



# TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

## Thirty-second Session

### OFFICIAL RECORDS

Friday, 4 June 1965,  
at 3.15 p.m.

NEW YORK

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*President: Mr. André NAUDY (France).*

#### *Present:*

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

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

#### AGENDA ITEM 9

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General (T/1637) (concluded)

1. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia) said that, although the Administering Authorities had themselves attested to the fact that education was one of the most vital needs in the Trust Territories, they had consistently refused to accept scholarship offers from Member States. Their assertion that they were in a position to provide all educational opportunities for the inhabitants of the Territories was an untenable excuse; no State was so self-sufficient that it did not stand to gain from educational experience acquired in other States. Although there were New Guineans and Nauruans study-

ing in Australia, their number was limited. The Africans, who had benefited from the assistance of many countries that had opened their universities to them, wanted the same opportunity for their brothers in the Trust Territories. His delegation welcomed the United States representative's statement that the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands were now permitted to accept scholarships granted under the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance; it hoped that the other Administering Authorities would free the people of their Territories from the apparent restrictions imposed on them with regard to study abroad.

2. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America) thanked the Liberian representative for his remarks concerning the United States but wished to offer some further explanation. The acceptance of scholarships under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance by inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was not something that had begun only recently; about three such scholarships had been used every year over a long period of time. There was, moreover, no refusal on the part of the Administering Authority to permit or even assist students to accept scholarships offered by Member States; students continued to be given an opportunity to see whether such scholarships were useful to them. Since English was the second language of the people of Micronesia, they usually preferred a scholarship which was offered in English.

3. Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), referring to the comments made by the Australian representative at the previous meeting, said that while his delegation would be interested in hearing any information showing that the Australian Government had changed its attitude on granting opportunities to inhabitants of the Trust Territories to obtain education under the United Nations scholarship programme, the experience of many years of work in the Trusteeship Council had given reason for pessimism in that regard. The decision whether or not to accept scholarships under the United Nations programme should rest primarily with the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and not with the Australian Government.

4. With regard to the statement of the representative of Australia that his country had had no experience in any capacity, including that of Administering Authority, of controlling the minds of people, Mr. Fotin ascribed that statement to nothing but the modesty of the representative of Australia.

5. The United States representative had stated that his Government supported the United Nations scholarship programme, but there was a difference between that Government's words and its deeds. At the Council's thirty-first session (1241st meeting), the United States delegation—and that delegation alone—had voted against the amendment which the Soviet Union dele-

gation had proposed to the draft recommendations of the Council concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and which referred to the need for granting scholarships and fellowships under the United Nations programme to the inhabitants of the Trust Territory (T/L.1083, para. 13).

6. Special programmes were available at United States universities for United States students to travel to Europe, Asia and Africa for educational purposes; what was good for United States students should not be taboo for the inhabitants of the Trust Territory.

7. The PRESIDENT suggested that the Council should take note of the Secretary-General's report (T/1637) and draw the attention of the Administering Authorities to the comments made by the members of the Council.

*It was so decided.*

### AGENDA ITEM 10

Dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General (T/1634)

8. Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that an examination of the Secretary-General's report (T/1634) and of the material submitted by the Administering Authorities to the Trusteeship Council at its thirty-second session made it clear that the dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories was lagging behind the demands of time and of the new conditions, in the United Nations and outside it, arising after the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration had not yet become, for the Administering Authorities, the guiding document to be followed in finding ways and means of bringing the people of the Trust Territories to self-determination and independence. If decisive measures to that end were not adopted, the colonial Powers, for their part, were not likely to take any speedy action.

