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Attainment of self-government or independence by the Trust Territories and the situation in Trust Territories with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples 98

President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

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, 5 AND 6

Examination of annual reports of the Administering Authorities on the administration of Trust Territories for the year ended 30 June 1966:

(c) *Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (continued) (T/1661, T/L.1121)*

Examination of petitions listed in the annex to the agenda (continued) (T/COM.10/L.4-6, T/OBS.10/10, T/PET.10/38)

Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1967 (continued) (T/1658 and Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (concluded)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Norwood, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and

Mr. Kabua, adviser to the special representative, took places at the Council table.

1. Mr. HICKEY (Australia) said that a prime feature of the Trust Territory was the fact that the population was scattered among a number of small islands spread over a huge area of ocean. That affected every aspect of the Administering Authority's policy, including administration, education, health, the development of political institutions, economic activities and the development of a sense of national unity. Distance added greatly to the cost of administration, with the result that transport and communications accounted for some 20 or even 30 per cent of total government expenditure. Adequate communications were vital to the economic development and administration of the Territory. The United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1967, had noted in its report (T/1658 and Add.1) that the roads were poor. His delegation had therefore been encouraged to hear the special representative speak of the Administration's plans for improving existing roads and building new ones. Roads should be given priority in the Territory's development, above all those which would stimulate economic development. His delegation wondered why more work had not been done on roads by local community groups. In the Australian Territory of Papua and New Guinea local government councils played an active part in the maintenance and construction of roads, knowing they would be used for their own benefit. By making such a contribution, they gained in self-reliance and confidence. His delegation would recommend a similar approach in Micronesia. As far as shipping services were concerned, the special representative had told the Council that they were inadequate. While the Australian delegation appreciated the difficulty of interesting shipping companies in inter-island trade, it hoped that the Administration would consider the idea of a subsidy to attract them. It might be maintained only for a brief, renewable period, until the company had realized the prospects for the future and proved itself satisfactory. His delegation also hoped that the Administration would acquire vessels for administrative purposes, as the special representative had said it might, since they were obviously necessary for good administration. As far as air services were concerned, the special representative had agreed with the Visiting Mission's comments on their inadequacy and had tried to attract qualified air carriers to the area. While that was a commendable development, it also seemed to his delegation vital for the Administration to have its own aircraft. In that connexion, it would like to draw attention to the advantages of using a long-range helicopter.

2. Regarding the general economic development of the Territory, his delegation noted with approval the decision of the United States Congress not to

approve an appropriation unless it was satisfied that there had been real achievements. The report of Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., rightly pointed out that the choice between autonomy and dependence for the Territory was basically one to be taken by the United States. It would not be difficult for the United States to bear the full cost of the Territory's expenditure and most Micronesians would not refuse such a proposition. But that would mean a loss of self-respect. Progress towards economic viability was essential if the Territory was not to become "a kept society". Since the Administering Authority had accepted most of the recommendations of the Nathan report, it would appear to have rejected the idea of permanent dependency. The special representative had pointed out that there had already been some economic progress, which should be recognized. His delegation supported the Visiting Mission's general conclusions, namely, that an economic infra-structure must be established with the emphasis on improved transport, that agriculture and fisheries should be expanded quickly and that greater use should be made of Micronesian capital and skills.

3. There were other areas in which the people of the Trust Territory must remain dependent for many years. One of them was health. The Administering Authority had set itself the task of raising standards of public health to those of the continental United States, a vast undertaking given the conditions of the Territory. The special representative had told the Council that health services and facilities were far from satisfactory, but had also told it of some encouraging developments, including the participation of the Peace Corps, mass surveys for tuberculosis, leprosy, etc., visits to the area by outside consultants and the increase in the number of Micronesians studying medicine abroad. The Visiting Mission had noted, however, that hospital facilities could be improved, that the number of medical personnel remained too small, that more dispensaries could be constructed (particularly by the people themselves) and that there were other deficiencies. It had attributed them to the absence of an over-all plan and to the fact that the post of Director of Health had remained unfilled for a long time. His delegation therefore welcomed the appointment of Dr. Peck. It hoped that health plans could be drawn up quickly so that a large appropriation could be sought from the United States Congress. It should then be possible to remedy the failures of the past in a relatively short time. Health, moreover, might well be the field in which the Peace Corps could make its most notable contribution.

