interest in administrative problems or aptitude for the management of public affairs. The Administering Authority had therefore wisely decided

to proceed slowly with education, beginning with the family unit. In political matters, too, it had done well to set up representative bodies at the lowest levels to begin with. The members of those bodies were appointed and they performed purely advisory functions, but they were intended eventually to become elected bodies with deliberative powers. Such a development could not, however, be expected for some considerable time.

3. The Press was used as a means of political education and the Department of Education and the religious missions were making highly intelligent efforts in that direction, in spite of the many difficulties caused by the diversity of languages spoken in the Territory. The Administering Authority and the missions were also making the most praiseworthy efforts in the direction of school education, with the result that 39 per cent of the population was receiving some type of schooling, a high percentage considering that the population was backward and very scattered.

4. The Administering Authority had made commendable efforts in the field of health. The need for prevention rather than treatment, and the necessity of overcoming the reluctance of the people to adopt Western medicine and counteract the years of neglect under the Japanese occupation had led the authorities to concentrate upon village dispensaries and medical centres rather than large hospitals; with excellent results, as was shown by the considerable increase during the last year in the number of such centres, the number of medical auxiliaries and the number of patients treated. The Council should encourage the Administering Authority to pursue and develop its activities in that field.

5. The Administration was also making great efforts to improve the economic equipment of the Territory, in the face of considerable difficulties. Up to the present, the Territory had been able to provide only £2 million of its budget of £5 million, which represented a heavy drain on the Australian taxpayer. It was to be hoped, however, that the inhabitants would eventually contribute a larger percentage of their own budget, thanks to improved economic equipment, technical education of the agricultural population and the general development of the Territory's resources. The population now paid local taxes to the indigenous councils, and the advisability of imposing an additional capitation tax, to feed the Territory's budget, might be considered. The special representative had felt that such a measure was not immediately desirable, but he had agreed that a new source of income might well be found in indirect taxation, particularly on export commodities.

6. The French delegation would be glad to associate itself with the tribute that the Council would undoubtedly wish to pay to the efforts made by the Administering Authority and to the co-operation it had received from the special representative.

7. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) said that, although some progress had been made over the past year, there was still much to be done. The inhabitants of New Guinea still

had no nationality of their own but were merely Australian protected persons. The Council might invite the Administering Authority to consider legislation similar to that which had been enacted for the Cameroons and Togoland under French administration, under which the inhabitants would acquire a nationality of their own.

8. The status of the Territory as a whole was equally unsatisfactory. The administrative union with Papua went far beyond what was normally understood by such a term. New Guinea was in fact swallowed up in the administrative union and the two Territories made a single unit, with one Legislative Council and one Executive Council. Such a state of affairs went far beyond the economic purpose for which the administrative union had been framed, and the Administering Authority should be asked to abolish it, at least in its present form.

9. In the political field there was much that was unsatisfactory. The indigenous inhabitants were scarcely represented on the Legislative Council, which was mainly composed of officials and Europeans. Furthermore, the Legislative Council's functions were merely advisory and its members did not enjoy the immunity which would enable them properly to discharge their duties. The Executive Council had no indigenous members, while the village councils were still in a rather precarious position, their development having been very slow. There were no indigenous inhabitants in senior posts of the Public Service. If, indeed, none of them were capable of filling any of those posts, the Administering Authority should begin at once to train them. That, however, was a matter in which the Administration appeared so far to have shown little interest.

10. Prospects were somewhat brighter in the economic field, but most of the companies which were prospering in the Territory were foreign and there was little indigenous participation. Co-operatives played only a negligible role. The Administering Authority should encourage the formation of national capital, and if foreign companies were allowed to operate, they should be taxed. At present there was no direct taxation of any kind, and indirect taxes placed an unfair burden on the poorer sections of the population. He supported the French representative's remarks with regard to taxation.

11. As its economy was not separate from that of Papua, it was not possible to make an exact appraisal of the financial and monetary position of New Guinea. That was yet another aspect of the administrative union upon which the Trusteeship Council should make recommendations.

12. Under the existing land-tenure system the rights of the local inhabitants were not sufficiently protected. The Administering Authority should endeavour to simplify the system and should introduce regulations to safeguard the rights of the indigenous inhabitants.

13. In the social field, he noted that the Administering Authority had made no attempt to modernize marriage and family institutions in New Guinea. Moreover, it was regrettable that the restrictions on the movements of the local inhabitants had not been abolished. The special representative had stated that there was a trend towards greater flexibility, but the fact remained that the recommendation made by the Council at its fourteenth session (A/2680, p. 258) had not yet been fully complied with. He hoped that would have been achieved before the Council's next session.

14. With regard to labour, there were no trade unions and conditions of employment were not fully regulated, so that the worker was at the mercy of his employer. There was no special body to deal with disputes arising out of the application of labour contracts. Clear regulations should be made on all those points.

15. As far as public health was concerned, the fact that there were no indigenous doctors was a serious point which should be given consideration.

16. The Syrian delegation was disappointed to note from the annual report¹ the distinctions made with regard to the education of the different ethnic groups. Another disturbing aspect of the educational system was that it was more and more in the hands of the missions, which were receiving increasingly large subsidies, although according to the UNESCO report (T/1187) the total expenditure on education was decreasing. The same report stated that European and Asian pupils appeared to be well cared for at the primary school level. Similar facilities should be placed at the disposal of the indigenous pupils. Education was apparently compulsory in some districts, but the Council had not been told in which. The system of secondary education for indigenous pupils was incomplete and there was virtually no technical education for them. There were only a few scholarships for higher education, in spite of the Council's recommendation on that point at its previous session (A/2680, p. 263).

17. The Syrian delegation felt that compulsory primary education should be extended, and racial distinctions abolished, that the appropriation for education should be increased, that scholarships should be granted to indigenous pupils, and that the indigenous inhabitants should be prepared for university education, however limited.

18. Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom) said that progress in New Guinea could not be measured against that of other Trust Territories in view of the backward state of New Guinea and of its difficult terrain. The Administering Authority should be commended for the progress it had made in reducing the areas not yet under control from 8,500 square miles to 6,900 during the year under review. The special representative's statement that the Administration hoped to bring the remainder under control within less than two years was even more encouraging.

19. The system of village councils was being used to educate the indigenous inhabitants to conduct their own affairs. No new ones had been established during the year under review, but more villages were represented on the existing councils and two new councils were to be set up shortly. The success of the councils was reflected in their increased expenditure on public services, which had more than doubled between 1952 and 1953 and had probably tripled in 1954.

20. With regard to the general financial position of the Territory, it was gratifying to note that internal revenue had increased by about £400,000 over the past year and that the Administering Authority's grant had been increased to over £3 million. The substantial increase in exports, particularly of cash crops such as coffee and cocoa, and the extension of co-operative activity were satisfactory. The Administering Authority's

¹ Commonwealth of Australia, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea from 1st July, 1953, to 30th June, 1954*, Canberra, Government Printing Office.

agricultural policy, including its educational features, was to be commended.

21. The Administration had recognized the importance of roads in the Territory by nearly tripling its expenditure on new road construction in 1953-54 as compared with 1952-53. Because of the great physical obstacles to be overcome, road-building was arduous and costly. Nevertheless, great efforts would have to be made in that direction, for the Territory could not be developed satisfactorily until road communications had been improved.

22. The Administering Authority was to be commended for its careful regulation of employment conditions, which were such that employers had no difficulty in recruiting labour, and workers were willing to renew their contracts. He noted with interest that further labour legislation was under consideration. There had also been notable advances in the health and other social fields.

23. The Council should take note of the progress achieved and encourage the Administering Authority to continue its efforts.

24. Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, like other representatives, he had had some difficulty in studying the report on the Trust Territory of New Guinea, particularly in view of the Administering Authority's failure to answer a number of questions raised by previous decisions of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council concerning the criteria for the attainment by Trust Territories of self-government or independence, such as the establishment of legislative and executive organs and the institution of suffrage.

25. The fact that New Guinea had been under trusteeship for only a short time could not justify its lack of progress, since the Territory had for many years before that been under the administration of advanced countries, first as a colony and then as a mandated territory.

26. Regarding the political situation, he noted that the Territory had hardly made any progress at all since it had been placed under trusteeship. In fact the opposite could be said. Instead of enjoying a privileged status, New Guinea was being administered more and more in the manner of a colony, as a result of the so-called administrative union between it and Papua. Such a method of administration impeded the Territory's progress towards self-government or independence, was clearly contrary to the principles of the Trusteeship Agreement and bore out the misgivings that the Trusteeship Council had repeatedly voiced in the past about administrative unions.

27. In examining the question of administrative unions at its fourth session, the General Assembly had recommended, in resolution 326 (IV), that the Trusteeship Council should complete its investigation of the subject, paying particular attention to the desirability of establishing in each Trust Territory a separate legislative body with increasing powers and with headquarters within the Trust Territory, and of eliminating any type of legislative action originating in any other legislative body with headquarters in a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Notwithstanding that resolution, New Guinea had no legislative organ in its own Territory. Not only was the Legislative Council situated in Papua, rather than in New Guinea, and its membership not representative of the people, since two members only were elected by the inhabitants, the rest being appointed by the Ad-

ministrator, but its functions were anything but legislative. The Executive Council, which was likewise appointed, did not include a single indigenous inhabitant among its members. Neither the Executive Council nor the district and municipal advisory councils included any indigenous inhabitants, and they concerned themselves exclusively with the affairs of the European and Asian inhabitants.

28. The economic situation in the Territory was likewise affected by the so-called administrative union, under which it had a joint budget with Papua. The Territory's main source of revenue was import and export duties and a capitation tax on the indigenous population. No information was given on the profits of foreign or European local companies, although the number of those companies and their aggregate capital seemed to have grown considerably in recent years. The income of the companies was not taken into account and was not taxed. He recalled, in that connexion, that at its last session the Trusteeship Council had recommended (A/2427, p. 95) that the indigenous population should be given a greater share in the economic development of the Territory; and that, in its report (T/1078), the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1953, had noted that the development of the Territory had been mainly the work of Europeans and benefited them mainly. If, as the Administering Authority claimed, the Territory's budget was not balanced and had to be subsidized by the Australian Government, that deficit could easily be made up by taxing the considerable profits of the companies operating in the Territory, which so far seemed to have been paying no taxes at all. There would certainly be no justification for increasing the capitation tax. The Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it review the entire tax structure with a view to relieving the population's tax burden and shifting it to the local and foreign companies.

29. The land was the Territory's chief source of livelihood. Yet, by the Administering Authority's own admission, the amount of land held by the indigenous inhabitants was constantly shrinking. Increasing tracts of land were taken over by the Administration, which leased it to non-indigenous inhabitants or classified it as ownerless. Unalienated land was considered to belong to the indigenous inhabitants until proved otherwise, and, as the special representative had himself confirmed, the indigenous inhabitants had no guarantee that their land would not be alienated. The fact that land could only be alienated to the benefit of the Administration constituted no guarantee, for when in the past the Council had requested the Administering Authority to give favourable consideration to the pleas of the indigenous inhabitants to have their alienated land restored to them, the Administering Authority had completely disregarded the Council's request. Forest land, too, was being alienated and turned over to European and foreign local companies. The Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it stop alienating lands and forests from the indigenous inhabitants and that it return the land it had taken away from them in the past.

30. In the social field, the Territory's progress had likewise been slow. Various restrictions on the movement of the indigenous inhabitants remained in force. Although the special representative had maintained that the restrictions were favoured by the indigenous population itself, the fact remained that they had not been

discussed in the Legislative Council, let alone in any truly representative organ of the people, and that the continuation of the restrictions was contrary to the recommendation the Council had adopted at its fourteenth session (A/2680, p. 258).

