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Fifth Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINETEENTH MEETING
(Transcription from sound recording)

Lake Success, New York
Wednesday, 13 July 1949, at 2.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Roger GARREAU France

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e. the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.183 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): I declare open the nineteenth meeting of the fifth session of the Trusteeship Council.

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS: TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS,
FIRST REPORT (T/329, T/359)

The PRESIDENT: (Interpretation from French): We shall finish considering the report on the Pacific Islands. I have two speakers on my list: the representatives of France and the United Kingdom.

Mr. LAURENTIE (France) (Interpretation from French): The consideration of the report from the Administering Authority on the Pacific Islands has been the subject of a very interesting discussion. If I personally did not take part in the debate, it was because I had presented certain written questions. I would impress upon the Council at this point that the method of submitting written questions is one which saves the Council considerable time, as well as providing more precise information which is available to all members of the Council from the outset of the debate. Every member of the Council might take note of these advantages and endeavour to develop them.

From the entirety of the matter submitted for our examination, I think it is possible and useful to pick out certain facts. The first fact, which is very often forgotten, is that the United States Administration only took possession of these Territories during the war while military operations were being undertaken, and that the war only ended a few years ago. It would therefore be very difficult for the United States Administration to multiply the number of weeks, months or years during which the experience it gained could have resulted in more decisive achievements. The factor of time and the factor of war must always be borne in mind by us.

Then, too, it is equally necessary to remember that we are here carrying out a special examination since the Territories with which we are concerned are strategic Territories, and the consideration of the Trusteeship Council on this matter must therefore be limited to questions on which the Security Council wishes our collaboration.

Finally, I should like to note that the Visiting Mission which the Trusteeship Council will send to the Pacific in 1950 will go to the United States Trust Territories in April and May. This is in the very near future, and it would therefore be in our interest to defer taking a definite stand on the Administration of these Territories

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until we know the results of the Visiting Mission's investigations on the spot.

Having said all this, I wish to underline a fact which seems to me extremely important: in undertaking the administration of the Pacific Islands, the United States contributed two very valuable factors. The first: is the very considerable financial and economic means at the disposal of the United States which must in time -- I would say even in quite a short time -- be of definite assistance to the Territories. The second factor -- certainly not less and perhaps more important than the first -- is the great goodwill evinced by the United States Administration towards its Trust Territory. Evidence of this goodwill appears throughout the report; it ^{has been} even better shown by Rear Admiral Fiske in the answers he has given to the many questions put to him in recent meetings. It is obvious that the goodwill of the United States is a most valuable factor upon which we may count, and which may reassure us that the economic and financial means which the United States is able to expend will have decisive and rapid results in the amelioration of conditions in the Territories.

In these circumstances, is it necessary to go into details of questions on the Administration of the Pacific Islands? Personally, I do not think so. I would ask also if it is of any use to dwell upon the acrimonious criticism levelled at this Administration. That I believe even less.

As far as these criticisms are concerned, I would point out that, on the part of one member of the Council, they are invariably the same. Whether they concern large or tiny Territories; whether they concern continents, islands or archipelagos; whether they concern Territories inhabited by different races of the Pacific or by West or East Africans, the criticisms are always identically the same. It is a pattern which never alters, and we begin to feel a certain weariness in listening always to the same thing which bears no relation to reality.

Whether we are discussing the British Administration, the French Administration, the Belgian Administration, the Australian, New Zealand or United States Administration, according to the same critic we hear during the examination of each report, we see that the vices of ^{all} these Administrations are identical. The criticisms are usually as follows: on the one hand there is an abusive retention of the tribal system; on the other, the
/maintenance

maintenance of a primitive economy, racial discrimination, the abusive maintenance of the head tax, and finally a standard of education far below what the representative of the Soviet Union would wish.

As far as the tribal system is concerned, I do not know what he means. There are fifty tribal systems, or more exactly, there are fifty tribal customs -- perhaps even more --, all differing one from the other. For my part, I do not know the tribal customs of the Pacific, but I do know a few of the African tribal customs and I know that they are essentially and fundamentally different one from the other.

According to the representative of the Soviet Union, one would have to believe that all African or Pacific customs, or all customs wherever they may be, are customs in themselves evil and incapable of improvement; that the indigenous inhabitants of Africa or the Pacific are individuals or groups of individuals incapable in themselves of envisaging a political or social regime acceptable at any moment of history. This seems to me exceedingly insulting to the indigenous races, and it seems to me a point deserving some insistence.

For example, I do not believe that the tribes which practise a system where there is no kind of chief or hierarchy, but simply tacit general obedience to an unwritten law, can be compared to other tribes which, on the contrary, live in a hierarchical state either monarchical or republican.

/From all this

From all this, it would appear that the representative of the USSR failed to make any preliminary study of the actual conditions under which the people we are dealing with lived and are still living. I consider this to be serious.

With respect to the Pacific, the representative of the USSR tells us that the tribal system is being maintained, even though the Administering Authority has tried hard to create self-governing organs. However, the evil stems from the fact that in many of these municipalities, which were founded on this, that or the other island, certain individuals have been chosen to act as municipal magistrates and they were individuals whose authority was previously recognized by custom. Apparently this is wrong. Apparently, from the moment a municipality is established, those who had managed public affairs and who are acquainted with them must no longer continue to administer these public matters. Apparently an entire class must disappear because it was probably more competent than another.

At any rate, it is considered imperfect and unadaptable to any new system established on a more democratic basis.

I must admit that this is quite beyond my understanding. I think the Administering Authority is perfectly right to try to work for the best with the elements at its disposal and to try to achieve progress, not in theory, but in practice.

The objections will be the same when we consider the other "hobby-horses" which usually are brought before us, such as the primitive economy. I think the representative of the USSR said yesterday that the population of the Pacific Islands lived in a state of semi-starvation. That is not so. Although we recognize that the population of the Pacific Islands went through some hard times -- this very probably happened during the war-- it is nevertheless evident that the United States Administration has endeavoured to achieve economic progress, and evidence leads us to believe that this progress is constant.

You cannot, in a few years, change what used to be a primitive economy. But, given sufficient time, it is possible to bring about a very profound and radical change, and this is what the United States Administration is trying to bring about in the Pacific Islands.

As far as racial discrimination is concerned, it has been repeated constantly in this Council that racial discrimination did not exist as a result of the fact that ^a/locally-recruited teacher was paid less than /a teacher coming

a teacher coming from the United States. I do not know what teachers' salaries are here in the State of New York but I think they must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$300 to \$350 per month. I am perfectly sure that it is very difficult to ask a teacher from the State of New York to go to the Pacific Islands and teach the natives there for \$50, \$60 or \$100 per month. This would be absurd. And this has been repeated over and over again in this Council.

Of course, a certain scale of salaries and incomes is established in the Territory, and from the moment when any of the essential elements are upset, the entire economic structure is upset. What we are trying to find is a progressive economy and not a revolutionary economy, which would lead either to inflation or to the very destruction of the means at one's disposal today.

I shall not go into the details of the head tax. Here again is a subject dear to the USSR contradictor and which, nevertheless, is clear in itself. The proportional tax and progressive tax on incomes are something which cannot be adapted to any given economy unless that economy is able to support it. It is very expensive to establish as complicated and delicate a fiscal system as that of the income tax, whether it be proportional or progressive. Even today in the Pacific Islands the time has not yet arrived to impose upon the populations what would necessarily be a burden and would in no way benefit them.

As far as education is concerned, everything has been said on the subject. We might recall here that we are faced with a population which has come into contact with American education within the last few years only. In this short time it is absurd to feel that graduates in all fields can be obtained.

Therefore, the conclusion to be drawn from this is that we are faced, on the one hand, with an Administering Authority wealthy in means and good will while, on the other hand, we have unreal and sterile criticisms.

If I might take the liberty of advising the Administering Authority, I would advise it to continue calmly along the lines that it is following, knowing that those lines will lead it finally to the goal which it has proposed for itself and of which we all approved.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium)(Interpretation from French): I should like to make a few remarks but I feel that the majority of them have already been stated by my colleagues so I shall be very brief now.

/In the report

In the report which has been presented to the Council by the United States as Administering Authority of the Pacific Islands, we have a document which I consider to be of great interest and importance.

On page 154 of the report the general instructions of 15 January 1948 given from the Chief of Naval Operations to the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands are set forth. When one reads in paragraph 3 what the United States Government feels that it should do in the Pacific Islands, one realizes that these declarations are the assertion of the principles of an indigenous policy which is entirely in agreement with the intentions of the Charter and the Trusteeship System as a whole.

The objectives laid down for the Administration of the Pacific Islands by the United States Government are clearly stated in this document:

- "(a) The early establishment of self-governing communities.
- "(b) The institution and maintenance of an adequate program for public health and sanitation.
- "(c) The establishment of a general system of elementary education...
- "(d) The protection of the local inhabitants against the loss of their lands and resources...
- "(e) The physical restoration of damaged property and facilities."

/All this

All this constitutes a plan of indigenous policy which I believe deserves the whole-hearted approval of the Trusteeship Council.

In the political field we have heard that the United States Administration continues to maintain the tribal system. The instructions given by the Chief of Naval Operations to the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory are the following: "It is desired that the inhabitants of the island territories be granted the highest degree of self-government that they are capable of assimilating." And further on it says: "Local governments, in so far as practicable, should be patterned on the political and social institutions which the inhabitants have evolved for themselves."

This objective, which the Administering Authority proposes to achieve, is entirely consistent with the principles of the Charter requiring respect for the culture of populations.

Of course it would have been perfectly simple for the United States authorities to take a number of the children from the Pacific Islands, with or without the consent of their parents and communities, bring them to the United States of America, completely "detrribalize" them, subject them to an exclusively American education and propaganda, and return them to the islands as messengers of American ideas.

But instead of doing this the United States authorities decided, in accordance with the Charter, to respect the institutions that these tribes established for themselves on condition that when such institutions presented an obstacle to progress, they would gradually be diminished and eventually removed.

I asked for explanations regarding an apparent contradiction in the political directives which, it would seem, should be attributed to ^{an error in} the report itself. I referred to the information contained in paragraph 26 of the report which says that: "In January 1947, the military governor decreed that local government should reflect American concepts as closely as might be feasible, but without radical changes in native systems."

Those instructions date from January 1947 whereas current instructions are dated January 1948 and consecrate an indigenous policy quite different and more consistent with the wishes of the Charter.

