



TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Thirty-second Session

OFFICIAL RECORDS

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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: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Health Organization.

AGENDA ITEMS 4 AND 6

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

(c) New Guinea (T/1632, T/1642, T/L.1090)

Reports of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea, 1965:

(b) New Guinea (T/1635 and Add.1)

OPENING STATEMENTS

1. The PRESIDENT, speaking as Chairman of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea, 1965, expressed his thanks to those whose help had enabled him to carry out his task successfully, that was to say, his three colleagues, the representatives of the Secretariat, the Administering Authority, at all levels,

and the Australian delegation to the Council. He wished also to say how encouraged the members of the Visiting Mission had been by the welcome they had received from the inhabitants of New Guinea and by the eagerness of the latter to meet and talk with the Mission. Those contacts, which the Mission had wanted to be as numerous as possible, and its travel throughout the Territory had enabled it to become aware of the extent to which the inhabitants were awakening to modern ways of life and thought, thanks to the persevering efforts of Australia. The Mission had likewise noted the desire of the inhabitants of New Guinea to adapt themselves to the new conditions and to have increased facilities made available to them for their economic and cultural development. Thus the Administering Authority was confronted with the need to embark on a new phase of development. The results which it had already achieved, in difficult conditions, were quite remarkable. They constituted the best guarantee of the success of its future efforts.

2. The technical progress characteristic of the present era was a determining factor in development in all fields, and accelerated change. It was therefore important not to allow oneself to be caught unawares either by events or by the development of ideas but rather to prepare the way for a smooth and satisfactory transition. To that end, the Mission had included in the report which it was now submitting to the Council (T/1635 and Add.1) the details of what it had observed in the course of its travel and the suggestions or recommendations which it thought would enable the development of the Territory of New Guinea to continue satisfactorily and without unwarranted delay.

3. The introduction, which gave an over-all picture, was followed first by remarks of a general character and then by an extended section in which the Mission described its interviews with the official representatives of the inhabitants and with the persons who had appeared before it. The chapters which followed concerned political advancement, economic advancement, social development, the dissemination of information concerning the United Nations and the question of the future of the Territory. The final chapter set forth the most important of the Mission's comments and recommendations. There had appeared to be no need to reproduce in the Mission's report the abundant information appearing in the Administering Authority's very detailed annual report.^{1/}

4. In conclusion, he pointed out that, in the course of its visit the Mission had had occasion to observe that the principal recommendations of the United

^{1/} Commonwealth of Australia, Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations: Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, 1st July 1963-30th June 1964 (Canberra, A. J. Arthur, Commonwealth Government Printer). Transmitted to members of the Trusteeship Council by a note of the Secretary-General (T/1632).

Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea, 1962,^{2/} had been complied with or were being carried out. That was true of the recommendations concerning the establishment of a representative parliament, the elimination of discriminatory legislation, the economic survey undertaken by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the new programme for higher education. The Administering Authority had also decided to establish a university and an institute of higher technical education. The House of Assembly, for its part, had decided at its most recent session to set up a special committee to study the constitutional future of the Territory. Finally, a committee of inquiry had been set up to revise the Native Employment Ordinance—in other words, to examine the legal provisions concerning the minimum wage. Those were all very important measures, in keeping with current requirements. Although they had had to be taken, they were such as to inspire confidence for the future.

5. Mr. McCARTHY (Australia) said that the report of the Visiting Mission (T/1635 and Add.1) would receive the very careful attention of both the Australian Government and the Administration of Papua and New Guinea. While he reserved the right not to agree with its conclusions in every case, he was confident that the report would mark another milestone in New Guinea's forward march.

6. His delegation was honoured to have among its members Mr. Gunther, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of New Guinea, whom the Council knew well by reputation, and Mr. Guise and Mr. Toliman, his advisers, who were the Leader and Deputy Leader respectively of the elected members of the House of Assembly of Papua and New Guinea. Those two eminent leaders of the elected representatives of the population exercised their functions within a political system which provided for universal adult franchise and a common roll, regardless of race, creed or colour, and which had established a parliament—the only legislative body for the Territory in the Territory—the majority of whose elected members were indigenous inhabitants. Without the concurrence of that majority, the Administration, which Mr. Gunther represented, could not legislate.

7. All the United Nations bodies concerned with decolonization were agreed that that very system was the basis on which independence must be built. The institution of that system set in motion in New Guinea a process the course of which no one could reverse, for that country had been provided with a political instrument which would be shaped in the future by its inhabitants for their own benefit through an orderly process of development. It was in fact the system advocated by the most vocal critics of the so-called colonial régime, which, through the new and vital form given it by Australia, had produced such a system.

8. The Visiting Mission had noted in paragraph 3 of its report that the development of the Territory was proceeding and that, moreover, peace and law and order prevailed. It was hard to imagine a more significant observation concerning a "colonial" area, for

it was only in that way that general and accelerated progress in all fields could take place. In the political field that progress was being achieved through an orderly, constitutional process which was enabling the country to advance step by step towards the ultimate goals fixed by the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. The measures which were bringing New Guinea nearer each day to its goal were the work of the freely elected representatives of the inhabitants themselves. Even they, however, could not at one stroke produce the tempered political instrument which was necessary for the well-being of the people they represented, for New Guinea had still to become one country and its people had still to become unified. In that greatly diversified country, however, the parliament would become the magnetic pole around which national unity would be formed.