31. Social insurance and social security provisions were inadequate; only a small proportion of workers who had suffered industrial accidents, or their beneficiaries, had been compensated. The system of paying workers partly in cash and partly in goods was likewise objectionable, particularly as the employer himself determined the value of the food and lodging that he gave the worker in lieu of pay and some of the workers lived in villages where they already had ample food supplies. The Trusteeship Council should urge the Administering Authority to abolish that system.

32. The wages in the Territory were low, and there were differences between the wages paid by the Administration and those paid by private employers. The Trusteeship Council should urge the Administering Authority to introduce minimum wages to be paid by the Administration and private employers alike.

33. There was a considerable difference between the medical care given to Europeans and that given to the indigenous inhabitants. All doctors were Europeans and the indigenous inhabitants served as medical assistants only, receiving limited medical training. Although public health appropriations had increased over the preceding year, they were still below the 1951 level.

34. Like medical care, education was subject to racial discrimination. There were different schools, with different curricula, for Asians, indigenous inhabitants and Europeans. The Administering Authority had argued that separate schools had to be maintained in view of the different cultural levels of the various groups, but if there were still any difference in their respective cultural levels it was obviously the fault of the Administering Authority, which perpetuated, rather than eliminated, those differences. Appropriations for educational purposes, though somewhat higher during the year under review, were still below the 1950 level and, as pointed out in the UNESCO report, were utterly inadequate for the Territory's acute needs. At the same time, the Administering Authority was spending considerable sums in helping European inhabitants to send their children to school in Australia. While not objecting to such a measure in itself, his delegation felt that it was unfair for the Administering Authority to give such assistance to Europeans—whose income was already higher than that of the indigenous inhabitants—without providing the indigenous inhabitants with similar educational facilities. There was a shortage of teachers in the indigenous schools, and what teachers there were had inadequate training. There were no higher educational institutions in the Territory. In all the time that the Territory had been under foreign administration, first as a mandated territory and then as a Trust Territory, not a single indigenous member of the local administration had received a higher education. If the reason for that was that the indigenous population had not yet reached the requisite level, it was clearly the Administering Authority's duty, under the Trusteeship Agreement, to appropriate the necessary funds, from its own as well as the Territory's budget, in order to provide proper facilities for primary, secondary and higher education.

35. In conclusion, he stressed that the administrative union between New Guinea and Papua was an obstacle

in the way of New Guinea's development. The Trusteeship Council should call upon the Administering Authority to establish separate legislative and administrative organs in the Trust Territory which would not in any way be subordinate to those of Papua, and to ensure the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of New Guinea in its executive, legislative and judicial organs.

36. Mr. JAIPAL (India) thanked the special representative for the able manner in which he had replied to his questions.

37. It was clear that the past year had been one of development and some achievement. The co-operative movement was being successfully extended and village councils were gradually being established. The number of indigenous employees in the Administration had increased and more hospitals, schools and roads had been built. Expenditure on social services had increased and exports of local products had risen.

38. To consider only those activities would be to gain the impression that all was well in New Guinea and that there had been steady economic and social improvement. He himself, however, had not received that general impression. After thirty-five years of administration by a modern, progressive and vital State, a substantial measure of achievement could be expected in the Territory. Nevertheless, there was no village council on the mainland and only one co-operative association there; it was obvious that the mainland had been neglected and that development had been confined to the outer islands.

39. In the economic sphere, he noted that indigenous participation in the economic activity of the Territory was very limited and that the people still lived in a subsistence economy not very far removed from that of some fifty years earlier. In the social and educational field, there had been little progress and it was regrettable that not one indigenous person had so far successfully completed his secondary education.

40. It might have been thought that the first concern of any Administering Authority would be to explore the Territory under its control; yet 7,000 square miles of New Guinea had not yet been explored, 4,600 square miles were still only partially administered, while 8,800 square miles were said to be under the influence of the Administration. In the newly explored areas the Administration had discovered large numbers of people who had so far been completely out of touch with modern civilization, and there was reason to believe that in the yet unexplored regions, even more would be found. That was an amazing state of affairs; indeed, every achievement of the Administration paled in significance beside the fact that there were 7,000 square miles of territory yet to be explored and possibly thousands of tribes to be discovered. The Council had been told that the Administration hoped to penetrate those unexplored areas and complete its discovery of the unknown within the coming two years. That might come about, but it was astonishing that the process of penetration should have been deferred for so long. He could not but conclude that until recent years the Administration had given more attention to the exploitation of more readily accessible natural resources, with the help of foreign private capital and local indigenous labour. All that had a familiar colonial character about it.

41. Turning to the political field, he noted that the Territory shared an Administrator and an Executive and Legislative Council with the neighbouring colony

of Papua. It was perhaps true, as the Administering Authority had stated, that the separate status and identity of the Trust Territory was being sedulously maintained, but he wondered how long the Territory could maintain its separate status and identity when it was bound to be influenced daily by the present pattern of the administrative union.

42. Although little progress in the political field had been achieved since the Trusteeship Agreement had been approved, the future was not devoid of hope, since there were visible signs of achievement on the part of the indigenous inhabitants. After referring to the fact that 95 per cent of the administrative staff was now recruited from outside the Territory, he noted that the Administration had set up an Auxiliary Division and a Public Service Institute solely for the benefit of the indigenous inhabitants, and hoped that particular attention would be paid to the selection of students for higher studies, as education must precede political progress.

43. It was regrettable that there were only two indigenous inhabitants on the Legislative Council, and none at all on the Executive Council. The two Councils represented mainly the non-indigenous people of the Territory and tended, therefore to serve their interests rather than those of the indigenous inhabitants. He questioned whether such councils were the best means of achieving the basic objectives of Article 76 of the Charter. In other Territories indigenous councils played that role. The whole point of the Trusteeship System was that, despite a colonial administrative machinery, its objectives should be achieved by means that were different and by policies whose implementation would inevitably result in a break with the colonial tradition. Yet in New Guinea one found the more enlightened minority of non-indigenous people legislating in effect for the whole Territory and shaping the course of its future. The Trusteeship Council's recommendation (A/2427, p. 87) that indigenous participation in the Legislative Council should be increased by the attaching of various indigenous observers to it had met with opposition, and the annual report mentioned that legal difficulties had been encountered. He felt, however, that such legal difficulties could be surmounted. He understood that the matter had been studied by a Select Committee, which had supported the recommendation, and he asked that the report of that body be submitted to the Trusteeship Council in 1956.