/I hope that

I hope that we will be given a final clarification regarding this apparent paradox in the next report.

I think it is absurd to reproach the Administering Authority for having maintained the tribal system. On the contrary, we should take note of the fact that the Authorities have instituted hundreds of municipalities in the islands which are quite foreign to the tribal system, and in these municipalities democratic concepts were introduced. I do not think we have the right to reproach the Administering Authority for not having created, in an artificial way, a territorial council of a wider scope to cover the entire territory under United States Trusteeship.

We should remember that this Territory covers three million square kilometers, that the inhabitants of some islands do not even know that there are other islands 3,000 or 4,000 kilometers away, and that the only political body that exists is the unit created by the fact that the Japanese, at different periods, had acquired either as colonial territories/^{or} under mandate, islands which had nothing in common, ethnically, geographically or socially. They were islands that had nothing in common except that they belonged to a single national political authority.

As far as the economic field is concerned I think the Trusteeship Council should entirely and wholeheartedly approve the policy expressed by the United States in its answer to question 46 on page 21 of document T/319, that the Island Trading Company, which is a non-profit organization, is in fact a state organ set up merely to take the place of other organs, and which, as and when the inhabitants are able to take up some of its activities, will withdraw in order to give free rein to private industries. This is an economic policy which I consider to be highly praiseworthy.

I think that the accusation levelled against the United States Authorities, saying that they are trying to exploit the Pacific Islands, can only cause one to smile.

We know perfectly well that the United States has never intended to get rich at the expense of the Pacific Islands. Quite the contrary. If we wish to reproach the United States in this field the only reproach which could be levelled against it would be that it had established a way of living in the Territories that is on such a high level -- thanks to

/ the subsidies

of the Government that have been given -- that perhaps it might be impossible for the islands to continue this high standard of living if the Trusteeship System were to end. We have only to look at the figure of \$52,000 mentioned by the special representative as having been spent for the municipality of Saipan alone. This means an expenditure of over \$10 per inhabitant. It is obvious that without this generous attitude on behalf of the Administering Authority it would be inconceivable that the population of Saipan would have such a high municipal budget which represents, as I said, \$10 per capita, when we know that the entire economy of all these islands of the Pacific adds up to approximately \$15 per head in total exports.

If the islands export a total of \$15 per head then it is obvious that they could not spend \$10 per head on the municipality of one of these islands alone. Obviously the Administering Authority shows its generosity. That is its right and we can only hope that progressively the economy and structure of these islands will be developed in such a way that after the effort, perhaps considerable, which will have to be done during the first few years, the local economy will be able to support the budget and that the budget will be calculated in such a way that the local economy will be able to carry it.

Generally speaking, I entirely support what the representative of France has just said regarding the goodwill that has been shown so often by the United States Administering Authority, and also the recognition of the considerable results that have been obtained in such a short time and in a period of reconstruction which at times makes it very difficult to develop all normal peacetime activities.

Mr. INGLES

Mr. INGERS (Philippines): The Philippine delegation would like in the first place to compliment the Administering Authority for the initiative it has shown in submitting its annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands almost simultaneously with the reference by the Security Council to the Trusteeship Council of the supervision of the Trust Territory.

My delegation believes that it is evidence of the good faith of the Administering Authority that it prepared such ^{an} annual report on the basis of the Provisional Questionnaire prepared by the Trusteeship Council even before said Questionnaire was officially transmitted to it by the Trusteeship Council on the authority of the Security Council.

In the second place, my delegation would also like to compliment the Administering Authority on the comparative comprehensiveness of its report considering the fact that it is its first annual report.

My delegation notes the fact that, unlike other Administering Authorities, the present Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is not the same authority which had charge of the Trust Territory under the Mandate System of the League of Nations. What strikes my delegation as unique in the history of the International Trusteeship System is that the present Administering Authority has accomplished so much during its first year of trusteeship.

It goes without saying, however, that there is still much room for improvement before the goal laid down by the Charter is finally achieved but a substantial start has been made.

In the political field we believe that a transfer of the administration in the Trust Territory to civilian authority should be effected as soon as possible. Although the Secretary of the Navy, to whom the President of the United States of America has delegated the responsibility of civil administration of the Trust Territory, is a civilian, that is practically the only feature which distinguishes the present Administration from the previous military government because officers and enlisted men of the Navy still dominate the Administration.

We note, of course, that the need for real civilian administration in the Trust Territory is recognized by the Administering Authority itself and is implicit in the Executive Order of the President of the United States delegating responsibility for administration of the

/Trust Territory

Trust Territory to the Secretary of the Navy as an interim measure. The Council might take the view that this interim arrangement is not in the best interest of the inhabitants because, in the first place, military and civil functions are to a large extent overlapping one another and, in the second place, the temporary nature of the arrangement must hinder the development of long-term policies and programmes for the development of the Territory.

The Council should therefore recommend that early steps be taken to effect a real transfer of the control of the Administration to a civilian agency and that at the same time the headquarters of the senior officials of the Trust Territory Government and the location of all branches of the Government should be established within the Trust Territory itself and not to a large extent outside of it, as at present.

In this connexion my delegation regrets that the special representative was not able to furnish the Trusteeship Council with a copy of the proposed organic Act for the Trust Territory now being considered by the Executive Department of the Administering Authority or of the proposed organic Acts submitted to, but not acted upon, the Congress of the United States of America. Under the circumstances the Council could not possibly avail itself of the generous offer of the special representative that the Administering Authority would be pleased to consider suggestions from the Council with regard to an organic Act. It is hoped, however, that the proposed organic Acts will soon be available for the perusal of the Trusteeship Council.

We note that there are four municipalities in the Trust Territory, namely Saipan, Truk, Palau and Ailinglopolap atoll, which enjoy real autonomy and we hope that their number will increase in due time until it embraces the 137 municipal governments in the Trust Territory. The Council should therefore encourage the Administering Authority in its efforts to establish democratic organs of purely local government and support all the steps that may be taken to ensure that the will of the people rather than hereditary considerations prevail in the election or appointment of such bodies.

We also note that suffrage is not yet universal in the Trust Territory although we commend the resourcefulness of the Administering Authority in introducing variations of the secret ballot for voters who can neither read nor write. The minimum age of twenty-six years

/for voters

for voters in Palau we consider too high, especially if we consider that people mature earlier in the tropics and that in the educational programme instituted by the Administering Authority it is expected that students will complete at least intermediate schooling by the time they are sixteen years of age.

We note the plans of the Administering Authority for setting up first regional advisory councils; second, for transferring legislative power to these councils and, third, for establishing ultimately a territorial legislature. My delegation was struck, however, by the absence of a regional advisory council for the Marianas notwithstanding that there exists, or is now in the process of formation, regional advisory councils in less-developed areas. Considering the admission of the special representative that the people of the Marianas are extensively advanced in modern civilization and are far ahead of the people of other areas, my delegation believes that the Marianas area is entitled to no less than a regional legislative body with real legislative power and not merely a regional advisory council which it does not have even at this time.

A regional legislative body for the Marianas could very well serve as a model for the other areas and be the nucleus of a territorial legislature for the whole Territory. Experience in the municipal councils which exist in each of the other areas should accelerate the transition from the regional advisory council to a regional legislative body until the goal of a Territory-wide legislature is finally attained.

/My delegation wishes

My delegation wishes to emphasize that we are not dealing here with a very primitive people. The people of this Trust Territory have a history which ante-dates the German rule, unlike other Trust Territories. The Marianas, for example, share a common history with the Philippines of Spanish colonization dating from the sixteenth century.

The special representative has already elaborated on the cultural acquisitions of the people of the Pacific Islands from Spanish, German, and Japanese tutelage as well as from prior contact with explorers of many nations. It is not, therefore, a mere platitude that the representative of the Administering Authority in this Council has described the people of these islands as being of great promise, for it is a promise founded on sufficient background.

My delegation considers ^{that} the existence of eight distinct cultures in the Trust Territory is no barrier to the unification of the Territory. The special representative has already indicated the possibility of reducing the number of political groups by assimilation and in the view of my delegation it is not impossible to form a single nation out of the peoples of the Trust Territory. Micronesia would, in that event, cease to be a mere geographic or ethnic term and become a real political union or federation as in fact it is already a distinct political entity.

The Council should therefore recommend to the Administering Authority to exert its efforts to develop regional governmental organs on a representative and elective basis and also to endeavour at an early date to bring representatives of the indigenous population into the territorial government itself.

In this connexion, the Council might recommend that the Administering Authority formulate a more concrete plan for the establishment of a legislative body for the Territory as a whole, providing full representation of the indigenous inhabitants and affording them a progressively increasing degree of participation in legislative and budgetary affairs.

With respect to the revision of the court system, my delegation welcomes the steps taken by the Administering Authority to effect a real separation between administrative and judicial powers. For example, through the appointment of a Chief Justice directly under
/the Secretary of

the Secretary of the Navy and the transfer of the power of review of judicial proceedings from administrative officials to a district court. My delegation hopes that the separation of powers will be carried out more fully, for example, by eliminating the requirement that at least one member of the Court of Appeals^{and} of the Supreme Court should be an officer or employee of the civil administration and seeing to it that the municipal magistrate who is not only the executive head of the municipality but sometimes its legislative power is not made in addition also the community court judge.

In the economic field, we welcome the avowed policy of the Administering Authority which is the protection of the local inhabitants against loss of their land and resources and the institution of a sound programme of economic development of trade, industry and agriculture along lines which will ensure that the profits and benefits thereof accrue to the inhabitants and which will assist them in achieving the highest possible level of economic independence.

My delegation believes, however, that the Trusteeship Council should scrutinize more closely the activities of the Island Trading Company which enjoys a de facto commercial monopoly in the Trust Territory. Inasmuch as this company is a Government corporation, the Trusteeship Council should request the Administering Authority to furnish the Council in every annual report with a more detailed description of the operations of the company during the year under review, such as, for example, salaries and wages of personnel, profits and losses, as well as the disposition of its funds. The Trusteeship Council should note, further, that the major portion of the profits of the Island Trading Company accrue from its trading in copra arising from the fact that it fixes the purchase price of copra very much below the world market price -- all expenses considered -- and that these profits are not utilized in a stabilization fund to protect the producers from an extreme drop in the market price of copra but is paid over as dividends into the revenue of the Trust Territory from which the producers receive no direct benefits.