9. The Administering Authorities and the appropriate United Nations organs should regard the Declaration on the Granting of Independence as the basic document in the dissemination of information concerning the United Nations, first, because the activities related to and deriving from the Declaration had become the centre of the Organization's work in the area of colonial questions, and, secondly, because in the two most recent decisions of the United Nations General Assembly relating to the dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories, a special place had been allotted to the question of the dissemination of information on the Declaration and the explanation of its principles. In operative paragraph 7 of its resolution 1607 (XV), the General Assembly had requested the Secretary-General to ensure the immediate and mass publication and the widest possible circulation and dissemination, in all the Trust Territories through all media of mass communication, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and operative paragraph 8 of the same resolution requested that the information referred to in the resolution should be disseminated

in the principal local languages as well as in the language of the Administering Authority. In resolution 1644 (XVI), the General Assembly had again given first place to the dissemination in the Trust Territories of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

10. Unfortunately, the spirit of the General Assembly's resolutions had not been translated into practical activity in the Trust Territories themselves. The Secretary-General's report mentioned, in paragraph 3, that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was one of the United Nations publications disseminated in the Trust Territories; an analysis showed, however, that the activity in that field was still far from meeting the requirements set down in the decisions of the General Assembly. The impression created was that everything was being done, as in the past, to hush up the Declaration and the resolutions and recommendations of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration, principally those relating to Trust Territories, which the Special Committee had considered at its 1964 meetings. It was no accident that the United States representative and the special representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had made no mention of those matters in their introductory statements and, when they had been forced to refer to them, had done so with reluctance.

11. It was stated in the Secretary-General's report (T/1634) that certain material was being sent for publication to the Micronesian Reporter, which was published by the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. An examination of the magazine, however, especially of the numbers covering the period from July to November 1964, revealed that it contained not a single word concerning the practical activities of the United Nations and that there was not a word about the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples or the activities of the Special Committee, although that Committee had considered the situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in late October and early November 1964.

12. According to paragraph 25 of the Secretary-General's report, the message of the President of the Trusteeship Council on the occasion of United Nations Day had been transmitted to the inhabitants of the Trust Territories. The Trusteeship Council should be interested, however, not only in the fact that the message had been read out but in its content. The fact was that that message contained everything, from descriptions of so-called achievements in the development of the Territories to praise of the Trusteeship System, but not a word concerning the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a document which his delegation and many others regarded as the highest achievement of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

13. He was unable to make a more detailed analysis of the Secretary-General's report because, in spite of repeated reminders, no steps had yet been taken to furnish the members of the Trusteeship Council with copies of at least the basic documents enumerated in the Secretary-General's reports on the subject.

14. It must also be pointed out that the material sent by the United Nations Secretariat to the Trust Territories did not always reach the people of the Territories. For example, the Mariana Islands District Legislature had adopted resolution No. 40-1964 (T/1620, annex I), which had been submitted to the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1964, requesting the Trusteeship Council to take steps to accelerate the dissemination of information on the United Nations throughout the Territory. It was unfortunate that the Council had failed to support a motion of his delegation in support of that resolution at its thirty-first session.

15. In his delegation's view, the dissemination of information concerning United Nations activities among the inhabitants of the Trust Territories was very important and could counterbalance the efforts of the colonial Powers to prevent the people of the Territories from becoming fully aware of their right to self-determination and independence, human dignity and social progress. It was essential to put an end to irregularities in the dissemination of that information, particularly with regard to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence. The Council should, in particular, require the United Nations Information Centre in New Guinea to make the dissemination of information on General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the explanation of its principles the corner-stone of all its activity. Moreover, the Secretary-General should be informed of the wishes of the Council, or even of those of individual members of the Council, in order that he might take the necessary steps; the Council should require the Administering Authorities to comply with all the United Nations decisions referred to by his delegation in its present statement.

16. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America) assured the Council that the United States had made considerable efforts to ensure the dissemination of information on the United Nations and the Trusteeship System. It intended to continue those efforts and would constantly endeavour to improve them, and it was of course willing to discuss with the Secretary-General any steps whereby more information might be made available in the Trust Territory.

17. The report before the Council (T/1634) described the efforts of the High Commissioner to distribute material about the United Nations throughout the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In addition, the report of the 1964 Visiting Mission (T/1620) had been distributed to all the members of the Council of Micronesia and to the officers of the district congresses.