9. For New Guinea, that progress toward the ultimate goal was taking place within a free society. Even if it was recognized that theoretically the situation did not yet reflect, for example, the ideal envisaged in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), it was impossible to deny the existence of the whole range of freedoms to which Australia, the Administering Authority, was heir and to which the people of New Guinea were co-heirs. There were no political prisoners in the Territory. There was freedom of association, of meetings, of the Press and of speech. Racial discrimination was outlawed, and the inhabitants were all governed by the same laws, administered by impartial judges free from interference by the Executive and in no way responsible to it.

10. Most of the problems which had faced those in the United Nations who were engaged in the work of decolonization were due precisely to the fact that those freedoms had been denied to the peoples in question. In New Guinea, where they were recognized, order and peace prevailed, and progress was being made on all fronts. It would accordingly be well to avoid being led astray by prejudices arising from the existence of conditions altogether different from those which might prevail elsewhere. The problems of that Territory should not be confused with those of certain parts of Africa or Asia. New Guinea's history was different from the history of those countries. Its problems were therefore in many respects different and would accordingly require solutions that were also different.

11. The members of the Council would have to examine the report of the Visiting Mission and discuss conditions in New Guinea with the special representative and his advisers in order to gain a better understanding of the situation. In that connexion he noted that the Minister for Territories, addressing the Australian Parliament some time previously, had said that it was unfortunate that so many questions affecting the welfare of peoples were decided as part of a contest for world power; that votes in the United Nations were not always the result of a judgement on the merits of a case but were often cast for reasons remote from the point at issue. The Minister had added that the Australian Government nevertheless believed that there were countries which would try in good faith to understand the situation in New Guinea as it was and would try, above all, to determine

^{2/} For the report of the 1962 Visiting Mission, see T/1597 and Add.1.

what would be best for its inhabitants; and that if that were the case, the Government would have complete confidence in the international judgement on Papua and New Guinea. Mr. McCarthy therefore invited the members of the Trusteeship Council to bear in mind, in their discussions, the fact that the real power lay and must lie with the people. The Council's task was simply to assist them in refining the instruments for the exercise of that power for the good of all. The Australian Government, for its part, reiterated the promise which it had frequently made to the peoples of New Guinea that it would remain with them and work with them as long as they needed it.

12. The PRESIDENT welcomed the special representative of the Administering Authority for New Guinea, and also Mr. Guise and Mr. Toliman, who were present at the meetings of the Council as advisers to the special representative.

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

13. Mr. GUNTHER (Special Representative), noting that the Council had before it the annual report of the Administering Authority for the year ended 30 June 1964 and that a supplementary report for 1964-1965 would be submitted shortly,^{3/} said that he would endeavour to review the most significant advances made during the period under consideration, particularly during 1964-1965.

14. The report on the economic development of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea,^{4/} which had been published following the survey conducted by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, had been studied very attentively. In May 1965, the Minister for Territories had stated that the Australian Government recognized the need to stimulate the productive potential of the Territory and to promote the advancement of the indigenous inhabitants by providing them with education and vocational training and entrusting them with greater responsibilities. According to the Minister, the Australian Government, which placed a high value on the report of the Bank Mission, had agreed to use the programmes suggested in that report as a working basis for planning but would take due account of the views of the people's elected representatives. At its recent meeting, the House of Assembly had generally endorsed the programmes for greater production.

15. The Government of Australia had also accepted the recommendations of the Commission on Higher Education for Papua and New Guinea—also known as the Currie Commission—and had announced in March 1965 that a university would admit its first students in 1967, subject to the adoption of the necessary legislation by the House of Assembly. At its last meeting, the House had not only acted upon that proposal but had also set up an institute of higher technical education.

^{3/} The supplementary report was subsequently circulated by the Australian delegation to members of the Council only.

^{4/} See International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea* (September 1964).

16. The third important event of 1964-1965 had been the coming to life of the House of Assembly, which had held four meetings since June 1964.

17. The 1962 Visiting Mission had recommended the completion of an economic survey leading to the approval of a development plan; emphasis on higher education; and the making of all preparations for the election of a new House of Representatives. The Administering Authority had taken vigorous steps to implement those recommendations. It was only fair to recall, however, that the Australian Government had already prepared, and accepted in principle, a five-year development plan to begin in 1961-1962; and as early as September 1961, at the invitation of the Australian Government, two economists from an International Bank mission then visiting Australia had been sent to the Territory in order to study development problems there at first hand. Moreover, in November 1961 a committee had submitted to the Minister for Territories, at his request, plans relating to higher education, particularly the establishment of an administrative college and a university college. Since that committee had, however, been unable to make a final report, the Currie Commission had been established. Also in 1961, the Legislative Council had been informed that a motion to appoint a committee on political development would be submitted to that Council in 1962. That committee had in fact been established, and one of its members had proposed, even before the Visiting Mission's report had been received, a freely elected parliament of eighty members. He mentioned the initiative of the Administering Authority and the Legislative Council in that connexion in order to indicate clearly that the Australian Government and the Territorial Administration had been aware of the need for promoting the development of the Territory along the lines proposed by the United Nations.

18. The 1965 Visiting Mission had made a thorough survey of the over-all situation in the Territory, and its report was currently being examined with the greatest of interest. Those sections of the report which dealt with political development would certainly be examined attentively by the Select Committee on a constitution recently elected by the House of Assembly. In that connexion, the Minister for Territories had stated in April 1965 that it was not part of the Australian Government's thinking that the Territory must wait for self-government until it was economically viable. No one could therefore accuse the Government of Australia of not encouraging self-government. On the other hand, the right of the people of the Territory to make a choice must be respected.