The Trusteeship Council should note also that the copra producers already bear 15% processing tax on copra exports and hence shoulder an undue share of the burden of public expenditure. The estimated revenue for 1949 is \$519,000 of which \$150,000 is to come
/from processing

from processing taxes which are enforced only on the copra industry and \$300,000 is to come from dividends of the Island Trading Company, the major portion of which would come from the copra trading operations. It will be seen that the copra industry bears almost four-fifths of the tax burden of the Trust Territory.

My delegation also expresses concern at the exploitation of the phosphate deposits in Angaur by the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers for export to Japan, notwithstanding the report of the survey of the United States Commercial Company, an agency of the Administering Authority, recommending back in 1946 that when shipping is available better distribution of phosphate fertilizer to the natives be started and that the entire output of the Angaur mines be retained within the area. We do not understand, therefore, the arrangements for the export of phosphates to Japan which call for mining up to 865,000 metric tons of phosphate ore, which represents all the estimated deposits in Angaur, the survey in 1946 having shown a stock-pile of 65,000 metric tons and reserves remaining unmined of 800,000 metric tons. This makes a total of 865,000 metric tons, the very amount called for in the arrangements for export to Japan.

We also do not understand why by law the export of the entire output of the phosphate mines is exempt from the 15% processing tax levied on other exports. Thus, beyond the royalty of \$0.25 per ton to cover the irreparable damage to the privately owned lands from which the phosphate is mined, the Trust Territory derives no benefit whatsoever from the phosphates mined, which all go to Japan.

In the view of my delegation the Council should propose that these arrangements should be subjected to further serious review by the Administering Authority and that assurances be given to the Council in the light of this review that all necessary steps have been taken to safeguard the interests of the Territory and its inhabitants.

/My delegation has

My delegation has also certain misgivings with respect to the imposition of the head tax of \$2, in the imposition of which it is admitted that the indigenous inhabitants have no voice. My delegation has consistently advocated the abolition of the native head tax in other Trust Territories because we consider it basically wrong that a special tax is levied on natives only, and that its non-payment should be subject to the severest penalties. Moreover, we consider it obsolete in that it is not based on the ability of the individual to pay, and therefore we consider that it should be replaced by a more progressive system.

The head tax in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is, in name, not a native head tax, but in effect it is a native head tax because it is not imposed on all residents, but is imposed only on permanent residents -- which is the same thing as saying that it is imposed on the natives. We are not for the imposition of the head tax on transients, but there is a category of residents who are neither transients nor permanent residents who should be taxed. To mention one example: United States personnel employed by the Administration do not pay the head tax because they are not considered permanent residents. I am sure exemption from the head tax is not an inducement for the recruitment of United States personnel in the Administration. Neither is there a Territory-wide income tax.

My delegation recommends, therefore, that the Trusteeship Council urge the Administering Authority to review its tax system with a view to the abolition of the head tax and its substitution by a more progressive system of taxation based on the capacity of the individual to pay.

My delegation commends the Administering Authority for its revival of the canoe-building industry in the Trust Territory and hopes that this will stimulate the commercial fishing industry, which is perhaps next in importance only to the copra industry as an economic resource of the Trust Territory.

The Council might urge the Administering Authority, however, before granting any permits to outside fishing companies to exploit the marine resources of the Territory, to explore again the possibility and practicability of developing the fishing industry as a purely indigenous enterprise with all possible assistance, financial and technical, from the Administering Authority itself.

In agriculture, we note the steps taken by the Administering Authority in the eradication of plant pests. In the whole economic field, however, it is our view that the Council might propose to the Administering

/Authority that it

Authority that it should draw up and discuss with the Council a comprehensive plan of economic development which would serve as a pattern for the establishment on sound lines of the future economy of the Territory. Such a plan should take into account the existing and possible future resources of the Territory and indicate the lines along which these resources may be developed with maximum participation by and maximum benefit to the indigenous inhabitants.

In the social field, we take note of the great strides taken, especially in health, sanitation and medical matters. We note, however, that in spite of the efforts exerted by the Administering Authority at rehabilitation, the effects of the war have been such that the living standards of the inhabitants are still below pre-war levels. We welcome the assurance of the Administering Authority that it is its programme, not only to restore the pre-war living standards of the population, but to raise them higher if possible.

We commend to the Administering Authority the conduct of periodic surveys of the cost of living, with a view to correlating income or wages on the one hand, and prices of prime commodities on the other, and thus afford a basis for further efforts to raise the standard of living in the Trust Territory. In this connexion, future reports might include a table of the positions occupied by and the corresponding wages of United States and indigenous personnel, not only in the civil administration and in the Island Trading Company, but also in private enterprise. The principle of equal pay for equal work, consecrated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, should apply not only in the metropolitan territory, but also in the Trust Territory.

The most notable progress achieved by the Administering Authority in the Trust Territory has been in the educational field. My delegation, in this connexion, cannot but share the satisfaction already evinced by other delegations of the remarkable achievements of the Administering Authority in the educational field, particularly in securing 100 per cent attendance in the school of children of school age, not to mention adults, but my delegation believes that the Council might recommend to the Administering Authority to advance more rapidly its intention to provide secondary education within the Territory.

We were happy to note that there are two Marshallese on scholarship to Hawaii and two Saipanese studying at their own expense in continental United States. In this connexion, I recall the policy initiated in the Philippines at the inception of United States rule at the turn of the /century.

century -- to award scholarships to gifted young people, sending them to the continental United States, some of them being sent from the lower grades until they finished their courses. These scholars, together with the product of the local universities, provided the bulk of Filipino leadership.

Considering its happy result in the Philippines, my delegation cannot but express the hope that the Administering Authority will continue the policy of sending promising students not only to Hawaii, but also to the continental United States.

Before closing, my delegation would like to take exception to the criticism implied in the fear expressed by the representative of the United Kingdom that "the Administering Authority, in its desire to lead the people along the path to self-government, may be moving too fast." Certainly my delegation does not wish the Administering Authority to slow down the tempo of political development in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and thereby justify in any manner the still backward political conditions obtaining in other Trust Territories which have been under the tutelage of the various Administering Authorities for more than thirty years. That would be a flagrant disservice, to say the least, not only to the deserving people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, but also to the International Trusteeship System, established by the Charter of the United Nations.

/In conclusion

In conclusion, I wish to make of record, notwithstanding the concern I have expressed over certain details, the admiration of my delegation for the general policy of administration of the Trust Territory followed by the United States. It may be said to approximate the pattern it had already tried and carried out successfully in the Philippines.

Last, but not least, my delegation wishes to express its sincere appreciation of the clear and forthright answers of the special representative of the Administering Authority to the questions, both written and oral, propounded by my delegation.

Mr. NCRIEGA (Mexico) (Interpretation from Spanish): I must confess that I am in a dilemma: I do not know whether I should start by congratulating the Philippine delegation for the comments and suggestions it has just made, with the majority of which I entirely agree, or whether I should start my speech by congratulating the Administering Authority for what my delegation considers to be the bases of very fine principles for creating the social and political organization, as well as an economic system of a progressive and stable nature, which the Islands of the Pacific so urgently require.

My delegation entirely agrees with those who have said here that we cannot ask too much, in questions of organization, during these years that come so soon after the United States took upon its shoulders the responsibility of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. We know, and it has been said here, that there is a lot that has yet to be done, in spite of the fact that the basis for future work has been laid down with great speed.

Undoubtedly, in questions of education, health, sanitary administration and administration itself, the general lines of the policy of the Administering Authority have first of all to be laid down. But I must say that my delegation feels that it is incumbent upon it to mention two of the ideas that have been spoken about here in the Council.

Reference has already been made to one of these by the representative of the Philippines; that is, when he said the other day that we should not go too fast. I am a member of the same continent as that of the United States. We think a great deal of speed, and perhaps that is why America itself was the cradle of music and melodies that have to be danced to rather faster than the songs of other continents. I think you cannot put a brake on progress, nor can you put reins on the entire political
/philosophy of the

philosophy of the United States Government, a philosophy which has a much greater dynamic meaning, and, due to the favourable circumstances of its own economy, is enabled to carry out plans and investigations and fulfil certain ideas with greater speed than would be possible in other parts of the world.

As far as the other observations are concerned, I should like to refer to the counsel and advice of the representative of Belgium, regarding the desirability of maintaining tribal organizations. I have tried, but cannot consider that within the framework of the desires of the United Nations insofar as general policy and in particular the Trusteeship System itself are concerned, it can at any time be understood that the tribal system is one which can lead to the aims for which the Trusteeship System was established.

By means of this tribal system, a country or state can arrive neither at self-government nor at independence. We know perfectly well that it was the tribes which started the slave systems. It was the tribes which gave birth to the system of forced tributes and taxes. It is in the tribal system that we find typical cases of partial justice.

I think that if a good example were to be sought of the worst type of absolute government, it could be found in the tribal system. Perhaps in a rather romantic moment, following J.J. Rousseau in the desire to return to nature, and somewhat desperate because of the modern political complexities, we may believe that the best political organization would be that of the patriarchy and the tribal system. But we know that this is a dream: it is a pipe dream. It is undesirable as such, and therefore the tribal system must be eliminated gradually, but this gradual elimination must be as quick as possible.

We can in no way justify or protect the continuity of that system, with the idea that it is the obligation of the Administering Authority to respect the indigenous institutions. Polygamy was an institution of that sort, and still is. Is it therefore an obligation of governments to continue that type of marriage? Slavery was also an indigenous institution. Must it also be maintained?

It is also unacceptable to respect the customs and habits of the indigenous population when those customs are in any way jeopardizing the welfare of the entire community.

In the case of this new Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, we once again find ourselves faced with the problem of granting the benefits of civilization to indigenous populations. We cannot understand how

/anyone can

anyone can draw any benefits from civilization unless they have the necessary economic measures and faculties to maintain those benefits. The statement of the representative of Belgium that the Administering Authority was spending too much money would, I think, bear examination. I have never thought that any of the Administering Authorities could feel that the Trusteeship System is a business enterprise. The Trusteeship System can in no way be considered as a balance sheet of profits and losses.

It is obvious that in this relationship between the Trust Territory and the metropolitan area, and vice versa, there is a possibility of mutual benefits and advantages. But we can never really believe that we have to keep account in such a way that the benefits will always accrue for those who are administering the Trust Territory. That, I think, would be unfair.