4. His delegation had welcomed the introduction of the Peace Corps into the Territory the previous year and everything it had heard since had confirmed its value. It should be noted, however, that by the end of the year the number of Peace Corps workers in the Territory would be 800, a high figure for a population of 97,000. They would have a great social impact and it was to be hoped that they were fully trained in the customs and beliefs of the people and would pay all respect to their traditions. The Administration should watch with great care the relationship between the Peace Corps and the permanent civil service. There had already been some confusion about it. It was the

government of the Territory which had the long-term responsibility and the Peace Corps must respect it. The special representative had shown himself aware of the problem and had assured the Council that most of the difficulties were being overcome. The Peace Corps seemed to be doing a good job and would do still better with experience. It was to be hoped that its presence would not reduce the Micronesian people's self-reliance. One of its great achievements had been to bring to light the problems of the people in the outer islands, which it was no doubt already helping to solve.

5. On the question of education, the Visiting Mission had noted that primary and secondary education needed attention and the High Commissioner had agreed. The reasons for the present situation were many: the fact that many children entering secondary school had an inadequate knowledge of English, their teachers not being properly qualified; the fact that curricula were based on the United States system; the shortage of text-books and equipment and the fact that many of the books were based on an entirely different way of life. His delegation therefore welcomed the fact that the Administering Authority was to review the educational system and hoped that it would call upon UNESCO for assistance, as suggested by the Visiting Mission. The Visiting Mission stressed the need for vocational and technical training, which was essential for economic development. It also suggested the use of educational radio programmes, a valuable form of assistance to people living in remote areas. The Administration was doing much in education, building schools, hiring English teachers from the United States, using the Peace Corps and providing facilities for a greater number of students. His delegation would, however, endorse the Visiting Mission's conclusions that the school-building programme should be accelerated, that urgent attention should be given to vocational and technical training and that one or two high schools should be set up for students who showed the aptitude for higher education.

6. On the question of war claims, his delegation was pleased to hear that a fact-finding team had been in the field to assess claims for which compensation was outstanding. It had also been glad to learn that negotiations with the Japanese Government had begun in March 1967 and hoped that the claims would be settled in the near future.

7. The Congress of Micronesia had been an outstanding success. The fact that elections were eagerly contested reflected a growth in political interest and knowledge. His delegation considered, however, that in view of its responsibilities the Congress' sessions should be longer or more frequent. It also had reservations about the wisdom of allowing civil servants to be politicians. Only by keeping the two separate could conflicts of interest be avoided. The difficulty was that the ablest people were civil servants and made the best politicians. In the long run, the problem might solve itself as more qualified people became available. But a short-term solution might be to pay an attractive salary to politicians on the understanding that they give up their employment in the civil service. The establishment of interim committees of the House of Congress was a big step

forward, particularly since they were responsible for determining the people's wishes with regard to their political future. The legislation passed by the Congress was impressive and reflected the rapid growth in the Territory's political consciousness. With regard to its financial powers, his delegation supported the view that it should debate the budget in detail before it was submitted to Washington and that the responsible officials should explain the priorities and amounts assessed. In time, the Congress should have greater control over the budget, even though nearly all of it was a subsidy from the United States. His delegation noted that many taxes were at present not collected and shared the Visiting Mission's view that it was of the utmost importance for the people to pay taxes, since that was how a people learnt its responsibility to its Government. It also endorsed the Mission's suggestion that everyone in Micronesia should be subject to direct tax.

8. Although the development of legislative power in Congress had been considerable in recent years, there had been no progress on the executive side. His delegation believed the time had come when Micronesians should start to assume executive responsibilities. The process could be a gradual one and could be modelled on the Australian system in New Guinea or follow some other form suited to the Territory. His delegation had been pleased to hear the special representative say that the time was approaching for self-determination. It had been glad to learn that the alternatives open to the Territory were being examined by the Congress. It noted that according to the Mission many of the people thought they were being pushed by the United Nations. It had been interested to hear Mr. Saliu explain that the people knew they had the right to self-determination but felt they also had a right to decide when the act of self-determination should take place. His delegation supported them in that view.

9. In conclusion, he said that the Administering Authority was making steady progress in nearly all fields and that if his delegation had made some criticisms, it trusted that they had been constructive.

10. Mr. McDOWELL (New Zealand) said that the dispatch of visiting missions to Trust Territories had contributed substantially to the effectiveness of the Trusteeship Council's work, and that the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1967 (T/1658 and Add.1), in particular, had given the Council further insight into the problems facing the Micronesian people as they moved towards the time when they would decide their future status.

11. That time was fast approaching. In August 1966, the Congress of Micronesia had decided to request the establishment of a commission with the mandate of ascertaining the people's views on their future political status and recommending means by which their wishes might be given effect. His delegation had been somewhat surprised to hear that the commission had not yet been appointed, and welcomed the United States representative's assurance that an early announcement in that regard was planned.