19. With regard to education, diplomas had been awarded for the first time by a number of recently established institutions, such as the Police Training College, the Papuan Medical College and the Forestry School at Bulolo. Work on the construction of the Administrative College would commence shortly, and that institution would eventually become part of the university. The Vudal Agricultural College had admitted its first nineteen students; it would ultimately accommodate ninety.

20. In June 1964 there had been fifty-five local government councils in existence in the Trust Territory alone. It was expected that by the end of June 1965, seventy-three local councils would be managing the affairs of a population of 861,500.

21. During the second half of 1964, there had been a rise in the quantity and value of all major exports in comparison with the same period for the previous year; however, cocoa prices currently were seriously depressed, while copra prices remained steady. Tea and pyrethrum production was encouraging. With regard to cattle, there had been sixty-eight herds belonging to New Guineans on 31 March 1965 in the highlands alone, and a further increase in that figure was expected. There were 100 trainees undergoing a course of cattle husbandry at the livestock station at Baiyer River, and there were eight centres giving farmer training. In New Britain, the subdivision of plots of fertile land to be made available to indigenous cocoa planters was continuing. In 1964-1965 the first measures had been taken to establish a tea industry in the New Guinea highlands, and it was expected that by the end of 1965, 300 parcels would have been leased for indigenous development. The people of Chimbu had formed a 7,000-member co-operative and purchased a coffee factory. In addition, the House of Assembly had adopted a law to give tax concessions to new industries, and tariff rights were protecting certain local industries against imported products.

22. With regard to public works, the road from Lae to the highlands was now an all-weather highway, and the next stretch of road to Kainantu was under construction. The amount allocated for roads and bridges in New Guinea for 1964-1965 was double the amount spent in 1963-1964.

23. The police force was no longer a part of the Public Service of the Territory, and during 1964-1965 its members had formed an association under the Industrial Organizations Ordinance. In June 1964 there had been eight such organizations in New Guinea, covering 6,519 persons in all, and the number of organizations had now risen to eleven. As to working conditions, it should be noted that timber workers in the Bulolo area had two weeks' annual leave and that, following representations by the New Ireland District Workers' Association, a commission had been set up to inquire into rural wages; its report would be published about September 1965. The Public Service Association had requested an increase in the base-grade Public Service salary.

24. Turning to public health, he said that progress had been made in the fight against malaria. More than 500,000 persons in New Guinea were now protected, and in several areas of the Sepik District, the incidence of the disease had been reduced from 33 per cent to 1 per cent. Research on other diseases was in progress. In addition, a great future was expected for the Pirie method of extracting proteins from non-edible plant material, and the Departments of Agriculture and Health were co-operating in the work.

25. With regard to education, there had been a 50 per cent increase in indigenous enrolments in Administration primary schools and there had been a similar increase in the Christian mission schools. There were

now more than 2,000 New Guineans enrolled in high schools and forty scholarship-holders had been sent to high schools in Australia. The mission schools showed a corresponding increase. In technical education the number enrolled had more than doubled. In 1964-1965, the grants-in-aid to the Christian missions would increase by 25 per cent and the annual grants-in-aid for certain classes of teachers had increased to £600. A major teacher's college was under construction at Goroka and there were 132 adult education classes in New Guinea, with a total enrolment of 3,300. There were at present 245 women's clubs and the Young Women's Christian Association had been granted a low-interest loan to establish a training centre for youth work at Port Moresby. The number of local public servants and Administration servants enrolled in correspondence or special classes had risen to more than 2,000 in the year 1964-1965.

26. After mentioning some of the achievements in the various districts of New Guinea, he said that a major step forward had been made in 1964-1965 in unifying and localizing the Public Service. Until 1964-1965, the latter had comprised four divisions, the last of which the Auxiliary Division, was a training division for Papuans and New Guineans. By 31 March 1965, the number of temporary local officers had risen from 182 to 1,025. It was anticipated that by the end of 1965 most of the Administration servants who were qualified would have obtained permanent appointments in the Public Service. Local officers would be given preference if they had the required standard of competence. Permanent appointments were no longer given to overseas officers. It was of interest to note that, because of its success in training, the Department of Public Health did not at present need to seek overseas officers. A salary pattern for local officers had been introduced which took into account a number of factors, the main one being that New Guinea, with its tropical crops, was competing on world markets where such crops were already in abundant supply.

27. A number of officers employed in the Second and Third Divisions of the old Public Service were on standard salaries on the Australian pattern and those salaries would not be reduced. The salaries of Auxiliary Division workers would not be reduced either. Students who had been in training before the unification of the Service, would, in some instances, receive a total emolument based on the Australian pattern, which would correspond to what they had anticipated upon entering training. Those who had entered the Service after its unification would receive special additional grants. Many officers would receive a larger salary and have greater security. The salary increases would cost an additional £1 million, which would be offset by some £300,000 worth of consumable stores which were not being issued.

28. The Government expected to commence acting immediately on the recommendations made in the report of the Mission of the International Bank. For example, candidates were at present being sought for the position of economic adviser. That would be one of the four senior positions in the Territory Service. The Bank Mission recommended in its report an extension of secondary and technical education, the promotion of adult education, improvement in the

standard of teachers and research into teaching methods. It called for the extension of the economic departments and capital formation to strengthen the Territory's infrastructure. Lastly, it strongly proposed the development of agriculture, forestry and the animal industry.