I trust that the administrative activities of the United States Government -- whether it be provisionally or temporarily, under the care of the Department of the Navy, or whether, later on, it be put under a civil administration -- will always have as their fundamental principle the same as that contained in the United States Constitution. This might, of course, smack somewhat of an excess of idealism, but its application has definitely been made in the United States itself. I am referring to the declaration of the right to happiness, which is given to all human beings in the Constitution of the United States .

If this principle is applied in the administration of the Islands, then I am positive that the benefits and advantages of modern civilization will not be felt in the way in which they have been felt in other parts of the world, because for these people in the Pacific civilization will not be synonymous with foreign domination.

/If the formula of

If the formula of civilization is used as synonymous with happiness, then I know that the United States Government will have fulfilled a very noble mission in the islands of the Pacific.

Mr. LIU (China): I have read, with great interest and care, the report under examination and the replies to the written questions posed by various delegations. I have also listened with the same interest and care to the replies to the supplementary oral questions and the remarks made by representatives of other delegations.

I should like to join some of my colleagues in thanking the representative and the special representative of the United States for the courteous and forthright manner in which they made clear the position of their Government on various points raised around this table, for their very lucid introductory remarks and for answering all the questions which have been put to them.

My delegation has only a very brief general remark to make in connexion with the report we have been examining. My main thought -- in line with that expressed by many of my colleagues -- is that the Administering Authority should be commended for the praiseworthy work it has done in the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands during the year covered by the report, and also for the fullness of information furnished in the report, and for the very exemplary form of the report.

Like the representative of Iraq, I recall with pleasure and gratification the opening statement of the representative of the United States, in which he said that it was not for financial gain that the United States Government had accepted the Trusteeship. I believe in the sincerity of the statement and I believe that in the administration of the Trust Territory the Administering Authority has had principally at heart the welfare of the indigenous population.

In the opinion of the Chinese delegation, it is this policy of self-effacement, as well as the positive policy looking towards the advancement of the indigenous population in the political, economic, social and educational fields, that has enabled the United States Government to achieve as much as it has in the Pacific Islands. Good intentions are indeed the fountainhead of good government.

In considering the record of the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, it must not be forgotten that it was after a devastating war, a war which affected those islands very seriously, that the United States Government was entrusted with the administration of the Trust Territory, and that for this reason the Administering Authority had

/to start

to start almost from scratch. The difficulties which the Administering Authority has had, and will still have to overcome, are truly immense; but the manner in which these difficulties have been and are being surmounted and the manner in which the administration is carried on, deserves the commendation of the Trusteeship Council.

We believe that the good start made by the Administering Authority is bound to lead to the rapid improvement of the present administration and, in the end, to the complete fulfillment of the objectives and purposes of the Charter and the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement.

Mr. HOOD (Australia): I should like to state my agreement with the commendatory remarks which have been passed by other members of the Council, both in particular and in general terms, on the report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands which is now before us.

It is clear, from the report and from the oral explanations of the representative and the special representative of the United States, that this task of Trusteeship of the former Japanese mandated area has been undertaken initially with great vigour and imagination and with breadth of outlook which will, I think, serve as a most encouraging example for every other Administering Authority; and in particular, those Administering Authorities which have responsibility for Trust Territories in the Pacific area will take a special note of this report and of succeeding reports in the recognition that many -- although by no means all -- of the aspects and problems of administration in this Trust Territory are of a similar nature to those of other Pacific Trust Territories.

In that connexion, I should like to make one special reference to the passage in the report which itself recognizes the similarity of some of the aspects of administration in this Trust Territory with certain of the questions now being dealt with -- or about to be dealt with -- in the South Pacific Commission. That Commission is not specifically concerned with the area of this particular Trust Territory, but it is inevitable that many of the functions of the Commission and many of the tasks of the Administration of the Trust Territory will infringe on each other and, if there is proper interchange of information and ideas -- as I hope there will be -- will be correlated one with the other and will be of mutual benefit to all governments which have responsibilities in the administration of similar Trust Territories in the Pacific area.

/This suggestion

This suggestion, I hope, will be followed up in succeeding reports so that all of us who are particularly concerned with this type of problem will be kept abreast with the developments in the United States Trust Territory. One development especially comes to notice and that is the remarkable success indicated by the report in the medical treatment of the disease of yaws, which, as I understand the report, has been reduced within the very short period of a year or two from an incidence of over ninety percent to one of about five percent. In other words, it has been almost eliminated. That, and related accomplishments of the Administration, are and will always be of the utmost interest to and will deserve the special attention of other Administering Authorities in the area.

That leads me to a final observation which is also relevant to the Administering Authority which I represent here. There has been, earlier in the session, some discussion of the difficulties of the recruitment of properly trained and properly equipped staff to fill the normal administrative posts in the Trust Territories. I have read with special interest the very full and informative passage in this report which discusses the methods which have been adopted by the United States Government for that purpose.

/It is clear that

It is clear that, in the transition from purely military government to what will presumably be a purely civil administration, peculiar difficulties have presented themselves, and it may be that the methods which have been adopted and are now being employed for the recruitment and appointment of administrative personnel in the Trust Territory are inevitable and could not very well have been changed in the time available. However, they do leave a doubt as to whether there is sufficient ground for the building up of a permanent administrative service in the Trust Territory.

As I understand the report, the recruitment, or a large part of it, ^{still} is from among naval officers. These are then given a relatively brief period of special training before proceeding to the Trust Territory, after which they presumably take over their duties in the Trust Territory at once.

I have not been clear all along -- this might perhaps have been brought out better in questioning, but did not happen to be -- whether these officers are regarded as doing a term of service in the Trust Territory for a certain period, being then subject to withdrawal or transfer to other duties in connexion with their own Service -- that is to say the Navy. If that is in fact the case, might there not be some danger of the Administration feeling itself on such an insecure and transient footing in the Trust Territory that it would militate, in the long run, against the proper development of the administrative service and against the best use of the personnel available?

Perhaps there is an answer to that observation; it would certainly interest my Government which, as the Council knows, has particular difficulties in the recruitment of personnel for New Guinea.

Finally, I would, again, join with other members of the Council in congratulating the Administering Authority on what it has accomplished in the Trust Territory in a very short period, and in thanking the special representative for his courtesy and patience and for the clarity of his answers to the Council.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Interpretation from Russian): I had not intended to speak, but I find that I am forced to do so in view of the distortion of the Soviet position made in the statement of the representative of France.

The representative of France devoted his statement, not to a consideration of the report of the Administering Authority

/regarding

regarding the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, but to an attack on the position of the Soviet Union on the question of international Trusteeship. In fact, his statement dealt with a number of questions not even relevant to the Pacific Islands, but with questions of a general nature which do not exist at all, but were trumped up by the representative of France.

The representative of France particularly tried to distort the position of the Soviet delegation on the question of the tribal system. He tried to turn this position entirely upside-down. I had the feeling that he was so incensed about the matter that he was almost ready to stand on his head himself. He said that the ^{position of} delegation of the Soviet Union on the question of tribal systems is completely outside the framework of his understanding. This seems to me a well justified statement which we rarely hear from the lips of the French representative; it is quite true that the French representative did not understand anything regarding the position of the Soviet delegation in this matter, and I am not surprised at that. What does surprise me is that, not having understood the position of the Soviet delegation, the representative of France tried to criticize that position. But it would seem that he has certain reasons for making particular efforts at this time, so that, without having gone into the subject of the matter before us, he had, in some way, to attack the Soviet delegation.

This is what I wanted to emphasize. In view of the fact that the French delegation has distorted the stand of the Soviet delegation on the question of tribal systems -- particularly as regards the Pacific Islands -- I should like to clarify our views on this matter.

First of all, in the statement made by the Soviet delegation there was not a single word -- and there could not possibly be a single word -- which might in any way resemble that attributed to it by the representative of France, that is, a lack of respect for the capacities and capabilities of the indigenous inhabitants to handle their own affairs. On the contrary, the delegation of the Soviet Union feels that the indigenous inhabitants should have the possibility to administer the affairs of the Trust Territory. That has been clearly stated, not only in respect of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, but in relation to all other Trust Territories as well.

/As far as

As far as the Territory of the Pacific Islands is concerned, I said that, in view of the fact that there exist in the Trust Territory no legislative, judicial or executive bodies in which the indigenous inhabitants participate, the Trusteeship Council "should recommend to the Administering Authority the creation of legislative bodies and administrative bodies in the Trust Territory itself and, for this purpose, to introduce legislative and other measures which would provide for the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory in the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory." That is my first comment.

The second comment which I wish to make refers directly to the tribal system. Here again the representative of France distorted the position of the Soviet delegation, both in general and specifically with regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. What did I say in my capacity of representative of the Soviet Union on the Trusteeship Council on this question? I said yesterday during our meeting -- and I think all the members of the Council remember it quite well -- that "the Trusteeship Council cannot consider as normal the situation in which the Administering Authority has not taken the necessary steps to provide for the transference from the tribal system to a system of self-government based on democratic principles."

/Further, I said

Further, I said:

"On the basis of the information supplied by the special representative the conclusion must be reached that the Administering Authority not only retains the tribal system but utilizes it widely for purposes of administering the inhabitants of the Trust Territory. Instead of creating a system of self-government based on democratic principles the Administering Authority has limited itself to a few purely bureaucratic measures for adjusting the tribal system to the purposes of local administration.

"No one should be confused, and no one should be fooled, by the statement that the Administering Authority has seemingly introduced a so-called system of municipalities. Actually it is not a creation of democratically-elected municipalities in the generally accepted sense of the word. Reference there is made simply to the fact that if previously the chiefs of clans or tribes were simply called "chiefs" of tribes, at the present time, in addition to the fact that they continue to execute their previous functions, the Administering Authority has broadened their rights and even pays them additional salaries at the expense of the population.

"All that has happened is that new labels, new tags, have been hung upon these chiefs. They have been called "magistrates", etc.

Further, I adduced a number of facts regarding the statements made by the special representative and by the Administering Authority itself on this question, facts which actually bear^{out} my remarks that the situation is as I have drawn it:

"The special representative, for instance, stated that in many municipalities the American officials appoint the head of the clan or chief for the purpose of administering a given area. Further, he stated that there are instances where a group of elders and leading families of the tribe or clan appoint one of their members as a magistrate.