44. The special representative had stated that the contribution made by the indigenous members of the Legislative Council was negligible. That, however, was only natural in a body in which there was unequal representation, and it was conceivable that their contribution might perhaps be greater in a purely indigenous body.

45. He agreed with the special representative that any attempt to start the political education of the indigenous inhabitants at the top instead of at the bottom would be a failure, but he would point out that had the indigenous members in question received the education to which they were entitled, their contribution would have been greater. He suggested that the Administering Authority should consider the possibility of nominating additional indigenous inhabitants to the Legislative Council. In any case, he felt that the composition and future development of the present Legislative Council deserved serious consideration, for he could not imagine it evolving into a purely indigenous body without great difficulty and conflict.

46. The fact that there was practically no indigenous participation in the district councils was a serious defect which should be remedied without delay. The Administration's proposal to set up advisory councils for Native affairs seemed an excellent idea, and he hoped that from those councils would evolve the future, purely indigenous legislative council.

47. He noted that the system of direct administration through the village official, which had existed forty years previously when the Administering Authority had taken over the Territory from the Germans, was still in force, and that only now was the Administration beginning to recognize the groups of older indigenous inhabitants who advised the village official on all matters pertaining to village life and to establish such groups as village councils, with statutory authority.

48. It was strange that after more than thirty-five years of modern influence not a single indigenous community had reached the stage where it could advise the Administration in a responsible democratic manner. That could not be wholly due to the backward nature of the people. The report of Mr. McKenna, who had been Director of Education in Queensland in 1929-30, had shown that the indigenous children had at that time made splendid progress and had kept pace with their white school-mates. The poor development of the peoples since then was a sad reflection on the Department of District Services and Native Affairs.

49. He went on to stress the importance of granting legal recognition to indigenous courts. He noted, moreover, that no provision for appeal existed, which was a very serious matter. The Administration's reluctance to change the old order, undoubtedly out of deference to tradition and customs and perhaps also out of regard for article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement, was an example of the Administering Authority's policy.

50. The Administering Authority's desire that the indigenous inhabitants should decide for themselves how they wished to be governed was a refreshing change from the principle followed in certain parts of Africa; nevertheless it had all the defects associated with any decision in which the consent of a minor ward was involved. He, however, regarded the trusteeship principle as providing in actual practice active encouragement, guidance and education.

51. Turning to the Territory's economic resources, he noted that their exploitation had been confined to easily accessible areas where roads existed and that only in the case of the passion fruit industry was most of the production in the hands of indigenous workers. It was clear that the Territory's economic activity had not had the best effects on the indigenous population, either socially or economically. The people still lived in isolation within the framework of a subsistence economy. He questioned the Administering Authority's policy of relying almost entirely on non-indigenous private capital and enterprise for developing the Territory; the indigenous inhabitants' participation in the cocoa, coffee, copra, rice and other industries of an agricultural character should be expanded and not confined, as at present, to providing labour and growing passion fruit. The economy of the Territory should be based and developed on the customary pursuits of the people, which were mainly agricultural.

52. After briefly criticizing the land-tenure system, he emphasized that the land belonged to the indigenous inhabitants; they should not be confined to villages

delineated by a commission, while the rest of the land was parcelled out to non-indigenous people. Experience in other areas of the world had shown that under modern conditions peoples developed rapidly to the point where they needed more land for expansion. He was therefore concerned about the talk of non-indigenous settlement on the Highlands of New Guinea; although it had been said that the indigenous people did not care to live there, he felt it should be possible to persuade them to do so.

53. Referring to social matters, he regretted that racial discrimination existed in the hospitals and schools. Although the health of the indigenous inhabitants had improved and certain objectionable customs had been abolished, their social progress had been negligible. Their low level of education had shocked him.

54. On the whole, he found the state of affairs which existed in the Trust Territory disappointing, but his disappointment was somewhat relieved by the fact that the Administering Authority seemed to be determined to remedy the situation.

55. Mr. FORSYTH (Australia) said he had just listened to one of the most sweeping condemnations of an Administering Authority that had ever been heard in the Trusteeship Council. The Indian representative had gravely misrepresented the situation in the Trust Territory and the conduct and motives of the Administering Authority. That representative had never visited the Territory, was comparatively new to the Trusteeship Council, was apparently imperfectly acquainted with the voluminous material supplied to the Council for many years by the Australian Government and seemed to have listened to and questioned the special representative only in order to obtain evidence in support of preconceived criticisms. He would not reply in detail to the Indian representative's statement, which would be answered by the special representative, but he would refute immediately some of the remarks that had been made, in order that a false impression should not subsist in the minds of the members of the Council or of the public.

56. The Indian representative had laid great emphasis on the fact that New Guinea had been under Australian administration for thirty-five years and had said that after such a period significant developments might have been expected. The facts were, however, that New Guinea was the second largest island in the world, a tropical country with extremely difficult terrain, one of the most recently discovered countries in the world and populated by about the most primitive people in the world. It was true that the Australians had been in contact with those people for about one generation, but not with all of them; contact had been made progressively by a painful process of peaceful penetration. The number of indigenous inhabitants who had lost their lives in the course of Australian penetration of the Territory was infinitesimal. No country in the world had a prouder record than Australia of bringing the benefits of civilization to primitive people without harming them. The overriding rule followed by Australia in carrying out peaceful penetration was not to harm a hair of the head of an indigenous person except in the last resort of self-defence.