18. With regard to resolution No. 40-1964 of the Mariana Islands District Legislature, the members of that Legislature had been informed that the information they sought was available in the schools, the municipal offices and the other Administration offices.

19. As the USSR representative had laid such stress on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, he would repeat what he had already told the Council a number of times: namely, that with the assistance of the United Nations Office of Public Information, the Declaration had been translated into seven major and two secondary local languages and some 15,000 copies had been distributed

throughout the Territory, together with another 15,000 copies in English. As there were fewer than 90,000 people in the Territory, that worked out at one copy for every three people—a record perhaps unparalleled elsewhere in the world.

20. In paragraph 65 of its report (T/1620) the Visiting Mission spoke well of the Administration's dissemination of general information on the United Nations but suggested that it might have done more in distributing documents concerning the deliberations of the Trusteeship Council. The Administering Authority accepted that criticism and would endeavour to rectify the matter.

21. He would submit to the Council that the Administering Authority had made an outstanding effort in respect of the dissemination of information on the United Nations, particularly in respect of resolution 1514 (XV). It would constantly strive to provide even more information to the people of the Territory through all media.

22. Mr. McCARTHY (Australia) considered that the USSR representative's comments were at variance with the information provided in document T/1634, which specifically included the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples among the publications widely distributed in the Territories during the year under review. As far as the Trust Territory of New Guinea was concerned, that statement was made on the basis of information available from the United Nations Information Centre, which had been established at Port Moresby by the United Nations at the Council's request and thanks to the generosity and active co-operation of the Australian Government and the Administration of Papua and New Guinea.

23. The USSR representative had suggested that the Administering Authority was trying to pass over in silence the activities of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Australia was a member of that Committee and its proceedings were widely reported by the Press and radio both in Australia and in the Trust Territory.

24. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia) said that he would like to put a question on the item under discussion to the special representative of the Administering Authority for the Pacific Islands.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Goding, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, took a place at the Council table.*

25. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia), referring to paragraph 65 of the report of the 1964 Visiting Mission (T/1620), asked whether the supervisor of library services for the Territory had been entrusted with the responsibility recommended by the Visiting Mission.

26. Mr. GODING (Special Representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands) said that a central librarian had been designated and had been given that responsibility.

27. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia) said that his delegation found the dissemination of information in the Trust Territory of New Guinea highly unsatisfactory and it urged the members of the Council to pay particular attention to the relevant section of the 1965 Visiting Mission's report when it became available. It should be the responsibility of the official assigned by the United Nations to the Trust Territory of New Guinea to ensure the dissemination of adequate information in the Territory so that the people might know what was their responsibility to the United Nations and what was the United Nations responsibility to them.

28. Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), referring to the observations of the United States representative, said that, while mention of the United Nations was to be found in the Administering Authority's publications in the Trust Territory, they provided no substantive information on the practical activities of the Organization. The United States was not the only party in the relationship with the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, inasmuch as the latter were under United Nations trusteeship.

29. He regretted that the United States representative had broken off his quotation from paragraph 65 of the report of the 1964 Visiting Mission before reaching the point where the Mission made certain criticisms and proposals. Those proposals should be carefully studied and put into effect by the Administering Authority.

30. With regard to the statement made by the Australian representative, he merely wished to express the hope that the Administering Authority's generosity in regard to the United Nations Information Centre would not be harmful to the Centre and that the latter's activities would not be made dependent upon that generosity.

31. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand) noted that the USSR representative had criticized him for not referring to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in the message which he had issued on the 1964 United Nations Day in his capacity as President of the Trusteeship Council. If he had chosen to refer to any specific documents, he would have mentioned not only resolution 1514 (XV) but also Chapter XII of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV). He had decided not to do so because references to Chapters of the Charter or to the numbers of General Assembly resolutions were meaningless to most people outside the United Nations. His message had nevertheless been in keeping with the spirit of Chapter XII and of resolution 1514 (XV), since it had referred to the Micronesian people's right of self-determination and to their ultimate attainment of independence.