"In reply to specific questions asked the special representative replied that the Administering Authority considered it possible to utilize the chiefs of the clans and tribes for purposes of administering the indigenous inhabitants."

I gave data from the report of the Administering Authority contained on page 13. I hope that all the members of the Council recall my quotation there because it completely supports the conclusions which

/the USSR delegation

the USSR delegation has reached on the basis of the existing facts to the effect that the Administering Authority utilizes the tribal system for purposes of administration and that the tribal chiefs are used as officials by the Administering Authority.

For this reason, the USSR delegation suggested a very clear and specific recommendation:

"The Soviet Union delegation considers that in view of the fact that the tribal system which exists at the present time in the Trust Territory is inconsistent with the progressive development of the indigenous inhabitants towards self-government and independence, the Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it take steps which would provide for a transfer from the tribal system to a system of self-government based on democratic principles."

This recommendation contains our complete respect for the rights and interests of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory.

While the representative of France tried to impute to the USSR delegation completely non-existent attitudes which it is supposed to have toward the indigenous inhabitants, these are the facts and no efforts on the part of the French delegation to distort the position of the USSR delegation can change the facts. Facts are very stubborn things and they must be taken into consideration in order that we do not find ourselves in the woeful position of the French Bourbons.

Mr. SAYRE (United States of America): I should like to comment on the observations made in the Trusteeship Council on the United States report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. I should like first to express the appreciation of my Government for the comments and suggestions which, with the exception of one member, have been for the most part helpful and constructive. My Government will be happy to consider carefully and to weigh these suggestions. My Government, as I need scarcely repeat, is anxious in every practicable way, to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory.

At the outset of the debate on the report, both the special representative and myself pointed out to the Council certain outstanding factors which we felt it essential to bear in mind for a true understanding of our problem.

The general situation was ably summarized by the representative of Iraq yesterday afternoon. From some of the questions which were asked, however, I feel that certain of these factors may have been overlooked.

/The first of these

The first of these is the primitive nature of a large portion of the population of the Territory and the fact that they live largely on the food which they themselves produce, a subsistence economy without any extensive dependence on money. In fact many of them use such money as they acquire in limited amounts for the purchase of imported luxury items rather than for their real needs.

One must also keep constantly in mind the vast sea distances which separate the far-flung islands of the Trust Territory with the resultant infrequency of inter-island visiting.

The third factor is the resulting marked diversity among the island peoples and their cultures which comes from the wide separation of the islands.

Another factor is that after the war which, as we know, caused widespread destruction, the 70,000 Japanese who had administered the government, the businesses and the educational programme were repatriated, leaving the entire Territory without a vestige of the former administration. The Administering Authority had to assume immediately the task of filling that vacuum, of reconstructing the political, economic and educational life from the ground up.

The great bulk of observations and criticisms made in the Council were made by the USSR representative. In commenting upon his observations, I should like to ignore many of his innuendoes. My Government believes that actions speak far louder than words. We are content to let the record speak for itself. We believe that the Trusteeship Council was set up by the Charter of the United Nations, not as a sounding board for propaganda, but as an organization for the sincere consideration and promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of Trust Territories. From that point, I should like to reply to the observations of the USSR delegation.

The USSR delegation manifested, it seems to me, a profound difference of viewpoint and of philosophy with regard to the administration of Trust Territories. I should like to point out three of these fundamental differences for they underlie much of the work of the Trusteeship Council and merit careful consideration.

The first of these is the problem which we have heard discussed at such length as to how best to serve the inhabitants of Trust Territories that are still dominated by the clan system, in the gradual development of Western forms of democratic government.

/Yesterday the

Yesterday the USSR representative declared -- and I am quoting from page 51 of document T/P.V. 182:

"On the basis of the information supplied by the special representative the conclusion must be reached that the Administering Authority not only retains the tribal system but utilizes it widely for purposes of administering the inhabitants of the Trust Territory."

That is the passage he quoted just a moment ago in explanation of what his position is. He then went on to say:

"Instead of creating a system of self-government based on democratic principles the Administering Authority has limited itself to a few purely bureaucratic measures for adjusting the tribal system to the purposes of local administration.

"All that has happened is that new labels, new tags, have been hung upon these chiefs."

/That is a fresh

That is a fresh restatement of the Soviet Union representative's constantly recurring theme, that is, a criticism of any Administering Authority for not wiping out the tribal or clan system and putting in its place Western forms of governmental processes and structures.

Doubtless the representative of the Soviet Union does express, in his criticism, the Soviet philosophy of government but it is a philosophy with which my Government cannot concur. My Government believes that real democracy consists in building upon the desires and the consent of the governed. Democracy consists in ^{the} gradual and progressive development of a government foundationed upon education and involving understanding.

In the view of my Government widespread and popular education offers the only sound foundation upon which a truly democratic government can be built, and it is because my Government has a firm belief and faith in that kind of democracy rather than ⁱⁿ dictatorship that it believes that the clan or tribal system under which people have been bred for centuries, should not be torn up by its roots and replaced overnight by ^{Western} forms of government which they do not understand and do not desire.

The supplanting must be a gradual and progressive development based on education; and that takes time. Remember that the Pacific Islands Trusteeship Agreement is only two years old. The Administering Authority believes that development towards self-government or independence, to be permanently satisfactory, must be based upon active and intelligent participation by the population, and that such constructive participation on a Territory-wide basis is impracticable at the present time in view of the primitive state of the vast majority of the population and the wide divisions and diversities between different cultural groups, caused and accentuated in most instances by their geographical separation.

The Administering Authority, while anxious to promote the political advancement of the population, believes that any attempt to impose this advancement arbitrarily, by law, would be in violation of the obligations imposed by article VI of the Trusteeship agreement, which requires the Administering Authority to give "due recognition to the customs of the inhabitants in providing a system of law for the Territory."

That brings me to the second fundamental divergence in thought between the Soviet Union Government and my own.

/ The representative

The representative of the Soviet Union said yesterday: "No-one should be confused, and no-one should be fooled, by the statement that the Administering Authority has seemingly introduced a so-called system of municipalities." Those again were the words which the representative of the Soviet Union quoted a moment ago in explanation of what his real stand is.

In his view apparently the promotion of political advancement of the population demands the imposition, overnight, from above, of a full-fledged Territory-wide government, participated in, if not run, by the indigenous population, and that the institution of municipal organization is not the way to go about it.

With such a view my Government again profoundly disagrees. I think it is clear that down through the centuries the development of self-government begins with local areas. Long before any feeling of national consciousness develops there must be a development of unity of thought and organization in local communities.

The nation of Italy, for instance, had a comparatively late development. Italy grew out of earlier city states. The nation of France grew out of earlier feudal units and local organizations. So did most of the nations of Europe.

In the Pacific Islands it seems abundantly clear that if there is to be a sincere and honest attempt, in the words of Article 76 of the Charter, "to promote the political advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory and their progressive development towards self-government" the only possible, practicable way to begin is through the organization of municipalities.

Remember, as the report points out, that the inhabitants living in an area of some 3,000,000 square miles and separated by wide cultural diversities, to-day have no common sense of national unity. They are separated by deep prejudices and local jealousies as well as by immense distances; and surely it must be clear that if the foundation is to be firmly laid for any permanent system of self-government one must begin with local areas, with individual islands, with municipalities.

It is true that not all municipalities are as yet organized on a representative basis. We have endeavoured to build upon the best of the existing indigenous governmental practices. However, many

/ democratic elections

democratic elections have been held and the fact that approximately 80% of the indigenous inhabitants of voting age enjoy some form of suffrage is, it seems to me, a clear indication that progress is being made in gradually remoulding the local government.

The Administering Authority has started self-government in the local municipalities just as all self-government started in the great democracies of the Western world. It has already begun expanding through regional advisory bodies such as the Palau Congress, the Conference of Magistrates in Yap and in Ponape, and has indicated its intention of progressively extending its sphere of indigenous participation as the population becomes prepared to assume such responsibility.

/ The Administering Authority

Instead, as has already been mentioned, my Government is spending large sums for the welfare of the inhabitants; in the opinion of some of the members here, too large sums.

To assist the people in the marketing of their copra and other Island products and in the importing of such goods as they need, the Island Trading Company was organized. All the profits from this organization go to the welfare and support of the Island peoples. As more than once explained by the special representative and as set forth in the report on page 155 this Island Trading Company is an "interim arrangement until such time as the inhabitants of the various localities are in a position to carry on these functions on their own account." It is my Government's desire to encourage and assist the local people to achieve this goal as soon as practicable.

The Island inhabitants are taking a very active part in economic activities on both the district and the local levels where they are conducting the retailing and have even organized wholesale companies to such an extent that the Island Trading Company has been able to withdraw completely from the Saipan District and to curtail its activity substantially in other Districts so that the inhabitants may themselves carry on the work.

The Company's prices, as the report states on page 29, have been fixed so as to provide a full opportunity for private enterprise to enter the commercial field. It is again shocking to hear the Soviet Union representative declare, as he did yesterday, and I quote this time from page 52 of document T/P.V. 182:

"The Administering Authority has not undertaken the necessary measures to bring the indigenous inhabitants into active participation in the economic life of the area..."

The Soviet Union representative further stated on the same page:

"The Administering Authority ...has not taken any steps to develop industry on the basis of local raw material."

The record clearly shows that the Administering Authority has indeed fostered the development of industries by the indigenous inhabitants in utilizing and processing such local raw materials as may be available, that is to say, in respect to the preparation for market of copra, trochus shells, mangrove bark, taro fibre, charcoal, pepain, sponges, fish and trepang; in the manufacture in local service shops and in the production of exportable handicraft items too numerous to mention.

/As to the

As to the wage scale in force in the Territory, I am sure I need not point out to the representatives sitting here that the indigenous economy in the Pacific Islands does not depend primarily upon a price or money system. Special wage rates have been authorized in particular islands such as Kwajalein and certain islands of the Majuro Atoll, where the cost of living is higher than in most parts of the Territory because of greater dependence on imported food. Thus in the Saipan District where greater dependence on the import of goods is essential, as shown on page 43 of document T/359 in answer to question 105, it will be noted that a higher wage scale is in force as shown on page 95 of the report. It should be further noted that the table of wages on pages 94-95 in the report gives the average rates of wages for the Territory other than Saipan.

In most of the Territory, however, the supply of goods and services is integrated into the social system on a gift-exchange, or community-effort, basis. Consequently a comparison drawn between the average rates of wages and the money-cost of certain items gives a totally unrealistic impression of the standard of living which a worker can maintain.