29. The Currie Commission had stressed the need to develop a balanced education programme and, to that end, had recommended stepped-up training of teachers for secondary schools. It believed that there were a number of teachers who could complete their training at a university, which would have an adequate enrolment if scholarships were given to Australian students who were available. The Commission also saw a need for the provision of arts and sciences courses immediately after the establishment of a faculty of education. It had now been decided that the education and arts faculties would open together in 1967, subject, of course, to any decisions to be made by the future council of the university. The Commission also felt that there was an urgent need to expand the teaching of agriculture, medicine and law. With regard to the latter, it believed that no legislature or executive would be complete without the presence of indigenous lawyers.

30. The capital and operating costs to the end of 1969 for the university and for the institute of higher technical education would be £6,333,000. Implementation of the recommendations of the Bank Mission and of the Currie Commission would place a heavy financial burden on Australia.

31. Turning to the political situation, he said that the people of the Territory wanted to see the foundations of the economy and of an education programme soundly laid before they advanced further towards self-determination. In that connexion, Mr. Toliman, deputy leader of the elected members of the House of Assembly, had presented a motion, at the request of the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council, stating that it was the express wish of the people that they alone should be allowed to decide when the time was ripe for self-government in Papua and New Guinea and the form such government would take, and that undue pressure from without could only lead to chaos. That motion had received universal support in the Territory and had been carried unanimously in the House of Assembly. In May 1965, the House of Assembly had asked him, Mr. Guise and Mr. Toliman to bring the desires of the people of Papua and New Guinea to the Trusteeship Council's special notice.

32. Referring to the development of the House of Assembly, he said that, of the latter's sixty-four members, thirty-eight were Papuans and New Guineans. More than seventy bills had come before the House and four private member's bills would be debated at the next meeting. One of them dealt with trade union closed-shop practices and another was concerned with liquor-licensing legislation. It was anticipated that the House would debate an increasing number of private member's bills. The procedures of the House of Assembly were governed by standing orders and certain amendments designed to simplify the procedures had been adopted.

33. The House was its own master except in one instance: it could not increase expenditure or intro-

duce money bills that would raise or lower the taxation revenue, without first having received a message from the Administrator. It could debate any question, pass motions and set up committees without hindrance. The only way in which the Administration could make a law for the Territory was to have it passed by the House.

34. The Administrator's Council had ten members of the House of Assembly as its members, of whom five were Papuans and New Guineans. The estimates for the year 1965-1966 had been discussed in the Administrator's Council and the public works programme had been discussed and approved previously by the Under-Secretaries. The Papuan and New Guinean members of the Administrator's Council were all Under-Secretaries except Mr. Guise. That showed clearly that elected members of the House of Assembly were taking part in policy discussion and decisions at the highest level. It should be noted that the Standing Committee on Public Works had to approve all projects costing more than £100,000 and that the Standing Committee on Public Accounts, which had been established since the Visiting Mission was in the Territory, could examine the revenues and expenditure of any department.

35. The intention behind the appointment of Under-Secretaries was that elected Papuans and New Guineans who had no executive experience, could, during a training phase, become familiar with the structure and working of the Public Service. It was also intended that they should assist official members of the House of Assembly in their minister-like duties. It had also been decided that Under-Secretaries should be appointed to represent those departments of the Administration which had no direct representation in the House of Assembly. Departmental heads had to instruct the Under-Secretaries in the functioning of their department. The Under-Secretary was requested to explain not only in his own electorate, but in other electorates, the functions of the particular department in which he worked. At that early stage it had been thought that Under-secretaries would be considered to be servants of the Administration and that they might find opposition within their own electorates. They had therefore been strongly advised to nurse their electorates and to spend the necessary time in their electorates to maintain the confidence of the people. It had also been determined that they would not be obliged to vote with the official members but that they would be asked, when they agreed that a policy was right, to support that policy; if they should change their minds during a debate, they were to inform an official member. Some Under-Secretaries had encountered difficulties because of their lack of fluency in English, but those who desired could take a course in English at Port Moresby. At its last meeting, the House of Assembly had, with the assent of the Administering Authority, established a select committee of ten members to take evidence on the need for the development of the principles underlying a constitution for Papua and New Guinea. That committee was required to report to the House of Assembly towards the end of 1967. The committee also had to see that social and economic development kept pace with political development.

36. In concluding, he said that the years 1963-1964 and 1964-1965 had been years of high decisions and

great advancements. There was every indication that in 1965-1966 there would be efforts to achieve further economic and social progress. Australia, by increasing its direct financial grant to Papua and New Guinea to £28 million in 1964-1965 had again demonstrated its high sense of responsibility. It had further indicated in various ways its intention to allow the people of Papua and New Guinea to determine their own political future. It had established political institutions that were representative of the people and that could quite well express the people's desire. The Select Committee on a constitution set up by the House of Assembly should be the proper instrument for promoting the next move towards self-government.

Mr. Gunther, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of New Guinea, withdrew.

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 (continued)

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.

37. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America) introduced to the Council Mr. Tatasy Wainit of Truk, a Micronesian student at the University of Hawaii who was travelling in the United States.