12. In the case of other dependent territories, such commissions had usually been composed largely of elected representatives of the people and impartial constitutional advisers, and had conducted their hearings, mainly in public, throughout the territory concerned. It appeared that similar procedures were envisaged in the present case. His delegation would follow the proceedings of the commission with great interest and looked forward to a full report at the Council's next session.

13. A constant theme in the debates of the United Nations over the years had been that colonial peoples should not only have the right to choose their own future freely, but should do so in full awareness of the various alternatives before them. It appeared that there was a certain lack of knowledge among the people at large in the Pacific Islands concerning the various options. That was natural enough; the issues were weighty and complex, particularly for the people of a small Territory with limited resources. Whereas for a larger and more affluent Territory independence was the natural choice, for a small Territory it was only one of several possibilities to be considered. His delegation consequently supported the Visiting Mission's recommendation that a programme of political education should be undertaken in the Pacific Islands to acquaint the people with the choices before them. To further that objective, he would suggest that the day-to-day proceedings of the congressional commission on the future status of the Territory should be broadcast throughout Micronesia and publicized by means of the written word.

14. The Visiting Mission's report suggested that an obstacle on the road to self-determination was excessive economic dependence on the United States. Both the Visiting Mission and the team of development economists from Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., stressed the relationship between economic and political viability. Unlike those pessimists who questioned whether a high degree of economic viability would ever be attainable, the Nathan team considered that progress towards economic viability was a realistic aim. The Nathan report recognized that such a path would require hard work, the growth of self-reliance, and a certain degree of self-denial among the people, but it expressed the view that the alternative of continued dependence on United States largesse would not be desirable either for the United States or for the Micronesians.

15. The Nathan team nevertheless went on to propose that, to stimulate economic growth, foreign capital, foreign technical and managerial skills and even some foreign labour should be imported; and the five-year development plan drawn up by the team would entail a greater degree of dependence on external subvention than ever. Similarly, the Visiting Mission, for its part, suggested that a request for funds from outside sources for the development of tourism should not be ruled out, and it referred to a number of fields, such as public health and secondary education, in which a substantial increase in appropriations—the resources for which could only come from outside—was required. The apparent contradiction between objective and recommended means was partly due to the fact that acceleration of the drive for long-term economic

viability was to a large extent dependent in the short term on increased public and private investment from outside. Even so, he felt that such private investment as was attracted to the Territory should operate under conditions that would ensure effective Micronesian participation in the enterprises concerned. A constant effort should also be made to ensure that the contribution of Micronesia to the costs of administration did not decline too much beyond the present minimal level. Courses of action which might seem sound in purely economic terms might prove much less acceptable in political or human terms.

16. There seemed to be a consensus in the reports before the Council that there should be greater emphasis in the annual budgets on direct economic development, particularly on stimulating production by Micronesians themselves. At present, a large proportion of the expenditures of the government of the Territory went towards health and education programmes and only a small proportion to direct development programmes. The Nathan team's development plan placed greater emphasis on expenditure in the commodity-producing sector, but such expenditure still seemed to represent only about one sixth of the resources expected to be available over the period of the plan. Although the costs of maintaining a communications and transport network among the scattered islands of Micronesia had to be taken into account, it might be noted by way of contrast that about one third of the budget of the Trust Territory of New Guinea was set aside for direct stimulation of economic growth. With regard to the details of the development plan, he would simply recall his delegation's consistently held belief that a key to the expansion of primary production was the provision of technical advice to smallholders to enable them to increase production. It was to be hoped that the Visiting Mission's recommendation regarding the strengthening of agricultural extension staff would be heeded. He welcomed the information given by the special representative on the policies being pursued by the Administration in the agricultural field, particularly the stress on rehabilitating the copra industry and the transfer of copra marketing to an indigenous firm.

17. The Nathan report rightly stressed that if economic development programmes were to be properly implemented, the understanding and active support of the Micronesian legislative bodies would be necessary. During the previous year, the Congress of Micronesia had considered 149 bills and passed twenty-seven. Numerous resolutions had also been approved. Some of the laws promulgated were of great significance for the shape of Micronesian society. Notably absent from the legislative acts were financial bills; the powers of the Congress were largely limited to recommendation in that field. But even the recommendatory resolution—House Joint Resolution No. 1—supporting the Administration's budget proposals for 1967 and 1968, was a little thin in content and included no substantive questioning of the proposals. On such a basic issue, some congressional dissent might have been expected. Mr. Salii had told the Council that the full Congress had not had adequate time to consider the budget in depth. He had been pleased to hear Mr. Salii say that a special session

of the Congress might be held in March 1968 to consider the draft budget. The budget process was the very essence of democracy, and it was desirable, short of the transfer of full fiscal powers, that the Congress of Micronesia should exercise to the full the limited powers it already commanded in that regard.