The statements of the Soviet Union representative -- and I quote this time from page 53 of document T/P.V. 182 -- that, in his words:

"It is impossible to conceive how a worker can live

on such a beggarly wage..."

and again on page 52 where he says that the bulk of the population is doomed "to a beggarly semi-starvation existence" are as unrealistic as they can be.

/The majority of workers

The majority of workers do not live on wages but on a subsistence basis. The inhabitants, as I can testify from personal observation of my own knowledge, are living happy lives without shortage of food or other living necessities. Malnutrition is no longer in evidence in the Territory.

As to the ability of those receiving low wages to obtain education for their children, attention is invited to page 61 of the report where it is stated that no school fees are required in the public school system and that the granting of scholarships calculated to cover living expenses of advanced students is a widespread practice.

The representative of the Soviet Union uses this same unrealistic approach to prove from the case of teachers the existence of racial discrimination. He makes much of this, as I see reading from page 56 of the same document, T/PV 182, his remarks yesterday afternoon, as he did in similar comments on the other reports. May I stop for just a moment to explain what was already adverted to by the representative of France this afternoon, that if education is to be pushed at the rate which my Government believes it should be pushed, it is an absolute necessity for an Administering Authority to bring from the outside to the Trust Territory teachers to give the necessary instruction at the indigenous teacher-training schools, the medical, dental and nursing schools. Apart from a few consecrated missionaries, unless the Administering Authority is prepared to pay the prevailing rate of wages of the country from which they are brought, none will consent to come. American teachers cannot be brought to the Pacific Islands unless they are paid wages no less than they could get for jobs at home. And yet, through this interim period, to pay indigenous teachers the same rate of wages would completely upset their position in the local economy and would raise the cost of education to such astronomical proportions that either the number of indigenous teachers must be cut to a ruinous and shocking level or else education must bankrupt the community.

Of course it is very clear that the imported and the indigenous teachers are performing services -- each needed and valuable -- but altogether different. The problem is clearly not one of racial discrimination nor is it one of disregard of Article 76 (c) of the Charter of the United Nations.

/The representative

The representative of the Soviet Union has criticized the educational facilities in the Trust Territory. He said yesterday -- and I quote again his words as reported on page 66 of that same document T/PV 182:

"It is quite obvious" he said "that in view of the beggarly wage paid to teachers the entire question of education is at an unsatisfactory stage...The Administering Authority" he went on to say, "further does not take the necessary steps to create conditions which would make it possible for the inhabitants of the Trust Territory to obtain a secondary or higher education."

A mere glance at the United States report makes clear that here again is a wide departure from fact. As shown by the figures on page 58 of the report, within the short time since the Trusteeship agreement has come into force the Administering Authority has established a free public school system, elementary schools are located throughout the Territory and an excellent Teacher Training School has been established at Truk. During my recent visit, I stopped to see the work of that Teacher Training School at Truk and I was struck with the excellence of the student body and of what is actually going on there.

As shown in our report, out of an indigenous population of some 50,000 people, no fewer than 9,300 children are at school. Not only has my Government established elementary schools, intermediate schools and schools for advanced training of teachers, medical and dental assistants and nurses, but also, as was explained by the special representative, the Administering Authority is assisting certain students in obtaining higher education in Hawaii and the United States.

Incidentally, may I say just a word with regard to the confusion which arose yesterday during the discussion by the representative of Iraq in connexion with the education statistics appearing on page 104 of the report. The Council will remember the very amusing conclusion which he reached.

I think the explanation is fairly simple, as becomes evident from a study of the figures in the report. The number of children of school age involves only those between the years of 6 and 16, and this is the age range served primarily by the elementary schools; the enrolment in the intermediate schools and the advanced

/professional schools

professional schools naturally includes students whose age is above 16. I think the explanation becomes clear as one carefully scrutinizes those figures.

In conclusion, may I refer successively to a number of rather unconnected comments and observations which have been made. The suggestion which two or more have spoken of that the head tax should be replaced with a progressive tax system or at least a tax system which would take into consideration the property qualification and the ability to pay of the population, does not, in the opinion of my Government, give sufficient weight to the primitive nature of many of the communities in the Trust Territory. The head tax is one of the simplest and most practicable to assess and helps to bring home to all elements in the community their responsibilities and their participation in the expense of government. It will of course be understood -- as pointed out in the report -- that this head tax is by no means the only form of tax in force in the Territory. The question of ability to pay has not been disregarded in building a tax structure, nor even in the case of the head tax itself. In the answer to question 85 on page 36 of document T/359, it is pointed out that provision is made for abatement of the head tax in the case of those who are not reasonably able to pay.

The representative of the Soviet Union has recommended that the budget for education and public health be increased. All of us would like to see education and public health pushed -- I think my Government probably more than any other Government perhaps -- but I submit that my Government has been generous -- in the eyes of some, overly generous -- in the amount it has already expended from its own funds for education and public health, as well as for other functions in the advancement of the Trust Territory; and that there is sound basis in the opinion of many for the concern expressed in the Council over the risk involved in setting up a more expensive governmental structure or services than the people of the Trust Territory may be able to support.

/In his reference

In his reference, which I find on page 66 of document T/PV 182, the representative of the USSR was, I think, slightly mistaken when he stated that: "The special representative has told us that there really is not a single individual in the Trust Territory who has obtained a complete secondary education, without even mentioning a higher education." I call the attention of the Council to the statements of the special representative on this subject, which will be found on page 22/25 of document T/PV 181 and also on page 42/45 of T/PV 182. The special representative's words in the first instance were that there are "very few," and in the second instance that there are "comparatively few" of the indigenous inhabitants who have a higher education.

As to the possibility of secondary education for qualified students beyond that offered in the intermediate schools, I call attention to the statement in answer to question 228 on page 61 of the report to the effect that qualified students may "attend United States Government high schools on Guam."

Needless to say, I cannot agree at all with the USSR representative's statements impugning the motives of my Government and alleging that it has failed to submit sufficient information regarding the progress of the population. Of course there is room for further improvement; that is what we are working for and looking forward to. But surely on a question of our good faith, of the sufficiency of our accomplishments to date under the circumstances and the adequacy of the information submitted, I am entirely content to leave those matters to the good sense of the Trusteeship Council.

I appreciate the suggestion of the representative of the United Kingdom that larger type ought to be used in the printing of our next annual report. I am inclined to agree with him. I shall be glad to pass this suggestion on to my Government, and personally, I hope that it will be possible to comply with that suggestion.

With regard to the question raised by the representative of the Philippines concerning the organic Act, the Administering Authority has stated in the answer to question 8 on page 6 of document T/359 that it "would be pleased to consider suggestions from the Trusteeship Council with regard to an organic Act." In reply to the question of the representative of the Philippines, a draft bill was submitted to the Congress last year, as he will remember. That has been published and is available to all. It contains detailed provisions designed to carry out the general terms of the Trusteeship agreement, but,
/as he doubtless

as he doubtless knows, the bill was not considered by the last Congress owing to pressure of work and a new bill is now being prepared by the executive department for submission to the present session of Congress. This bill will not be published, of course, until it has been received by Congress.

Perhaps I ought to point out that in view of the constitutional procedures of the United States it would not prove practical or feasible for Congress to develop such legislation in any formal consultation with some other official body. Nevertheless, hearings will doubtless be held on that proposed legislation, and anyone will be free, probably, to make such comments as he or she may desire.

Turning to another matter, the manifest advantage of training indigenous nurses at the dispensaries where they would remain more nearly within their own environment, as suggested by the representative of the United Kingdom, this is a matter which has been apparent to the Administering Authority and has been given careful consideration. To date, however, the possibilities of broader training at a large hospital have appeared to counterbalance the disadvantage of removing ^{students of} the/nursing from their own environment. But this is a question which deserves constant examination and consideration, and is one which we shall certainly continue to study.

The suggestion of the representative of Iraq that the seat of government should be transferred to the Trust Territory is one which I think I may say has been under consideration by the Administering Authority for some time. The logic of it is clear. Initial practical difficulties -- of housing, of transportation, of communication -- have prevented making a transfer as yet, but the matter is now under very active consideration by the Administering Authority.

With reference to another suggestion of the representative of the Philippines, namely that a stabilization fund should be created for the protection of copra producers, that is a suggestion involving a very delicate question of judgment. The complications of operating such a fund and the difficulty of forecasting the copra market on any accurate basis have made the creation of such a fund appear to the Administering Authority to date to be probably less desirable than the simpler method which is now being followed. As indicated by the special representative, there has been a recent severe drop in the copra market which may have a very serious effect on the whole question, but I need not add that this whole question of the possibility of a stabilization fund will be given

/consideration

AMH/dg

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consideration and continual study by the Administering Authority.

In connexion with the concern of the Philippine representative over the proportion of the tax burden borne by the copra industry, I should like to call attention to the fact that copra is one of the most productive sources of cash income of the indigenous inhabitants as a whole, and that therefore in all justice it should bear a large proportion of the entire tax burden.

/It is probably

It is probably in a better position to bear this burden than less thriving new industries which the Administering Authority is attempting to foster, in order to broaden the economy. The Administering Authority is devoting very considerable attention to that problem.

I should like again to assure the representative of the Philippines that in next year's report information in full will be inserted, on the operations of the Island Trading Company, on the question of the phosphates at Angaur and upon their general bearing upon the economy of the people.

I fear that I have been unduly lengthy. My only excuse is that I have been dealing with problems which are not confined to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands alone. Those problems which I was discussing at the outset are fundamental problems. They must underlie our thinking in much of the work of the Trusteeship Council. I am sure all of us understand their importance.

For the close attention given by the Council to the explanations offered by the special representative, for the constructive and helpful suggestions which many Council representatives have offered, for the generous comments that certain of my colleagues have made with regard to the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, my Government wishes to express its appreciation.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): We shall have a ten minute recess, and I request representatives to be back in ten minutes' time.

The meeting was suspended at 5.03 p.m. and resumed at 5.18 p.m.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): We are completing our discussion on the Pacific Islands.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Interpretation from Russian): It would not be quite clear if, after the last statement made by the representative of the United States, I did not make some absolutely necessary explanations. If, in my statement, I say something ^{on} which the United States representative feels he must comment further, I think it would be only a service to the Trusteeship Council because it will help us in dealing with the recommendations which we must make regarding the Pacific Islands.