38. Mr. GASCHIGNARD (France) said he was gratified that the change in pace noted in the progress of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in 1963 had been confirmed in 1964. The most important advance appeared to be the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia. To be sure, the powers of the Congress were not as broad either as had been hoped or as the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1964, had wished. The Congress could not, for example, amend the Code of the Territory except in so far as the provisions relating to human rights or an international treaty were concerned. In financial matters, it scarcely had more than an advisory function. With regard to legislative powers, the Administration continued to possess a right of veto, and the High Commissioner, who was not an elected official, had the power to legislate in cases of emergency. Furthermore, the fact that government officials could be elected to the Congress limited its ability to criticize the Administration, a drawback that could have been partly overcome if the legislature had consisted of only one chamber. Finally, it seemed that arrangements would have to be made for the Congress to meet more often. However, the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia was an important advance that should enable the people to participate more fully in the management of their

own affairs and help them to develop a genuine community spirit.

39. His delegation welcomed the statement by the United States representative that the powers of the Congress would be broadened over the years. The Administering Authority would certainly do what was necessary to increase still further the participation of the people in the management of their affairs and to bring them eventually to the point where they would exercise their right to self-determination. In order to do that, it would have to continue and expand its efforts in such ways as appointing more Micronesian civil servants.

40. The action in the economic and social field which had been carried on since 1962 had been continued. The Administering Authority was to be commended for its decision to draw up an economic development plan, even though the people would not be called on to take part in that endeavour. His delegation was pleased that efforts were being made to diversify the Territory's production, and in particular to develop a fishing industry. The advances in sea and air transport were also gratifying; not only would they facilitate economic expansion but they would, in addition, by bringing a widely scattered population closer together, help to foster an indispensable Micronesian community spirit.

41. With regard to social advancement, his delegation was gratified at the progress made in schooling and at the fact that the appropriations for health services had remained at a high level. Furthermore, the decision by the United States Congress to grant the inhabitants of Rongelap compensation in the amount of \$950,000 was to be welcomed, even though it was considered somewhat tardy.

42. On the whole, the 1964 Visiting Mission's conclusions regarding the situation in the Territory ^{5/} continued to be valid, and his delegation invited the Administering Authority to rely on them in large measure for guidance. There was not, moreover, any discrepancy between the objectives laid down by the Visiting Mission and those of the United States Government, which had reaffirmed its willingness to let the people express their wishes concerning their future when they felt ready to do so and its willingness, also, to apply the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement and the United Nations Charter in a way that would gradually lead the Territory towards self-government or independence. It remained to be seen when the time for making a choice would come; Mr. Olter, an adviser to the United States delegation and himself a citizen of the Territory, had indicated at previous meetings that the Micronesians were not yet ready to make that choice. A certain amount of time was necessary in view of the stage of development of the majority of the population and the vast area over which the inhabitants were scattered.

43. The pace of world history was, however, quickening. His delegation agreed with the New Zealand representative that the risks involved in placing indigenous persons in higher posts without further delay ought to be taken even if their training still

^{5/} For the report of the 1964 Visiting Mission, see T/1620.

seemed to be inadequate. The Administering Authority had already done much for the development of the Territory and was therefore to be commended; it must, however, continue to foster the political education and awareness of the inhabitants so that they might have a clear idea of what was at stake in their future choice. There could be no doubt that the Administering Authority was anxious to redouble its efforts to bring the people under its charge, gradually but without delay, to the point where they would be capable of self-government and self-determination. The Congress of Micronesia should play in that process the role that rightfully could and should belong to it.

44. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that at the opening of the Trusteeship Council's current session (1245th meeting) his delegation had made a statement in which it had pointed out that, despite the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the resolutions of the General Assembly and the decisions of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration, the colonial yoke continued to weigh down the Trust Territories, and specially the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, whose development was being artificially hampered in all fields. The reason for that was that the United States Government, contrary to the obligations it had assumed under the Charter, was using the objectives of the Trusteeship System for imperialist ends. It was clear from the Administering Authority's annual report for 1963-1964^{6/} and from the statements of its representatives that the United States intended to pursue in that Territory a policy that was based, not on the interests of the Micronesian people, but on its own political, economic and military interests. What was more, that was all taking place on the very eve of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations and more than eighteen years after the signing of the Trusteeship Agreement by the United States on 2 April 1947. During that time, more than 1,000 million people had achieved independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It might have seemed obvious that the colonial Powers would finally draw the only conclusions that could be drawn from the lessons of history and would agree to desist from keeping in a state of colonial subjugation the few peoples who still remained under their domination. However, the colonial Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and various other countries which the United States was actively supporting—were attempting to erect on the ruins of their colonial empires new strongholds that would enable them to exploit in a new form the peoples of the liberated countries. That was the proper context in which the problem under consideration and the attitude of the United States Government towards the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands should be judged.

45. The Administering Authority had for eighteen years been trying to prevent the transfer of power to

the Micronesian people, who continued to be administered by the United States both locally and from afar. The Micronesian people were not allowed to participate in decisions on foreign or domestic policy, and the part which they allegedly played in the administration of their country and which the United States colonialists were trying to represent as progress was nothing more than camouflage intended to deceive world opinion, the United Nations and the Micronesian people themselves. The background of the so-called Congress of Micronesia was a striking case in point, for in fact it was scarcely distinguishable from the former Council of Micronesia. Some interesting observations had been made on that subject by the representatives of New Zealand and of France. Apart from the procedure for the election of its members, the Congress of Micronesia was just as bereft of real power as the Council of Micronesia had been. The Order establishing the Congress, which had been drawn up without any consultation of the people, contained reserve clauses conferring on the High Commissioner the absolute right to disregard any advice or decision of the Congress.