57. He would not attempt to deny that Australia had got something out of New Guinea, but it had ploughed it back again; it was unfair and inaccurate to talk of exploitation. In terms of mere money, New Guinea would owe Australia a great deal. Australia had poured

£28 million into that country without any other return than the satisfaction of raising the level of living of the people with whom it had so far come into contact. When New Guinea had first come under Australian mandate, the only settlements had been little trading settlements round the coast. That situation had remained virtually the same until comparatively recently, although the Administration had progressively pushed further and further inland. Australia had been in contact with the people on the coasts for some thirty-five years, with those further inland for a shorter period and had not been in contact at all with those in the central parts of the Territory. Indeed, only a few weeks previously some people had been discovered of whose existence the Administration had been unaware.

58. The Indian representative had completely ignored the scientific work being done in finding new kinds of plants to introduce into the Territory; the scientific examination of the Territory's economic potentialities; the work of agricultural extension; he had made light of the political development that had taken place, apparently not realizing the difficulty of teaching primitive people to understand the idea of committees or that of elections. That was being done with a good deal of success, and there would be more success in the future.

59. The Indian representative claimed that the Australian Administration had neglected to develop the Territory economically; he had hardly mentioned the work done in connexion with copra, gold-mining and timber. Criticisms of that kind were usually made by people who had never been to the Territory.

60. The Soviet Union representative had criticized the Administering Authority for using indigenous teachers in primary schools who had only three years' secondary education: that was typical of the kind of remark that was made merely for the sake of criticizing. The policy in question was designed to meet the most crying need of the Territory in the educational field. The Soviet Union representative professed an ardent desire to see the people become literate and educated. In New Guinea there was admittedly mass ignorance and mass illiteracy, although a number of people had been taught to read and write and some were on the way to higher secondary and university education. The first need was elementary education, and in that connexion there was a deadlock: there could be no elementary education without teachers; there could be no teachers without elementary education. The only way to solve that problem was to use some teachers who were not highly trained but were sufficiently trained to teach the basic elements. As elementary education became more widespread and more people completed secondary courses, the numbers of those who were literate would naturally expand more rapidly.

61. Turning again to the Indian representative's statement, he said that that representative's views were evidently not shared by the Indian High Commissioner in Australia who, the previous year, after visiting the Territory, had expressed the opinion that not enough was known in Australia about the remarkable achievements in New Guinea, that the country was thriving and the indigenous inhabitants obviously happy and well fed, that many of them owned cars and trucks, that there had been splendid progress in tea and coffee production and that, generally speaking, he had been amazed by the development taking place.

62. The special representative would reply in detail at the close of the debate to all the remarks that had been

made, and he himself reserved the right to speak again if it seemed necessary to do so.

63. Mr. JAIPAL (India) deplored the personal references and pointed out that his statement was based on facts. He reserved the right to reply at a later date to the Australian representative's remarks.

64. Mr. TARAZI (Syria), speaking on a point of order, drew the attention of the members of the Council to rules 53 and 54 of the rules of procedure.

65. Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he had refrained from invoking rule 53, although he felt that for the representative of an Administering Authority to reply to the comments of a few representatives before the end of the general debate was contrary to the usual procedure.

66. He pointed out that the Australian representative had confirmed his own observation that persons were considered qualified to teach in the Territory after only three years' secondary education.

67. The Australian representative had impugned the motives which had guided the Soviet Union delegation in making its statement. He reserved the right to comment on that subject after the Administering Authority's opinions had been expressed in the general debate.

68. Mr. BARGUES (France) felt that in quoting rules 53 and 54 of the rules of procedure members of the Council were implying a criticism of the President's conduct of the Council's proceedings. He paid a tribute to the manner in which the President filled his office and expressed the view that the Council should leave it to him to interpret the rules of procedure as he thought best.

The meeting was suspended at 4.30 p.m. and resumed at 4.50 p.m.

69. Mr. ROBBINS (United States of America) said that his delegation was appalled at the thought of the distance which must be travelled by the people of New Guinea before the objectives of self-government or independence could be reached. He paid a tribute to the courage and steadfastness with which the Australian Government was tackling the manifold problems of administration in the Territory. At the fourteenth session of the Trusteeship Council (542nd meeting) the United States delegation had referred to the progress that had been made since Australia had assumed jurisdiction in the Territory as a Mandatory Power. To appreciate the magnitude of the accomplishment it must be realised that when the Administering Authority had first assumed its responsibilities there, the people had been virtually living in the Stone Age.

70. The United States delegation recognized the great difficulties involved in the Administration's campaign of peaceful penetration into "restricted" portions of the Territory and expressed deep regret at the loss of life incurred in carrying out that activity.

71. He emphasized the importance of furthering the development of Native village councils as a basis for broader development of self-governing institutions and noted with appreciation the Administration's endeavours to promote the development of educated groups which might assist its efforts to prepare the people for self-government.

72. With respect to economic development, the United States delegation commended the Administration's programme for increasing the role of the indigenous inhabitants in the Territory's economic life, particularly

through the development and strengthening of the co-operative movement. It also noted with approval the extent of the experimental work being carried out in connexion with agriculture in the Territory. He emphasized the desirability of conducting a comprehensive survey of the resources of the Territory so that long-range economic development programmes might be established.

73. Education was undoubtedly the most important single factor in the development of the Territory at the present stage, and there was a great need for increasing educational facilities, particularly the training of additional teachers.

74. He wished to emphasize that the remarks he was about to make should not be interpreted as recommendations and in no wise implied criticism of the Administering Authority. They might, however, be of interest to the Council, to the next visiting mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific and to the Administering Authority.

75. When the Administering Authority had assumed jurisdiction over New Guinea there had been no local customs, institutions or community life on a territorial basis and no indigenous schools of any kind. Those had had to be, and still were, provided from European sources. In order to bring the Territory forward it was necessary to simplify the institutions which must be borrowed from the outside. For example, the laws for retail trade had been built up for Europeans and Asians and should perhaps be revised to fit the needs of the indigenous inhabitants.