32. He would add that during its visit to Micronesia the 1964 Visiting Mission had read out extensive passages, and sometimes the entire text, of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) at public meetings without provoking any sign of displeasure from the United States officials who had been present. It should also be noted that it was extremely difficult to translate into the Polynesian languages the abstract concepts contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

33. He had observed, incidentally, that the USSR representative tended to ignore resolution 1541 (XV)

which had been adopted at the same session of the General Assembly as resolution 1514 (XV) and carried equal authority. The USSR representatives were very selective in the resolutions which they cited. Whereas in some United Nations organs great emphasis was placed on the words of the Charter, and the words alone, in other organs certain resolutions were quoted as taking precedence over the Charter.

34. Mr. McCARTHY (Australia) thanked the Liberian representative for refraining from entering into details about the matter he had just raised until the question of New Guinea came before the Council. His delegation would be happy to discuss the matter in detail at that time and to hear the Liberian representative's further views on how the situation could be improved.

35. He wished to assure the USSR representative that the Administering Authority's assistance to the United Nations Information Centre at Port Moresby had been given without conditions of any kind. Had that assistance not been provided, the Administering Authority would unquestionably have been accused of hindering the work of the Centre.

36. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America), replying to the USSR representative, said that it was not true that he had ignored the second part of paragraph 65 of the report of the 1964 Visiting Mission. Although he had not read out that part of the paragraph, he had noted that it criticized the Administering Authority for failing in certain respects to disseminate information widely enough and he had promised that an effort would be made to correct that situation.

37. Mr. GODING (Special Representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands) said that, although the particular issues of the Micronesian Reporter referred to by the USSR representative might not have contained as much information about the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council as could have been wished, it was the practice to give very complete coverage to the Council's deliberations in that magazine. Indeed, the present session of the Council would be fully covered in the next issue, which would be ready in time for the opening of the Congress of Micronesia.

38. Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), replying to the observations of the New Zealand representative, said that the USSR delegation, unlike some others, thought it proper to refer to those resolutions which related to the matter in hand. General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) was concerned exclusively with Non-Self-Governing Territories, not with Trust Territories. His delegation would continue to refer frequently to resolution 1514 (XV), which stated in operative paragraph 5 that immediate steps should be taken to grant independence to Trust Territories, and which was thus directly related to Trust Territories. It was not astonishing that the representatives of the Administering Authorities in the Council were so reluctant to refer to that resolution.

39. He did not agree with the New Zealand representative that no reference should be made to numbers, names or documents which were familiar to representatives at the United Nations; that practice might cause the Council to stray far from the principles which should govern its work. The United States thought it unnecessary to include the word "independence" in

the Trust Territory's constitution, while the New Zealand representative did not feel that a message addressed to the Territory's inhabitants should mention the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

40. The New Zealand representative had also stated that the USSR delegation failed to observe the principles of the Charter in other United Nations organs. His delegation was prepared to discuss any questions in the organs concerned or in any other appropriate place but felt that it was improper to inject such comments, in passing, into the Council's discussions.

41. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand) said that the difference between the USSR delegation and his own was the difference between people who had a theoretical interest in decolonization and those who had a more practical concern with the problem.

42. The PRESIDENT suggested that, if there were no further comments on the present item, the Council should take note of the Secretary-General's report (T/1634) and that the observations made during the debate should be drawn to the attention of the Administering Authorities.

*It was so decided.*

*Mr. Goding, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, withdrew.*

## AGENDA ITEM 2

### Report of the Secretary-General on credentials (T/1640) (concluded)\*

43. Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) observed that, under the heading "China", the Secretary-General's report (T/1640) listed certain persons who had no right to represent China and were usurping that right in the Trusteeship Council and other United Nations organs. His delegation did not recognize the credentials of those persons and wished to stress that China could be lawfully represented only by persons appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

44. His delegation had no other remarks to make on the report, and if it was put to the vote, his delegation would vote for its approval subject to that reservation.