My first comment refers to the statement made by the representative of the United States regarding the fact that sometimes the Trusteeship Council is used to serve propaganda purposes. He quite clearly implied that it was the delegation of the USSR which engages in this propaganda. As you know, the USSR delegation -- and it seems to me that this is clear to all people who approach the question in an unprejudiced manner -- during the discussion of any question before the Council, has limited itself to the principles of the Charter and has limited itself to concrete circumstances and concrete conditions and has always made recommendations on concrete problems relating to any given Trust Territory.

Furthermore, when certain representatives on the Council tried to take up questions which did not concern the work of the Trusteeship Council nor the purposes and principles of the International Trusteeship System, the USSR delegation always spoke in favour of dealing ^{only} with those questions which had been remitted to us by the Charter of the United Nations. It is, on the other hand, actually true that several times certain members of the Council have tried to use the Trusteeship Council for propaganda purposes. There were very clear examples of propaganda inimical to the USSR, although the Trusteeship Council is certainly a most inappropriate place for such things. Specifically, the representative of the United States, in his speech today, engaged in definite propaganda, a propaganda of reactionary views, a propaganda completely inimical to everything progressive. But that, it seems to me, is something to be left up to the conscience of the USSR representative; that is, that he has engaged in propaganda for outmoded, outworn views, not only regarding Trusteeship, but even in the form of certain uncalled for and unjustified attacks made on certain members of the Trusteeship Council.

Thus, if the delegation of the USSR; in the Trusteeship Council, is guided by the principles of the Charter and therefore supports and fights

for progressive views which are really interested and concerned with the true interests of the populations of the Trust Territories, we must note that the representative of the United States states quite clearly and has demonstrated that he utilizes the Trusteeship Council for propaganda inimical to certain members of the Trusteeship Council, and propaganda in favour of reactionary, outmoded views of the International Trusteeship System.

Further, it should be noted that the representative of the United States, instead of a concrete discussion of the specific, concrete problems of this Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, entered into a consideration of philosophical problems, and even -- as he expressed it -- the differences in the interpretation of philosophic concepts which exist between the Government of the United States and the Government of the USSR.

I must say that this attempt on the part of the representative of the United States was woefully unsuccessful, and I must say that even through the use of the confused argument and terminology which was used by the representative of the United States, I do not think it could have been possible to interpret the philosophical concepts of individuals or personalities, without even speaking of governments.

Furthermore, I have never heard of any government stating that it holds certain philosophical views, rather than that it is carrying out a policy. It is customary to understand that a government carries out a policy, whether it is an internal policy or an external policy; but I never heard of a government seeking out a certain philosophical concept. It seems to me, to say the least, not very serious an approach. And since it is not very serious, I do not think it is worth dwelling upon at length. It would be better if the representative of the United States did not engage in an analysis of general philosophical concepts because, first of all, these do not have anything at all to do with the work of the Trusteeship Council, and secondly -- as far as I understand -- the representative of the United States is not a philosopher and I do not think he quite fits that role. Perhaps it therefore would have been better to stick to concrete facts and it would have been better not to distort facts which were contained in the statement made by the representative of the USSR nor to distort the views expressed by the representative of the USSR.

Before going on to certain concrete statements which I wish to speak on, I must say that I am sincerely indebted to the representative of the United States for his detailed citation of my earlier remarks in his statement.

/I presume

I presume that precise quotations from my statement, if they appear in the text of the statement made by the representative of the United States, will make it possible for American readers to familiarize themselves with the true views of the USSR delegation and its arguments in the Trusteeship Council.

Actually, how can an American reader familiarize himself with the views of the USSR delegation? Even with that freedom of the press which is so often boasted of by the representative of the United States, nothing appears in the press regarding the views of the USSR representative in the Trusteeship Council. If something is printed, it is a complete distortion. Yet today the representative of the United States, in his statement, gave complete and exhaustive quotations from the USSR remarks. For these quotations I am very grateful.

The representative of the United States could not refute the argument that in the Trust Territory there are no judicial, legislative or executive bodies in which the indigenous population participates. That is what I said, and to that effect the USSR delegation made its recommendations. Since the fact has not been refuted -- and I do not think it can be refuted because everyone knows that actually in the Trust Territory there are no judicial bodies, there are no legislative bodies and there are no executive bodies in which the indigenous inhabitants participate -- then the recommendations of the USSR delegation are justifiable because they are based on concrete facts. That is the first specific comment.

I have said that the indigenous inhabitants do not participate in the decision of economic questions regarding their Territory. The representative of the United States, for some reason, avoided this basic element in my statement to which I made reference. I said that even the consultative body on economic questions is located in Guam. It makes recommendations on a great number of questions which directly concern the Trust Territory, such as subsistence levels, wages, taxes and general economic problems. These are the words from the report of the Administering Authority, and particularly from the statement of the special representative: The indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory do not participate in this consultative body.

We are suggesting that these people be drawn into the question of deciding economic problems involving the Trust Territory, otherwise we would not be implementing Article 76 of the Charter.

The situation regarding education is quite clear. Although the representative of the United States spoke at length on this question, I do not

/think

I do not think he proved to anyone, nor has he convinced anyone, that there are people who have higher and secondary education in the Territory, nor are people being prepared, in higher and intermediate education, to carry out the provisions of Article 76 of the Charter.

/You will not find

You will not find such students; you will find students who are being trained in technical and expert jobs, but that is something different.

I should like to say that the representative of the United States did not try really to go into the substance of the representative of the Soviet Union's statement; he did not try to analyze my statement. If he had done so, he might have come to a serious conclusion rather than simply utilizing the floor in the Trusteeship Council for purposes of propoganda for his completely reactionary views on Trusteeship.

I am amazed that the representative of the United States should have attempted to say here that the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union contained certain inaccurate facts--^{incidentally} which is not the case because all the facts which I mentioned were taken from the report of the Administering Authority -- and that he should have allowed himself in the most obvious way to distort the statement which I made yesterday regarding the transference from the tribal system to democratic organs of self-government. He said that, seemingly, the Soviet representative was against democratic organs of self-government.

This is quite amazing. Is it possible so to distort facts? Can you fool honest people in this way? The recommendation submitted by the Soviet delegation says quite clearly that the Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authority measures "for the transference from the tribal system to a system of self-government based on democratic principles." How can anyone say that we are against democratic organs of self-government? To say the least of it, looking at the statement of the representative of the United States with a purely human eye, I do not understand it at all, unless we are to understand it as a statement purposely inimical to the Soviet Union.

I should like to thank the President for allowing me to make this statement, and to make a final statement regarding the condition of the workers.

In this respect, the statement of the representative of the United States amazed me profoundly because it was completely contradictory to common sense. He told us that it mattered little that the worker received a very low wage because he does not have to buy anything. The worker lives, so the representative of the United States told us, on a subsistence

/level --

level -- "a subsistence basis" was the phrase he used. But a man who works all day should rest after work; whereas what happens here is that a man, after having worked all day but not being able to live on his salary, has to go out fishing or collecting shells and food to be able to live on a subsistence basis. And if, as in the case of the Pacific Islands, night falls immediately, it means that he has to engage in this occupation in darkness. What sort of an approach is that to improving the conditions of workers in a Trust Territory? Of course, I realize this is a joke; I am not being serious, I am being facetious, but I do want to point out the lack of seriousness in the statement made by the representative of the United States.

Suppose that the worker has a family, suppose he has children: how is he going to support them? And I am not even going to speak about higher education at all now.

These are the brief clarifications which I wish to make and which I felt to be necessary. I hope that in the future the representative of the United States, when he discusses the recommendations proposed by various delegations, will stick to concrete facts and will not base himself -- as they say in English -- on wishful thinking, because I do not think that ^{this} is what the situation merits at all. We should stick to facts, bear them in mind, and work exclusively on the principle of implementing and carrying out the objectives of Article 76 of the Charter which is directed towards protecting the interests of the indigenous inhabitants and creating conditions which would make it possible for them to set up organs of self-government leading to their independence.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): The representative of the Soviet Union had asked me for special permission to speak, promising that his statement would not take more than five minutes. He spoke for exactly twenty minutes, and the fact of my having permitted him to speak raises a question of principle.

I have already indicated the importance of the representative of the Administering Authority being able to speak last in the discussion after every member of the Council has made his observations. I believe that to be one of the rules dictated by common sense and justice. In fact, after every member of the Council had presented his comments -- and after the representative of the Soviet Union had himself twice intervened -- it was the turn of the representative /of the United States

of the United States to reply. After the statement of the representative of the United States, which concerns first the drafting committee and then the Council itself, when the draft resolution comes up for discussion before the Council, the members of every delegation will then have an opportunity to discuss in detail the assertions made by the representative of the Administering Authority in his last speech.

Consequently, the observations which the representative of the Soviet Union has just made, however interesting and well-founded they might be, could have been presented either in the drafting committee or in the Council when the time comes for discussion of the draft resolution. This way, we shall never finish.

The result is that the representative of the United States has asked for the floor again, and I cannot, of course, deny him that right. After this, the representative of the Soviet Union will probably want to speak again, and so all this will go on tomorrow. A Council cannot work in such conditions. There are certain rules: first the written rules of procedure, and also the rule of courtesy which everyone should observe.

I am very sorry to have to make these remarks, but, as President, I am responsible for the course of the debates. It is absolutely necessary that we complete our work, and we cannot continue this little game of always trying to have the last word.

I must point out another grave consequence of this matter which is that, when we draft a report on a Trust Territory -- and this is something that happened last year --, we arrive at a very serious result. Last year the report on Togoland was finally not adopted. Why was it not adopted? The members of the Council all know why. It was because, in respect of Part III -- the most hotly debated Part which certain members regard as useless for practical reasons -- the discussion turned on this very point: when a delegation has presented certain observations which were not adopted by the majority in the form of a resolution, it was thought that these observations, being of interest, should be contained in the report to the General Assembly and should be formulated individually in Part III. On these observations it seemed natural that the delegation of the Administering Authority should be able to reply and pass its own comments. This was done. But the representative of the Soviet Union then asked for permission to reply to the remarks of the Administering Authority, which were the reply to a previous criticism.

/of course.

Of course, in this way, we establish a vicious circle and when we start preparing the reports we shall have the same difficulty of principle as a result of asking to speak after the representative of the United States has spoken.