76. In order to modernize and develop individual economic responsibility, some traditional kinship relationships would have to be broken down. An individual could be economically responsible when he was able to buy enough for his immediate needs and was not required to dissipate his earnings by supplying all his relatives.

77. A sense of belonging to the Territory of New Guinea would not develop until there was greater movement on the part of the indigenous inhabitants, and that would not happen until such facilities as hotels, restaurants and so forth had been established.

78. A simplified method for dealing with land titles should be introduced in order to relieve the indigenous inhabitants of complicated rules and practices and the Administering Authority of a waste of money and man-power.

79. Such examples of the need for simplifying the Territory's institutions could be multiplied many times; they illustrated the magnitude of the responsibility borne by the Administering Authority and the reason why the guidance of a very high type of Australian officer was required.

80. There were a number of movements in New Guinea which might or might not be associated with a "cargo cult". That again emphasized the need for highly qualified personnel who could discern whether a movement should be encouraged or not and could take the necessary steps to promote the development of *élite* leadership.

81. In his opening statement (619th meeting) the special representative had referred to changes in personnel policy which, he had stated, established the principle that if a Native could qualify on exactly the same footing as a European he should enter the Public Service on the same footing. In that connexion he would

add that it was unlikely that the indigenous inhabitants would match Europeans for some years to come.

82. That again raised the problem of raising educational levels. The United States delegation was much interested in the views of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1953 (T/1078, para. 153), which had been endorsed by the Trusteeship Council and UNESCO, to the effect that Melanesian Pidgin was not a suitable medium of instruction. Others maintained that the application of that policy might retard educational development in New Guinea for decades. He did not wish to suggest that the Council should reopen the question for the time being, but would merely refer to the controversy its conclusions had provoked and express the hope that the attention that had been directed towards the problem would assist the Administering Authority in taking the right decisions at the right time regarding the media of instruction. The newly formed Advisory Committee on Languages should be of assistance in that respect.

83. He would particularly mention the increasing amount of scholarly research being done regarding New Guinea and the Melanesian area in general by, among others, the Australian National University at Canberra and the Australian National Research Council. He hoped that the interest which had been stimulated in that field would find practical application in New Guinea.

84. In conclusion, he thanked the special representative for his co-operation with the Council in its consideration of the annual report on New Guinea.

85. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) said that he would not attempt to enumerate all the developments that had occurred during the period under review, since that part of the record spoke for itself. He would, however, mention the success achieved in increasing the area brought under Administration control or influence and express his confidence that the remaining restricted area would be brought under control within the two years estimated by the special representative.

86. He had been glad to note that the preparatory work that was being done would eventually lead to the formation of more village councils. He hoped that the reluctance of some areas to accept responsibility for local government, referred to by the special representative in his opening statement, was only an ephemeral phase and would soon vanish.

87. The Chinese delegation sympathized with the Administration's view that at the present stage the most effective way to extend an understanding of democratic procedure among the indigenous population was through the development of the village councils. It firmly believed, however, that as and when larger groups of people were trained politically, increasing attention should be paid to the development of a territorial consciousness and political responsibility at the higher level of the governmental structure. It felt, therefore, that the Administering Authority should not hesitate to commit itself to indigenous participation not only in the Executive Council but also in the Legislative Council. It had been disappointed by the Administering Authority's statement that there was still difficulty in carrying out the proposal of a Select Committee of the Legislative Council recommending the appointment of indigenous observers on the Council, and it urged the Administering Authority to adopt a more liberal policy in that respect.

88. At its fourteenth session the Council had expressed the hope that legal recognition would be given to indigenous tribunals as soon as possible (A/2680, p. 249). He urged the Administering Authority to give further consideration to that matter.

89. He was disappointed that no action had been taken with regard to corporal punishment. It was unnecessary to emphasize the importance attached by the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council to the necessity of abolishing that inhuman form of penalty.

90. He would not deal with the question of the administrative union of the Territory with Papua, first because the matter had been dealt with by a standing committee of the Council and, secondly, because the Chinese delegation's position had been made clear on previous occasions.

91. Signs of economic progress had not been lacking during the period under review. The increase in production, the expansion of co-operatives, the execution of the public works programme, the extension of the road system and the attention paid to fisheries were gratifying developments which held out bright promise for the future. At the same time much still remained to be done, as the Administering Authority fully realized.

92. His delegation felt that there was urgent need for the institution of a system of direct taxation. While the indigenous population was liable to a capitation tax, the non-indigenous inhabitants paid no direct taxes at all. Non-indigenous persons and corporations should be taxed on the incomes which they received from their businesses in the Territory. He urged the Administering Authority to give the matter further consideration and inform the Council of the result.

93. The Council awaited with interest the outcome of the study being made by the Administering Authority of the question of equal treatment in commercial matters in accordance with Article 76 d of the Charter, which had been the subject of a recommendation adopted by the Council at its fourteenth session (A/2680, p. 253).

94. The desirability of formulating a long-range programme for economic development had also been emphasized by the Council at its fourteenth session (A/2680, p. 253). He felt sure that the various surveys and investigations being undertaken by the Administering Authority in the Territory would contribute to the long-term programme which the Council had in mind.

95. Turning to the social field, he had been gratified to learn that steps were being taken to relax and gradually abolish the restrictions on the movement of indigenous persons. The latest information which the special representative had communicated to the Council (622nd meeting) testified to the close attention the Administration was paying to the matter.

96. He had been glad to note the developments that had taken place in the medical and health services, but would emphasize that urgent steps should be taken to train a larger number of medical personnel for the Territory. He would not reiterate his comments on the question of racial discrimination arising out of segregation in the hospitals and schools.

97. UNESCO had made a valuable study of educational conditions in the Territory during the year under review, which made further comment on the question superfluous. An increase in the budgetary allocation for education was perhaps called for in view of the shortage

of school facilities. The disparity between the development of Administration and mission schools had already been commented upon. There was great need for the establishment of a larger number of Administration schools to meet the demand of the increasing number of school-age children.