45. Mr. Chiping H. C. KIANG (China) said that the Government which his delegation represented was the freely and legitimately constituted Government of China and the only one which could rightfully speak for the Chinese people in world affairs. He found it ironic that the USSR delegation should defend the cause of the Chinese Communists, who were continuing to insult the leaders of the Soviet Union in the most extreme fashion.

46. Mr. GASCHIGNARD (France) said that, in the view of the French Government, the Government of the People's Republic of China was the only one entitled to represent China in the Council.

47. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America) said that, since the position of Governments on the question

of Chinese representation had been frequently set forth in the political organs of the United Nations, the USSR delegation's restatement of its position served no purpose other than to interrupt the Council's proceedings. His Government wished to emphasize that the Government of the Republic of China and only that Government was entitled to representation in the Council and other United Nations bodies. This position accorded with that taken by the General Assembly on 21 October 1963 (1248th plenary meeting) when, by a vote of 57 to 41, with 12 abstentions, it rejected a draft resolution (A/L.427 and Add.1) calling for the replacement of the representatives of the Republic of China with Chinese Communists in all organs of the United Nations.

48. Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) observed that the United States delegation seemed to feel that, while it was entitled to make any statements it chose on any item, other delegations had to obtain permission from the United States before they could, as the United States representative had put it, "interrupt the proceedings". His delegation had views on all the agenda items and was fully entitled to make a statement on the present item without asking the United States for permission to do so. He expressed the hope that that was the last time that the United States delegation would try to dictate to other delegations what they should or should not do.

49. He also wished to state that, despite the efforts of certain Powers to transform it into a non-political organ, the Trusteeship Council was a political organ and would remain one until the three Trust Territories achieved the goals of trusteeship as proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

50. The PRESIDENT said that, if there were no further comments, he would suggest that the Council should take note of the Secretary-General's report and of the observations made by members.

*It was so decided.*

## AGENDA ITEMS 4 AND 5

Examination of annual reports of the Administering Authorities on the administration of Trust Territories for the year ended 30 June 1964:

(a) Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (T/1633, T/1638, T/L.1089) (continued)

Examination of petitions listed in the annex to the agenda (T/PET.10/L.8, T/PET.10/L.9 and Corr.1) (continued)

## GENERAL DEBATE

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Goding, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, took a place at the Council table.*

51. Mr. HOPE (United Kingdom) said that in a Territory like the one under consideration, which consisted of over 2,000 scattered islands, was not very favourably endowed with natural resources and was situated far from the main world centres of trade, the achievements or shortcomings of the Administering Authority and of

\*Resumed from the 1245th meeting.

the peoples themselves must be measured against the natural difficulties and the obstacles to be overcome.

52. In the Council and in the Trust Territory itself, particular emphasis was placed on political developments, especially those concerning the central legislature and pointing the way to self-government. As the 1964 Visiting Mission had pointed out in paragraph 195 of its report (T/1620), accelerated political development was not merely necessary for its own sake; it was in fact the key to all other development. Progress in the creation of political institutions was not enough; it was necessary at the same time to develop a sound economy and to provide educational and health facilities for the people of the Territory.

53. It was perhaps in the educational field that the greatest responsibility devolved upon the Administering Authority. The information that the special representative had given the Council in that respect seemed to indicate a very healthy situation: education was free and compulsory and the lowering of the compulsory age of six years, as recommended by the Trusteeship Council at its previous session (S/5783, para. 133) was under consideration. It was also noteworthy that the number of American teachers in elementary schools had more than doubled during the past year and that there had been a substantial increase in the number of teachers in high schools and in the number of schools in the Territory and the number of children attending them. It was satisfactory to note that the number of students enjoying higher education outside the Territory had risen from 161 to 196 in the year under review. The Administration and the Congress of Micronesia would doubtless give due attention to the question of establishing institutions of higher education in the Territory itself. The appointment of an adult education supervisor and the plan to appoint adult education officers in all districts showed that full attention was being paid to that aspect of education. He was convinced that considerable progress had been made in the field of education and that the Council's recommendations were being implemented.