46. In order to camouflage that state of affairs and to give the impression that it was keeping present-day requirements in mind, the United States was acting behind a smoke-screen which had enabled it to secure over-favourable and hasty judgements from some members of the Council. Order No. 2882, issued by the United States Secretary of the Interior and providing for the establishment of the so-called Congress of Micronesia, did not contain the slightest reference to the possibility of a transfer of powers to the Micronesian people on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination; that omission was contrary to the United Nations Charter, to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and to the recommendations of the Special Committee. However, the attainment of self-government and independence by the peoples of the Trust Territories, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, had been the constant concern of the General Assembly, as evidenced in particular by its resolutions 558 (VI), 752 (VIII), 858 (IX), 946 (X), 1064 (XI), 1207 (XII), 1274 (XIII) and 1413 (XIV), in which it called upon the Administering Authorities to take effective measures to that end and to indicate the length of time they considered necessary to reach that objective. Those resolutions expressed the opinion of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America—indeed, of the overwhelming majority of Member States. Any response to those General Assembly recommendations could be sought in vain in the reports on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the recommendations remained a dead letter. The United States delegation had never told the Soviet delegation, or any other delegation, within what period the people of Micronesia would attain political independence, and had never reported on the application of resolution 1514 (XV).

47. Indeed, the official United States documents on the Territory carefully avoided mentioning that historic Declaration. At previous sessions of the Council, the Soviet delegation had stressed that the very text of the Declaration had for a long time been withheld from the Micronesian people. Not all Micronesians were ac-

^{6/} United States of America, 17th Annual Report to the United Nations on the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, July 1, 1963 to June 30, 1964, Department of State Publication 7811 (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965). Transmitted to the members of the Trusteeship Council by a note of the Secretary-General (T/1633).

quainted with it even yet, as some members of the 1964 Visiting Mission had found. Thousands of copies of the Declaration had been lying about in the warehouses of the United States Administration, instead of being dispatched to those for whom they were intended.

48. That situation was in keeping with the behaviour of the United States representatives in the Trusteeship Council, who had proved unwilling to give a clear reply to the question whether they considered that the Declaration also applied to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The United States representatives had tried to create the impression that their country should be guided not by the Declaration but by the Charter, as if those two documents clashed in some way; but everyone knew that the Declaration was strictly in accordance with the purposes, principles, spirit and letter of the Charter and complemented its provisions. In the end, the United States representatives had been forced to admit that in principle their Government considered the fundamental provisions of the Declaration to apply also to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Their statements showed, however, that the United States was not even thinking of taking any decisive steps to give effect to the recommendations made in paragraph 5 of the Declaration, which dealt with the transfer of powers and constituted the key provision of the Declaration. In spite of the insistent question put to it, the United States had never given an exact reply on that point. It would be recalled that on many occasions the representatives of the United States had let it be understood that the Micronesian people were not mature enough to manage their own affairs; that was in flat contradiction to paragraph 3 of the Declaration, according to which inadequacy of preparedness of peoples should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. Those questions, like many others, had remained unanswered for the very good reason that the only replies that could be given would have confirmed the unfavourable judgement formed by the Soviet Union on the activities of the Administering Authority in the Trust Territory.

49. The Soviet delegation had asked, *inter alia*, what measures the United States Government intended to take to implement the recommendations 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. That Committee had recommended (A/5800/Add.6, chap. XVIII, paras. 62-63) that the Congress of Micronesia should be provided with all powers necessary to pave the way for the speedy implementation of the Declaration, and that the people of the Territory should be enabled to express their wishes in regard to their future status, in accordance with the Declaration and under United Nations supervision. The Soviet delegation had asked how the United States representative envisaged that participation on the part of the United Nations, but had received no reply.

50. Many recommendations of the Special Committee related to all aspects of conditions in the Pacific Islands. He now proposed to review those conditions.

51. In the political field, the Micronesian people had in reality just as few rights as in the past. As to the

Congress of Micronesia, which according to the wishes of the people and the recommendations of the 1964 Visiting Mission should be a democratic and representative organ and not merely a consultative body, its establishment could be ascribed to the attempts which the United States was making to conceal, as well as it could, the colonialist policy it pursued in the Territory. The Micronesians' desire for independence, expressed by one of their representatives who had addressed the Trusteeship Council, had been disregarded too. He failed to see what powers the Congress could be described as possessing, when the High Commissioner had the right to impose upon it any law whatsoever, even if that law was unacceptable both to the people of Micronesia and to the Congress. That, then, was the last word in United States "democracy"; that showed the true worth of the fine words uttered by United States representatives everywhere in support of the self-determination of peoples and nations. There was not a single practical measure to show for these statements, and it was time the Trusteeship Council recognized that fact.

52. The various reservations embodied in the Order establishing the Congress of Micronesia had the effect of depriving the Micronesian people of any real power. The fact was that the Order constituted another attempt to impose the United States system and laws on the Micronesian people at all costs, in order to facilitate the future fulfilment of the long-term imperialist plans laid by the United States, which aimed at nothing less than the annexation of the Territory.