98. Teacher-training had been emphasized by the Administration and there again UNESCO had observed correctly that there had been an uneven development as between Administration and mission schools. An increasing number of teachers should be trained to meet the vast needs of the Territory. He welcomed the Administration's statement that it did not regard the programme of scholarships as a substitute for a system of secondary education within the Territory.

99. He thanked the special representative for the courtesy and patience he had shown during the examination of the report.

100. Mr. PERRY (New Zealand) said that the record placed before the Trusteeship Council by the special representative and by the Administering Authority in its annual report was one of broad development. Progress had been made in the political, economic, social, health and educational fields, and it was important that the Council should recognize the sum total of such progress.

101. In examining a Trust Territory's progress the Council tended to divorce political from economic considerations, economic from social, and so on. That was probably unfortunate, even if it was procedurally unavoidable, but in the case of New Guinea it might not have been too inappropriate in the past. Historical, ethnic, physical, linguistic and other barriers had fairly effectively impeded the planning and execution of a co-ordinated policy, and such barriers had certainly not all been removed. In his delegator's opinion, however, the significant fact which had emerged from the present examination of conditions in New Guinea was that the progress recorded by the Administering Authority had laid the groundwork for the future integrated development of the Territory and the advancement of its inhabitants.

102. While it was true that progress had been made in the extension of the influence and control of the Administration and in the establishment and maturity of the village councils, the political significance of plans carried out by the Administration in other fields should not be overlooked. A political structure could not be set up in the absence of a social and political consciousness. His delegation felt that during the past year the Administering Authority had created circumstances which would favour political development and accelerate its pace. The long-term influence of the policies now being put into effect under the Education Ordinance 1952 could not be other than potent. The influence of economic and social developments might be more immediate, and the indigenous population could not fail to gain a wider outlook from their direct association with an expanding and diversifying economy.

103. The various trade-training schemes, the new apprenticeship system and the Auxiliary Division of the Public Service might be expected before long to produce a group of people with social concepts markedly different from those prevailing today. The co-operatives which were developing rapidly and being encouraged by the Administration would also be important in moulding a new social pattern and an appreciation of new forms of

organization. Those developments would together form a powerful stimulus to the Administering Authority's policy of building the formal political structure from the bottom up, which the special representative had explained at the 620th meeting. The Council should recognize the importance of such developments and should acknowledge the sincerity and objectivity of the Administering Authority's policy. It should allow such developments time to exercise their influence and should not impede progress by attempting, in its recommendations, to elaborate a detailed structure in the political field.

104. Commending the Administration's continuing efforts to extend the area of its control and influence, he expressed the hope that the same importance would be attached to the transforming of areas of influence into areas of control as to the penetration of restricted areas. He joined with other members in expressing sympathy with the Administering Authority for the loss of life incurred in carrying out that work.

105. Turning to the question of the village councils, he felt that the particulars given in the annual report of the work undertaken and completed by such bodies reflected a growing maturity in the activities of those already established. He thought that the Administering Authority might usefully study the reasons why such councils existed only in the outer islands and might direct its attention to ways of overcoming the reluctance of the people in some areas to accept the responsibility of local government.

106. A most important development in the economic field during the past year had been the opening in January 1954 of the plywood factory at Bulolo. He noted the progress made in silviculture and the Administering Authority's expectation that the near future would see a much greater exploitation of the Territory's timber wealth, and hoped that every advantage would be taken of opportunities to develop that industry.

107. He had been impressed by the Administration's efforts to expand and diversify agricultural production, and he noted that soil and land-use surveys were being advanced and the production of both traditional and new crops increased.

108. With regard to co-operatives, it was noteworthy, both politically and economically that they were playing an increasingly important role in turning to advantage the services and the assistance that the Administration made available.

109. He suggested that the Administration might direct attention to the substantial rise in the cost of imported foodstuffs and make every effort to achieve the maximum degree of self-sufficiency in the supply of food. Transport facilities must naturally keep pace with the possibilities of exploiting the Territory's resources.

110. The Council could hardly fail to welcome the rapid and continuing expansion of public health facilities. He would stress, in particular, the encouraging information in the annual report on the use of new weapons in the campaign against yaws and malaria.

111. Referring to the new apprenticeship scheme, which was a development of first-rate importance, he hoped that the Administration would encourage the indigenous personnel to take advantage of the opportunities offered. An expanding economy called for skilled craftsmen and the indigenous society would

benefit from the acquisition by some of their number of the status, independence and mobility of tradesmen.

112. The year under review had marked the coming into force of the 1952 Education Ordinance and of the regulations for its implementation, which had created a sound basis for the Territory's educational system and constituted a very important feature of the pattern of future development. Important steps had also been taken under the Administration's short-term educational programme including teacher training, school construction, linguistic research and the granting of scholarships. His delegation hoped that in carrying out such plans the Administering Authority would take full account of the need for a balanced approach to the ultimate objective. The problem was so large and the immediate requirements so many that it would be easy to concentrate attention on practical needs, to the later detriment of standards and long-term policies.

113. His delegation suggested that the Administering Authority should study with great care the recommendation made by UNESCO in its observations on the annual report (T/1187) that the Education Department's supervisory staff should be increased. An adequate and steadily increasing supervisory staff would make it possible for the educational system to fulfil its role of fitting the people of the Trust Territory to assume an increasing part in the management of their own affairs.

114. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) said that his delegation appreciated the difficulty of the Administering Authority's task in opening up the restricted areas where the ruggedness of the terrain and the primitive stage of the indigenous inhabitants made penetration a difficult, dangerous and slow process. Nevertheless, he felt that the Administering Authority was not making as much effort as it might to overcome the resistance of the indigenous people to Western civilization. As a result, the European and the indigenous populations seemed to live in two entirely separate worlds; indeed, it was surprising to note that even the most advanced of the indigenous inhabitants who were in constant contact with Europeans made no attempt to settle in the towns but remained firmly attached to their primitive and traditional ways of life. The Administering Authority should pay particular attention to that situation, since it was well known that any society which refused all contact with the outside world was doomed to perish.