54. In its last report to the Security Council (S/5783), the Trusteeship Council had noted with satisfaction the energy and skill with which the Administration's programme for the improvement of public health was being carried out. The 1964 Visiting Mission had pointed out in its report (T/1620) that the improvement of public health had a priority second only to education in the Administration's plans and it had commended the Administration for its achievements in that field. A total of over \$1.5 million had been spent on public health and the particularly encouraging progress in the programmes for immunization and for the training of Micronesian doctors and ancillary medical staff suggested that the Council could continue to be satisfied with that aspect of the Administration's efforts in the Territory, although it would remain concerned about the continued incidence of tuberculosis and the epidemics of measles.

55. With regard to economic development, his delegation was glad to note that, following the Council's recommendation at its thirty-first session (S/5783, para. 75), the Administering Authority had commissioned a consulting firm to prepare and execute a

long-term programme, about which he hoped the Council would be given further information. Machinery should be set up for continuous examination of the firm's plans before they were executed and, in accordance with the Council's recommendation, the representatives of the people of Micronesia should participate in the planning.

56. He welcomed the encouragement given to the cultivation of cash crops other than the coconut, as also to cattle and poultry breeding and fisheries. The Administration had played a notable part in the growth and expansion of credit unions, loan funds and co-operatives. He could only endorse the 1964 Visiting Mission's view that the Economic Development Loan Fund, which now stood at \$668,000 was one of the most promising avenues to the economic development of Micronesia. He hoped that the Administration would continue to encourage Micronesian participation in economic development by means of loans and co-operative enterprises wherever feasible. From the information available his delegation had gained the impression that the Administration was implementing the 1964 Visiting Mission's recommendations and suggestions.

57. With regard to communications, he welcomed the special representative's statement that the tonnage of cargo vessels had increased and that freight carried in ships to and within the Territory had doubled in the last two years. The growth in freight reflected not only greater exports of cash crops but also increased imports of building materials and consumer goods, which in turn seemed to indicate higher levels of living. He was glad to hear that the number of air passengers travelling through the Territory had doubled in three years; it would be interesting to know what proportion of those travellers had been Micronesians on business or duty connected with the economic or political advancement of Micronesia. Regular air services between the principal islands would obviously play an important role in accelerating the national unity and political advancement of the inhabitants. With regard to roads, it seemed that a greater effort could and should be made. Even in the difficult conditions of those small mountainous islands, ninety-six miles of road in three years seemed a somewhat meagre achievement. Nevertheless, it was encouraging to hear that steps were being taken to establish a designated road system, with primary roads the responsibility of the central Administration and secondary and municipal roads the responsibility of districts and municipalities respectively.

58. The Administering Authority and the Micronesian people were advancing towards their goals at about the right pace—not so slowly that the people were frustrated or retarded in their progress, and not so fast that they risked being launched unprepared into a world of competition and conflict. The United States representative had stated that the Micronesians themselves, in their own good time, would decide how and when they would proceed to the next stage of their political development. It was his delegation's understanding that the Congress of Micronesia had been established in order to enable the people of Micronesia to make their voice heard not only on matters now requiring legislation but also on the future form and status of the



Territory and on the rate and stages of progress towards self-determination.

59. His delegation welcomed the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia. Although it might seem from section 3 of Order No. 2882 establishing the Congress that more attention had been paid to the exceptions than to the rule, the limitations were precise and comparatively few in number. On the other hand, the power and authority of the legislature could be great precisely because its extent was undefined and extended to "all rightful subjects of legislation". That provision provided a foundation upon which the Micronesian people's elected representatives could build as they acquired experience of democratic and parliamentary procedures.

60. Certain reserve and veto powers must, of course, rest with the High Commissioner at the present stage. The Council could, however, express its hope that such powers would be exercised rarely. Where there was a good understanding between the Administration and the people, as seemed to be the case in Micronesia, the necessity to invoke such powers should arise infrequently. It was also understood that those powers would be gradually transferred to the people's representatives themselves.