53. An important factor in the fulfilment of those plans was the maintenance of the dominant role of the United States Administration in all the domestic affairs of Micronesia. As was plain from the annual report of the Administering Authority and the replies given by the United States representatives, all key posts were held by United States citizens, and new appointments usually went to them as well. For the sake of appearances some minor posts had been entrusted to a small number of Micronesians, who were thus unable to exert any appreciable influence on the political life of the country. Further evidence of the process of Americanization was to be found in the fact that English was the language of instruction in the schools and the official language of the administrative organs, the Congress, the courts and the police. In the economy, all important positions were held by companies whose activities were controlled by United States monopolies. Official United States propaganda was making great efforts to foster the idea that the only possible future for the Micronesian people was that of a colonial appendage to the United States—in other words the fate of Puerto Rico, Guam or American Samoa.

54. The picture would be incomplete if he failed to mention how the Islands were used to serve the military interests of United States imperialism. The Soviet delegation had maintained that the military expenditure incurred by the United States in the area greatly exceeded its budgetary appropriations for the needs of the Micronesian people. That contention had never been refuted by the representatives of the United States, and that fact showed it was well-

founded. It was interesting to note that Time magazine had reported on 23 June 1961 that in effect Micronesia was a United States military reservation. As recently as 17 May 1965 The Christian Science Monitor had quoted a report from Washington to the effect that the United States Department of Defense had placed with Sylvania Electric Products Incorporated a contract for the installation of experimental radar on the islands of Roi and Namur. It should be noted that that installation would cost \$20 million to build, whereas the Territory's budget for the coming financial year totalled \$17.5 million. The United States delegation had stated in reply to a question from the Soviet delegation that \$1.4 million had been allocated for health, \$1,928,000 for education and \$1,179,000 for economic and political development in that financial year. Thus the greater part of the budget would be spent on maintaining the United States colonial Administration.

55. The Council should consider the real situation in the Territory. In the economic sphere there was not even a development plan as yet. The abundant stocks of fish were not being adequately used and were not even being explored. The economy was based on very primitive agriculture, the produce of which went to the United States at arbitrarily fixed prices. The economy of the islands was giving an ever-increasing place to foreign capital and the indigenous inhabitants were being sacrificed to it; they had no means of exercising control over the activities of foreign monopolies. Foodstuffs and consumer goods, some of which could be produced in the Territory itself, were still being imported at very high prices. All that was being done instead of mobilizing resources and domestic savings in an effective and many-sided manner and channelling them into those sectors of the economy which it was in the vital interest of the Territory to develop faster.

56. Several attempts had been made at the present session to represent social conditions as a success deserving of the highest praise. Once again, however, the facts denied that outright. On the United States representative's own admission, over 50 per cent of the population were still illiterate; not all school-age children were at school; and conditions in many schools were unsatisfactory. Only a limited number of Micronesians had access to higher education, and the Administering Authority prevented Micronesians from taking up the fellowships offered under the United Nations programme, as the discussion on that subject had shown.

57. As to the medical services, the Council had before it a document which showed that the representatives of the Administering Authority had disguised and embellished the true situation. He referred to the petition from members of the Department of Medical Services of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (T/PET.10/37). The petitioners complained to the United Nations against the Administration of the Trust Territory. Their petition was so serious as to warrant quotation in full.

58. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America), speaking on a point of order, said that the petition in question was not on the agenda for the session, since, under rule 86, paragraph 1, a petition would have had to

have been circulated two months prior to the session to be so included. He thought it should be on the agenda, and he noted that under paragraph 3 of rule 86 the Council, in consultation with the Administering Authority, could include it. He would be happy to have this done, but until it was, he thought it best to follow the normal procedure.

59. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking on a point of order, said that rule 86 of the rules of procedure in no way affected the possibility of a delegation mentioning a particular document. He had referred to the petition in question in the same way as he referred to newspapers, magazines and many other documents, in order to give the fullest and most detailed possible account of the activities of the United States in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In mentioning that petition, he sought to show that the information given by the United States concerning the medical services in the Territory was very far from the facts. That had nothing to do with whether or not the petition was to be placed on the Council's agenda. The United States representative's reason for protesting was doubtless that the petition completely swept aside the fable of achievement on the part of the medical services provided by the Administering Authority for the Micronesian population. It showed that the reports sent to the United Nations concerning the medical services contained information which was deliberately false or misleading.

60. The PRESIDENT considered that it was contrary to the rules of procedure to mention the petition, even in paraphrase, since it was not on the agenda. He asked the representative of the Soviet Union to continue his statement and assured him that the question of the petition would be taken up later on.

61. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) felt that that was not the best decision to take. It was regrettable that the Council's only basis for judging conditions in the Trust Territory should be the false reports of the Administering Authority.

62. At all events, the paradise of medical services described by the United States representative bore more resemblance to a hell. That and other aspects of the situation confirmed the statements made by the Soviet Union at previous sessions of the Council to the effect that social conditions in general were utterly deplorable. The United States Government had taken eleven years to agree to pay compensation—which was even then insufficient—to the inhabitants of Rongelap for the effects of nuclear tests in the area. After eighteen years of United States hegemony in that part of the world, the situation there was unsatisfactory in every respect.

63. That being so, the Trusteeship Council, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the many General Assembly resolutions on the Trust Territories, should call upon the United States Government to take effective measures immediately to grant the population of Micronesia independence and to transfer to that population full legislative and executive powers. That was the only solution which would serve the vital interests

and meet the wishes of the Micronesian people and strengthen peace and security in that part of the world.