115. The political situation seemed to be closely connected with the social one. Naturally, political progress must start from the bottom, to wit, at the village level. The Administering Authority seemed to have been helped in its political education of the indigenous inhabitants by the presence in each village council of intelligent and energetic men who had been willing to take on responsibilities and to accept the Administration's advice. At the same time, it appeared that some other members of the village councils were less conscientious and were reluctant to use their authority for fear of losing their popularity — a common failing among leaders — while in the councils of the New Britain district there seemed to be an influential group which refused to participate in local government on the pretext that it preferred the affairs of the people to be handled by the Administration. In both cases, the answer was for the Administering Authority to seek to associate the energetic elements of the population with the local government and with the Administration.

It was not enough simply to set up certain posts and institutions for the indigenous inhabitants; their interest in them must be aroused. The slow progress in self-government seemed to be partly due to the fact that the Administering Authority thought it better to work from the village upwards rather than concentrate on the advancement of an educated *élite*, and considered that the results of that method were apt to be sounder and more lasting. It should bear in mind, however, that it did not possess unlimited time in which to educate the indigenous population in self-government.

116. In the economic field, while a number of new products, such as cocoa, coffee and groundnuts, had been added to the Territory's basic production of copra and coconut oil, the Territory's revenue was still inadequate and its budget at a deficit. Nevertheless, the geological and climatic conditions allowed for further agricultural development, and he hoped that the Administering Authority would actively encourage the indigenous population to bring more land under cultivation.

117. With regard to the exploitation of the forests, although he had taken note of the special representative's statement concerning the attitude of the indigenous inhabitants in the matter, his delegation would like to see them participate more directly in the industry and have a greater share in the enormous profits of the sawmills.

118. The social situation was unsatisfactory. The barter system was still in use and the vast majority of the indigenous workers were paid partly in money and partly in goods. While there was not enough information to show what was the level of living in the Territory, it would seem from the statement on page 72 of the report that it was barely at the subsistence level.

119. Where education was concerned, the UNESCO report drew attention to various problems, such as the lack of funds to meet the urgent educational needs, the fact that the number of pupils attending school remained stationary and that education was almost entirely left to missions, and the lack of information on the number of teachers and on the nature of teacher training.

120. In conclusion, he declared that the Administering Authority should make a more determined effort to break down the barriers between it and the indigenous inhabitants and to take a more human approach to their problems. Once the indigenous inhabitants felt that the Administering Authority was taking a greater interest in them, they would show themselves more receptive to the new ways of life offered to them.

121. Mr. SERRANO GARCIA (El Salvador) said that the Administering Authority was making commendable efforts to deal with the many problems arising in New Guinea. One of its greatest difficulties lay in the vast tracts of land which were still outside the control of the Administration. The Administration was making praiseworthy efforts to penetrate those areas but progress seemed slow in comparison with the means at its disposal. He hoped that the Administering Authority would complete the penetration and pacification of all areas as soon as possible.

122. The number of village councils should be increased, for they were suited to the rudimentary political structure of the country. The village councils of Baluan, New Britain and Rabaul provided most encouraging examples and showed that the indigenous inhabitants were anxious to manage their own affairs. The Administering Authority should encourage such aspirations by

organizing a political education campaign which would give the population a thorough understanding of the principles, duties and functions of those councils. The efforts already made by the Administration in that direction should be extended and it should strive to awaken a regional consciousness, which would be the basis of a future territorial consciousness.

123. He welcomed the action the Administering Authority had taken to develop the natural resources of the Territory. Since such development required a heavy capital investment, it would be well to establish a taxation system which would provide funds for that purpose. An increase in the royalty on gold, in conformity with the Council's recommendation at its tenth session (A/2150, p. 278), would provide a further source of revenue.

124. As long as corporal punishment and restrictions on the movement of the indigenous inhabitants existed, his delegation would continue to protest and to call for their abolition. He appreciated the Administering Authority's efforts in the economic and social fields, but he hoped that it would do more to make higher education available to the indigenous population and to increase the number of schools. The UNESCO report contained some interesting material which the Administering Authority would do well to ponder.

125. Mr. SCHEYVEN (Belgium) paid a tribute to the Administering Authority's efforts to bring new areas of New Guinea under its control, and to the members of the patrol who had lost their lives while penetrating an unpacified area.

126. The Administering Authority faced a difficult task in New Guinea and it was showing great wisdom in making haste slowly, ensuring a methodical and rational development, rather than doing away with traditional institutions.

127. The Belgian delegation felt that if a tax were levied on the indigenous inhabitants, their economic activity would be stimulated. It would bring home to them the need to work and the idea of a State above the family. Furthermore, it would provide a contribution to the Territory's budget, three-fifths of which was at present provided by the Administering Authority.

128. He appreciated the Administration's efforts to develop agriculture and co-operatives but he felt that it was not too early to start individual plantations. Offices should be set up to check the quality of export products, since it took many years to remove the bad impression produced on the market by bad quality products. The Administering Authority should also encourage the indigenous inhabitants to raise cattle.

129. The labour regulations were on the whole excellent but workers under contract should be encouraged to take their wives and families with them. Employers might even be required to employ a certain percentage of married workers.

130. Satisfactory progress had been achieved in the matter of health.

131. In the cultural field, it was understandable that Melanesian Pidgin had been adopted as a *lingua franca* but efforts should now be made to extend the use of English. If some official documents had to be published in Pidgin, an English version could appear simultaneously. The Administering Authority was to be congratulated on having given effect to the recommendation the Council had made at its fourteenth session concerning grants to mission schools (A/2680, p. 263), which provided schooling for 88,000 children.

132. In conclusion, he thanked the special representative for his courtesy in providing the information for which the Belgian delegation had asked.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.