61. A regular session of the legislature of thirty days a year might seem rather short, but he felt sure that when the representatives found that they needed more frequent meetings, they would not hesitate to seek amendment of the Order.

62. Doubts had been raised about the necessity for a bicameral legislature in Micronesia. The Council had not made any recommendation on that subject at its previous session and should not do so at the current session. Under section 22 of the Order, the Congress of Micronesia could consider whether it should remain as it was constituted or be converted into a unicameral body. It might, of course, wish to consider the question before five years, and he assumed that in that case the Order could be amended accordingly.

63. He was glad to hear that the Congress of Micronesia would carry out the proposals of the 1964 Visiting Mission and of the Trusteeship Council to set up select committees to inquire into and report on matters of policy and administration, and he would have liked to hear more about that from the United States delegation. Such committees could perform useful functions, particularly in initiating studies of further political and constitutional developments in the Territory.

64. With regard to the powers vested in the Congress of Micronesia in budgetary matters, he had been encouraged by the special representative's replies to questions on section 5 of Order No. 2882. The Council would doubtless follow subsequent events in that field with special interest and would expect the Administering Authority not only to consult the elected representatives fully on the budget but gradually to delegate authority to the Congress of Micronesia. The Council would no doubt welcome the special representative's statement that ways and means were being studied of providing budgetary resources which would accrue increasingly to the Micronesians themselves and not be subject in any way to decision by the Administering Authority regarding their use.

65. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand) said that a study of the processes involved in the political emergence of formerly dependent peoples revealed that one of the great watersheds was the establishment of a freely elected national legislature, armed with at least a minimum of power. That step was decisive and irreversible: henceforth there was a voice which must be taken as authentic and whose judgements must be taken as authoritative. In a Trust Territory that development represented a vital element in the exercise of self-determination.

66. That watershed had now been reached in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands with the signing, by the United States Secretary of the Interior, of the Order providing for the establishment of a legislature in which all the peoples of the scattered islands would be represented. The provisions of the Order were rightly based on the wishes of the people of Micronesia as made known through the Council of Micronesia. Moreover, the Administering Authority, recognizing that the body shortly to be convened might wish progressively to develop its form and its powers, had made provision for changes to be effected rapidly by Secretarial Order—an arrangement which could not fail to meet with general approval.

67. The Visiting Mission which had visited the Territory in 1964 had made a number of suggestions with regard to the new Congress, some of which had been incorporated in the Order. The Mission had, however, gone beyond merely procedural questions in considering the decision to set up a national legislature. Feeling that it was through the legislature that an effective Micronesian participation in the process of government could most rapidly be achieved, it had recommended two measures in particular: provision for the establishment of select committees of the Congress with appropriate investigatory powers, and provision for the granting of effective authority in financial matters to the Congress. The establishment of a congressional committee system was implicit in section 17 of the Secretarial Order and the special representative had confirmed the fact that the Administering Authority would welcome that development. Thus the members of the new Congress would be able to use the committee system in order to develop specialized knowledge in particular fields of administrative activity, to map the course of the Territory's development in accordance with the wishes of the Micronesian people and to shape the society in which they wished to live. In fact, the key nature of the functions and powers of the committee system could not be over-emphasized at the present stage of Micronesia's development.

68. From what the special representative had told the Council about the role which the Congress of Micronesia would play in drawing up the budget of the Territory, it would appear that the somewhat authoritarian terms of the Secretarial Order did not do justice to the intentions of the Administering Authority. The provision in the Order whereby the High Commissioner would submit a preliminary budget to the Congress for its review and recommendations, adopt the recommendations he deemed appropriate and send the others to the Secretary of the Interior gave no idea of the healthy contest of will between official and legislator which the special representative had said

was likely to take place. At the district level there was already the beginning of a practice whereby the administrators shared the process of budget formation with the legislatures, and the High Commissioner had indicated that that practice might be developed further. The financial committee of the Congress would then be able to make a detailed examination of the budget and call upon officials to justify particular sections. The full Congress would then convey its conclusions to the High Commissioner, who had told the Council that all reasonable requests for changes in the budget would be complied with. It might perhaps prove possible in the near future to go even further and incorporate all the changes proposed by the Congress, so that, in sending the budget to Washington, the Trust Territory, the Administration and the legislature would speak with a single authoritative voice. As the Congress gained experience it would doubtless acquire the binding powers that were the hallmark of a mature legislative body.