18. It seemed clear that Micronesia had now reached a stage where it needed full-time legislators, and much longer sessions of Congress. He agreed with the remarks of the United Kingdom representative regarding the need, particularly in a system featuring the separation of powers, to place Micronesians in executive positions where they could exercise real power and take part directly in decision-making at cabinet level.

19. He wished to conclude by sounding a note of caution. He wondered whether it was realistic at that stage to advocate the pursuit of educational, medical, welfare and general living standards of one world when the Micronesians actually lived in another.

20. Mr. NORWOOD (Special Representative) said that the discussions of the last few days had helped to sharpen the definition of areas and programmes which needed continuing and increased attention. He had observed little disagreement in the Council with regard to the steps to be taken. He would return to Micronesia with a clear concept of what needed to be done and a strengthened sense of purpose and direction.

21. Although members of the Council had acknowledged some progress, it was recognized that much remained to be done. There was general agreement that all programmes were interdependent. Health, education, economic development, transport, communications, and political and social development were all essential components of the total environment.

22. Health standards and services had been subjected to critical scrutiny. With the selection of a new Director of Public Health, it was hoped that there would now be more effective long-range planning and action to improve facilities and to strengthen the staff further. The need for better training of Micronesian health personnel and for improved equipment and facilities was recognized. It had been noted that funds had been budgeted for a large new central hospital for referral and training purposes, but it was recognized that all districts needed better medical and health facilities and that there must be a balance between the services available in district centres and those required in outlying islands.

23. The need to re-evaluate the educational system was acknowledged. It was expected that a survey now under way would produce recommendations for a more realistic balance between academic study and vocational training. A new polytechnic high school was to be constructed. There was an obvious need to develop curriculum materials that were more directly related to the Micronesian environment. The teaching of English as a second language would continue to be stressed.

24. New equipment was to be acquired for electric power and a modern communications network. The latter was not only essential administratively but would also assist in the distribution of information

for educational and political development purposes. Transport had been recognized as needing special attention, and new proposals for improved air service were expected shortly from carriers. Invitations would similarly be sent soon to shipping companies which had indicated an interest in providing new ships and improved schedules. Complaints about the present inadequacies of shipping between and within the districts were certainly justified, and the acquisition of new administrative vessels to reduce dependence on trading vessels was contemplated.

25. Questions had been raised regarding the high percentage of land under the control of the Territory government. The impression might have been left that all lands now held by the government were subject to private claims and that the government was embarked on a programme of acquiring more and more land. In fact, a programme had been carried out over the years to determine title to lands claimed by both the government and private parties, and most of the land now used by the government or held as public domain was not the subject of claims by Micronesians. Similarly, whenever possible, government lands would be used for government or public purposes. Land areas surplus to public requirements should be made available for private use consistent with economic and social needs, but the government must keep some land in reserve for future public uses as additional public facilities and services were required, and also to accommodate population from overcrowded islands.

26. The recommendations of the Nathan report were being examined by the various departments concerned. A summary of the report would be widely distributed throughout the Territory. Agricultural programmes must now shift from experimentation to economic production. Crops which had shown promise as experiments needed to be tested in the market-place. Farmers must be encouraged by the extension of advisory services and technological assistance. There was an increased interest in Micronesia's oceanographic resources. There were prospects for marked growth in commercial fishing for export and domestic markets, but existing trade restrictions would need to be modified. A number of agencies had indicated an interest in oceanographic research and the possibilities of obtaining funds for a marine science centre were being explored.

27. The most important resource of Micronesia, however, was the human resource. The time had clearly come for Micronesians to assume more responsible roles both in the administrative and legislative branches of government. Micronesians had displayed their ability in the legislative field, and comparable opportunity for administrative leadership must now be found. A related problem was that of developing a procedure by which the Congress of Micronesia could participate more directly in the formulation of budgets and the allocation of funds made available by the United States Congress.

28. The views expressed by the members of the Council, including complaints and criticisms, helped the Administering Authority to fulfil its obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement, and he was grateful for the dedicated and informed interest of the members.