64. He felt bound to stress that, because of its composition, the Council had never been able to secure the practical results expected of it. If that state of affairs continued, the enslaved Micronesian people would make no progress towards liberation. The Trusteeship Council must find a way out of the impasse regarding the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. To that end, it must find the courage to refer the situation to the Security Council, which, under the Charter, bore special obligations regarding the Territory. The Trusteeship Council had never drawn the Security Council's attention to the alarming situation in the Territory because the United States refused to comply with the obligations it had assumed under the Charter. For that reason, the Soviet delegation was submitting to the Trusteeship Council a draft resolution (T/L.1092), which he read out, and in which the Trusteeship Council requested "the Security Council to examine the situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands as soon as possible". Unless certain members of the Trusteeship Council wished to discredit themselves once and for all in the eyes of world public opinion, they should support that appeal.

65. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America) wondered whether the representative of the Soviet Union, in repeatedly accusing the United States of serving only its own interests in the Territory and of enslaving the Territory's people, was not seeking to distract attention from the actions of his own country, which had a disgraceful record of subjugation of alien peoples from the Baltic Sea to the heartlands of Asia.

66. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking on a point of order, said that he did not sit in the Trusteeship Council to listen to advice or to account for his Government's policy. The Council was examining conditions in a Territory for which the United States Government was responsible under an Agreement concluded with the United Nations. If the President considered that the United States representative's statement was relevant to the agenda item it would probably be necessary to widen the scope of the discussion. The United States representative should be asked not to continue that part of his statement which appeared to indicate the intention to introduce completely extraneous matter into the discussion.

67. The PRESIDENT reminded the Council that at the beginning of the session he had asked delegations to confine their statements to the items on the agenda. He reiterated that appeal.

68. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America) observed that the representative of the Soviet Union had been the first to deviate from the agenda. He had just charged, in his statement, that the United States, the United Kingdom the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and other, supported by the United States, were seeking to create new bastions from which to wage diversionist activities against the independent States of Africa. The agenda item under discussion was that relating to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

69. The representative of the Soviet Union often referred to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to anti-colonialism. He alleged that the United States sought to camouflage its aims, that it practised and supported colonialist policies. However, everyone, including all the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia to whom that representative had appealed, knew perfectly well that Soviet anti-colonialism was nothing more or less than exploitation of the genuine anti-colonialism of other peoples. It was impossible to camouflage the aims of the Soviet Union, which cynically used anti-colonialism for propaganda purposes.

70. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) raised a point of order. The Soviet delegation did not mind having all its arguments refuted. It was quite willing to be given proof that the Congress of Micronesia was a remarkable representative organ or would unfailingly become one in the future. It could not, however, allow the charge of camouflage which it had made against the activities of the Administering Authority to be countered by innuendoes about the activities of the Soviet Union in the struggle against colonialism.

71. If the United States representative was to be allowed to indulge in such digressions, the Soviet delegation, for its part, would be prepared to make a comprehensive review of the activities of the United States in the Dominican Republic or in Viet-Nam, for example, and to analyse that country's role in world affairs. If the United States representative was given permission to pronounce on the attitude of the Government of the Soviet Union, the Soviet delegation would take it as an invitation to do likewise.

72. The PRESIDENT urged members of the Council not to give way to their feelings but to continue the discussion in accordance with the principles he had recommended them to follow at the opening of the session.

73. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America) remarked that, when he had been interrupted, he had been about to say that any advance made by the Administering Authorities towards self-government for the Trust Territories was automatically disparaged by the representative of the Soviet Union. However, most members of the Council had welcomed the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia, which the Administering Authority viewed, not as the end of all development in the Territory, but merely as a good beginning. The members of the Congress, who were freely and democratically elected by universal adult suffrage, would move forward with the times and the country would move with them. The representative of the Soviet Union invariably attacked any development, any advance, endeavouring to show that it was nothing and that the Administering Authority had claimed more for it than it in fact had. The United States delegation stated the facts exactly as they were. It had circulated to the members of the Council the Order specifying the powers of the Congress which, although not unlimited, were none the less quite extensive.

74. In fact, it seemed as if the representative of the Soviet Union was less concerned about the indigenous peoples than with attacking the United States. In his

statement, that representative had systematically distorted all statements made and replies given by the United States delegation. The members of the Council had had an opportunity to judge this for themselves. In particular, the USSR representative had stated that the people of Micronesia knew nothing of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Thirty thousand copies of that document had been distributed in the Territory. The herculean task of translating the Declaration into seven major and two minor languages, checking the accuracy of the translations and distributing the text over a vast territory had given rise to further attacks. The United States and the United Nations Secretariat had been accused of delaying matters. Yet the Declaration had been distributed at least two years ago, at the rate of one copy for every three inhabitants.

75. The representative of the Soviet Union asserted that the United States gave only reluctant support to the principles of General Assembly resolution

1514 (XV). If the representative took the trouble to consult the records of the Council, he would see that the United States representatives on the Council had clearly affirmed—in 1963, 1964 and 1965—the support of the United States for the basic principles of the resolution.

76. The Soviet Union representative also attacked the Council, seeking to undermine it. The fact was that the Soviet Union did not approve of the Council's conscientious efforts to carry out its work in the interests of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory, but had sought to use the Council for its own propaganda purposes. The United States delegation would consider whether to recapitulate the entire discussion of the question in view of the tendentious interpretation which the Soviet Union representative had placed on the replies given by the United States delegation to the questions put to it by the Soviet delegation.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.