69. In view of the magnitude of the problems facing the Congress, the 1964 Visiting Mission had suggested that more time might be required for its sessions. Consideration might be given to the idea of incorporating in the Order a provision whereby special sessions might be convened, or a regular session prolonged, upon petition of one third of the membership. It was indeed essential to the self-respect of any legislature that it should have the power to determine its own procedure.

70. While the legislature offered the swiftest means of ensuring effective Micronesian participation in the government of the Territory, the means whereby that participation could be fully achieved was the "Micronization" of the executive. It had been heartening to hear from the special representative of the appointment of numbers of Micronesians to fairly senior positions in the Administration and to be told that that process would be accelerated as the educational reforms produced their fruit. At the present stage of turning over both the legislature and the executive to the Micronesians, when there did not appear to be adequate numbers of qualified people to assume responsibility, it was essential to take the gamble of moving apparently under-trained people into high positions. Administrative ability and the capacity for taking considered decisions were not necessarily the product of long experience of bureaucratic procedures, nor would it seem essential to confine the search for Micronesian replacements to the purely bureaucratic section of the government ranks.

71. While the establishment of a national legislature had been the most significant development of the past twelve months, noteworthy steps had been taken in administrative, economic, social and educational matters too. To take but one example, the large number of new elementary classrooms put into use during the past year and the great increase in high school enrolment testified to the sincere efforts of the Administering Authority to make up for lost time.

72. It was clear that the Administration realized that the best way of bringing about a sense of Micronesian unity was to facilitate movement between individual islands. The six districts would shortly be linked by

air services for the first time, shipping services were becoming more frequent and the road network was being improved and extended. Consideration might now be given to accelerating the work on a secondary road network designed to link villages, provide access to power and water supplies and export centres, and open up the hinterland of the larger islands for agricultural development. He noted that secondary roads were to be the basic responsibility of the district administrations. In view of the importance of roads for stimulating production in under-developed agricultural economies, it might be suggested that during the initial years of improving the secondary road network supplementary financial support from the central Administration would be justified.

73. While such factors as the fuller participation of Micronesians in the processes of government, rising public expenditure and the great improvements in education and welfare services would not, of course, automatically raise national production, they would certainly raise expectations, which must not be disappointed. The 1964 Visiting Mission had placed emphasis on measures to stimulate agricultural production and upon the diversification of the economy and had advocated the formulation of an over-all economic development plan. The engagement for that purpose of a private economic development consulting firm which had had experience in similar cases could be regarded as an imaginative step on the part of the Administering Authority, for such a firm, working with the Administration but not of it, would possess a marked degree of independence and would be able to advance many fresh ideas and plans. The only reservation he had on the matter was that it might make it more difficult to involve the people of Micronesia themselves in the planning process. In order to ensure that the economic development unit would not operate in a vacuum, it might be suggested that the existing economic development machinery in the Administration should work closely with the private firm and that the national and local legislatures, as also perhaps separate development boards, should be closely associated at all stages with the production and the implementation of development plans.

74. It was primarily upon the achievement of intimate involvement of the Micronesian people in every stage of planning and implementing national policy that the success and the pace of development depended. However much the Administration might do to help the Territory, the things that really mattered could be done only by the people themselves. The achievement of the degree of pride, self-sufficiency and self-respect that would enable the Micronesians to determine their future would depend upon their own efforts. It was not surprising that economic progress had been slow, for political and economic progress went hand in hand. With the establishment of a national legislature political progress had now started and it lay with the thirty-three legislators, supported by their constituents, to seize the opportunity thus offered to play a full part in developing and running their country and eventually in taking the final decision upon the international status of the Trust Territory.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.