29. Mr. KABUA (Adviser to the Special Representative) said that the people of Micronesia had been gratified to be the hosts of the United Nations Visiting Mission. He wished to convey the thanks of the Congress of Micronesia to the Trusteeship Council for its interest and assistance in promoting the welfare of the Micronesian people. He also wished to thank the Administering Authority for its efforts to promote their advancement, and the people of the United States of America for their generous support.

30. The people of Micronesia were confident that the Administering Authority understood Micronesia's urgent need of economic development and improved transportation and would do its best to see that those needs were met. He was sure that the Administering Authority realized the need for increased participation by Micronesians in responsible government posts and for other measures to assist them in achieving self-sufficiency and self-reliance, so that they could play their part in the advancement of the Territory. The Congress of Micronesia would appreciate receiving aid and information, both from the Administering Authority and from the United Nations, in preparing the important decisions that lay ahead regarding the future political status of the Territory. Lastly, he expressed his appreciation of the privilege of participating in the Council's deliberations.

31. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to consider a petition from Mr. Alfred Capelle (T/PET.10/38) and the observations of the Administering Authority thereon (T/OBS.10/10).

32. Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that, according to the petitioner, the people of Likiep had suffered a food shortage and had had to close their school because no ship had called at their atoll for three months. He asked what action the Administering Authority had taken to remedy the situation.

33. Mr. NORWOOD (Special Representative) said that he was hoping that funds would be available shortly for the purchase of extra vessels. In the meantime, he had had exploratory conversations with the United States Coast Guard Service stressing the need for more regular service to the islands. He had hopes that it would be possible to relieve the situation referred to by the petitioner.

34. Mr. KABUA (Adviser to the Special Representative) said that during United States naval operations on Kwajalein it had been possible to borrow hydroplanes in emergencies, but that that was no longer possible. No ships had called at Likiep for three months because both of the ships that made the regular run had been in dry dock for repairs.

35. Mr. POSNETT (United Kingdom) and Mr. HICKEY (Australia) asked whether it was true that the inhabitants of Likiep had been short of food and without a school as a result of the breakdown in communications.

36. Mr. KABUA (Adviser to the Special Representative) said that it was possible that the atoll could have been left without services for three

months, but that he was not sure of the actual situation on the atoll.

37. Mr. NORWOOD (Special Representative) said that atolls like Likiep had a subsistence economy. A breakdown in communications might result in some food shortages and the closure of a school. When he had left Saipan three weeks before, the schedules of the vessels serving the outer islands had been under review, so that relief could be supplied to areas reported by the District Administrator to be in need. He did not know what progress had been made since his departure, but he doubted that the food shortage had been critical in any event.

38. Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) proposed that the Council should adopt a resolution requesting the Administering Authority to take immediate steps to meet the petitioner's request.

39. Mrs. ANDERSON (United States of America) asked for the application of rule 57 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, under which draft resolutions should be submitted in writing and circulated twenty-four hours before they were discussed.

40. The PRESIDENT suggested that the Council should resume its consideration of the proposal when the USSR draft resolution was available.

It was so decided.

41. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to consider the communications in documents T/COM.10/L.4, L.5 and L.6.

42. Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) asked what action the Council intended to take on the request for advice contained in document T/COM.10/L.6.

43. Mrs. ANDERSON (United States of America) said that under 81 of the rules of procedure petitions directed against judgements of competent courts of the Administering Authority were inadmissible.

44. The PRESIDENT suggested that the Council should take note of the communications in documents T/COM.10/L.4, L.5 and L.6.

It was so decided.

APPOINTMENT OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE ON THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

45. The PRESIDENT suggested that the representatives of France and the United Kingdom should be appointed members of the Drafting Committee to draw up conclusions and recommendations concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

It was so decided.

Mr. Norwood, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and Mr. Kabua, adviser to the special representative, withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Attainment of self-government or independence by the Trust Territories and the situation in Trust Territories with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

46. Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) reminded the Council that in his earlier statement on the organization of its work (1297th meeting), he had proposed that in dealing with each Trust Territory it should consider how the Administering Authority was implementing the relevant General Assembly resolutions. That proposal had seemed to find favour with the Council and the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in particular had been a constant subject of debate. His delegation had given examples to show that the United States and Australia were not implementing that resolution, but were denying self-determination to the peoples in their charge and encouraging their exploitation by monopolies and the militarization of the Territories. The Liberian delegation had also spoken on the subject. The Council's report should give an account of the situation.

47. The PRESIDENT suggested that in accordance with past practice the Secretariat should be asked to draft a passage for the report summarizing the views expressed during the debate.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.