I want to point out to the Council that this is definitely a problem before us which I cannot solve. Therefore, I shall now call upon the representative of the United States, but I am very sorry I permitted someone to speak after the representative of the United States.

It is understood then that in the last analysis it is the representative of the United States who will reply. That is the ruling of the Chair. If it is contested, the Council will proceed to the vote.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Interpretation from Russian): No one can prohibit any representative from speaking in the Trusteeship Council on any question. I am not a representative of a grocery store. Here I am a representative of my Government and any rule which would prohibit any delegation from speaking on a question before the Council after a statement made by any other delegation and which would establish a procedure to the effect that such-and-such a representative will be the last to speak on any question cannot be adopted.

Further, I would not have spoken after the representative of the United States if his statement had not contained inaccuracies which needed clarification.

Does the President think I am speaking here as a private individual? Every member of the Council speaks as the representative of his Government and any rule cannot be adopted which would prohibit the representative of a Government from expressing views on any question, especially when that particular Government is concerned. What do you want to do? Do you want to set up a dictatorship of some sort here? We are speaking of democracy and the President is proposing dictatorship. The President is suggesting some kind of totalitarianism which I think has disappeared in the past together with Fascist Hitler and imperialist Japan.

I do not think the President will be able to do that. We cannot introduce undemocratic principles in the work of the Trusteeship Council. Totalitarianism has disappeared with Hitlerite Germany and imperialist Japan; let it be buried with them.

/The PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): As the representative of the USSR knows, I am not in favour of totalitarianism but he also knows that we cannot go on continuously with a debate in a body of this sort. If there is no written law, then there is a law of courtesy. Otherwise the work of the General Assembly would simply be paralyzed. I am not in favour of any type of dictatorship and I do not think the representative of the USSR is in favour of anarchism. At the same time, there must be some way to end a debate.

The representative of the USSR is mistaken if he feels that the President does not have the right to close the list of speakers. That is done continuously in all the organs of the United Nations, even in the General Assembly itself. The President of the General Assembly rules, because of his powers as President, that the list of speakers is closed. If that list is closed and the last speaker has spoken and another speaker asks the President to change his ruling, then the President can either grant the request or he may reply that the list is closed. A member who asks for the privilege to speak but is not granted that privilege can challenge the ruling of the Chair and then a vote is taken and the body involved supports either the Chair or the member who wished to speak. I think we are all in agreement with that interpretation of the rules of procedure.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(Interpretation from Russian): A point of order. The President is quite right as to when a list of speakers is closed, and if a member wishes to speak after the list is closed, then of course it has to be decided by the other members whether this person should be allowed to speak or not. But in this case, the list of speakers was not closed. I asked for the floor before the list was supposed to be closed and, further, the list is still not closed because the President recognized the representative of the United States. Therefore the interpretation is not correct.

It is quite another thing when the list of speakers has been closed. Then any representative can speak only with the concurrence of the members of the Council. If at any time the President wishes to close the list of speakers, he has only to say that he is going to close the list in ten minutes and anyone who wishes to speak must submit his name within that time. That is quite within the power of the President.

/I am not in favour

I am not in favour of anarchism; I am for a democratic procedure in carrying out our meeting. I am for justice and we must not only speak of justice but we must practice it. I hope that, having taken one step in the direction of justice, the President will take a second step and ^amore important one.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): As I had not closed the list of speakers, I permitted the representative of the USSR to speak. Now I have one speaker on the list, the representative of the United States, and therefore I declare that the list is closed after his name.

Mr. SAYRE (United States of America): I think I can resolve this matter within sixty seconds. I see no purpose in protracting the discussion on the Pacific Islands. I have tried to make it clear that the United States is trying in every way to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of those islands. It is trying to push forward its work with vigour and with such speed as is practicable. I am content to let the record speak for itself.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): The Council has therefore completed consideration of the report on the Pacific Islands. I wish to thank the special representative for that Territory, Rear Admiral Fiske, for all the delegations for his good faith in replying to the questions put to him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR A VISITING MISSION TO TRUST TERRITORIES IN THE PACIFIC IN 1950 (T/349, T/366).

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): The Council now comes to another item on the agenda, Arrangements for a visiting mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific in 1950. The members have before them the documents prepared by the Secretariat. I think everyone has read document T/366 and considered it and followed the ideas expressed therein.

This mission will have to be prepared now and all decisions regarding this mission will have to be taken at the present session of the Council. There are certain financial implications in this matter which will have to be discussed and this should all be taken care of for the General Assembly before another session of the Trusteeship Council.

/It is necessary

It is necessary that the principles in this document be accepted.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(Interpretation from Russian): As I understand it, this question is not on the agenda of the Trusteeship Council. It seems to me that the first thing to be decided is whether we are going to include this item in the agenda for this session or not. The present agenda does not contain this item and when we approved the agenda for this fifth session, this question was not before us. In order to follow the rules of procedure, we should first decide on that matter.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): That is what I wanted to do. Had the representative of the USSR permitted me to continue speaking, I would have told the Council that this question arose and it was necessary to take a decision on it at the present session because our next session will not be held until January.

This item is not on the present agenda. Therefore, the Council must decide whether it will include this question on the agenda. In document T/349 prepared by the Secretariat, there is the following indication:

"The Secretary-General has the honour to propose that the following item should be placed on the agenda of the fifth session of the Trusteeship Council:

'Arrangements for a visiting mission to the Trust Territories in the Pacific area in 1950'."

/I propose to the Council

I propose to the Council that it adopt this proposal of the Secretary-General and that it add to the agenda of this present session this item, which I would like us to examine this afternoon. If there are no objections to the inclusion of this item on the agenda it will be so included.

If there are no objections we will now consider this matter which has been included on the agenda.

For reasons of climate this Visiting Mission will have to go there in Spring. The Mission should start its trip at the latest in the first days of April, and due to the fact that the area to be visited is very large and that the Mission should endeavour to visit four different Territories -- New Guinea, the Territories of Western Samoa and Nauru, and the Pacific Islands -- the examination of which we have just finished -- the time given to this Mission would be 100 to 110 days. Therefore the Secretary-General's suggestion is that there should be about 110 days taken up by this Mission.

Document T/366 contains the approximate schedule. One month of this time would be given to the Pacific Islands, about eight days to Nauru, approximately forty days to New Guinea and there would be a very short stay in Western Samoa, in consideration of the fact that Western Samoa has already been visited -- I think it was two years ago. But you will recall that that Mission was a special one which had to consider a specific point, that was, to give self-government to the population of Western Samoa. The Mission did not therefore have to cover other areas of investigation and did not have to consider other matters.

Therefore it might be useful to include the islands of Western Samoa in the schedule of this Visiting Mission but it would only have a very short stay there.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (Interpretation from French): I do not know whether the President wishes to go into the details of this draft -- I do not think the moment is ripe for that. If, however, that were to be done I should like to say that there is no balance in this draft, because they spend eight days in Nauru, which is an island of twenty square miles, and I think they could interview all the inhabitants of the island in a mere twenty-four hours. I do not see why the Visiting Mission should stay there for eight days and then spend

/ only five days

only five days in Western Samoa. I think we ought to work it the other way round. Three days would be enough in Nauru and it might be better to spend only those three days in Nauru and to spend eight or ten days in Western Samoa.

At the same time I do not see why it is necessary to spend one day in Fiji; it would be a lost day really because I think there is one day missing somewhere -- I don't seem to be able to find the 108th day. Then we have: "109th day: Rest in San Francisco" But I do not think we ought to discuss this matter now.

Thirty days for the Pacific Islands and forty days for New Guinea seems to lack a certain balance. They could spend less days in Nauru and more days in New Guinea and therefore I do not think we should go into this matter in too great detail.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): This schedule is only a suggestion made by the Secretary-General and it will of course definitely depend on the Mission itself. It might be changed in different parts.

The 110 days will certainly be rather uncomfortable for the members of the Council who have to go there, but if they are away for almost four months, the months of April, May, June and July would be covered by the entire trip, so much so that the members of the Council who are members of this Visiting Mission would not be able to take part in the June session of the Council. That will definitely be a very great difficulty for the members who are called upon to take part in the Visiting Mission.

If the trip were to be reduced somewhat -- if it were possible to reduce it to three months -- perhaps those members could come back at the end of June. They would miss the first two weeks but they would be able to take part in the rest of the work of the Council during the greater part of the session.

I am just bringing this matter out for your consideration.

Mr SAYRE (United States of America): As one of the Administering Authorities the United States would be most happy to welcome a Visiting Mission to this Territory and hopes that the Mission will make an extensive visit within the Territory.

I am inclined to agree with what has already been said; that the Mission should endeavour to carry out its functions within three months,
/so that it could

so that it could leave here on 1 March and be back during the first week in June, and those who go on the Mission will miss as little as possible of the Council's session.

I am also in agreement with what the representative of Belgium has suggested. As a member of the former Mission to Western Samoa I feel the importance of that country and that the time suggested here is very short, and I hope that a greater length of time can be spent in Western Samoa than in Nauru, Western Samoa comprising, of course, more than the single island of Upolu.

The main matter on which I want to speak is one which appears on page 5 of document T/366 where we find the financial estimates. Practically \$105,000 seems high and I notice that \$24,500 is allocated for the travel of six members. The idea of sending six members of the Council and eight members of the Secretariat at an expense of \$46,500 -- in other words, sending a party of fourteen people -- rather appalls me when I think of the primitive nature of many of the localities which will be visited.

Also I am remembering that the Administering Authorities should presumably not be represented on the Mission. That would rule out not only my own country but the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand also. In other words, there are four countries ruled out at the outset. In addition, presumably the representatives of Iraq and of Mexico will not then be members of the Mission. If that should be the case there are six members of the Council ruled out.

Partly from that viewpoint, but more from the viewpoint of the accommodation available it seems to me that a party of fourteen would be too many to travel through and be comfortably accommodated in the Pacific Islands Trust Territory. I have been thinking in my own mind of a Mission of four, which would correspond to the numbers which went on our two previous Missions.

/ I would suppose

Partly from that viewpoint but more from the viewpoint of the accommodations available it seems to me that a party of fourteen would be entirely too many to travel ^{through} and be comfortably accommodated in the Pacific Islands Trust Territory. I have been thinking in my own mind of a mission of four, which would correspond to the numbers which went on our previous missions. I would suppose that that party of four could be served by a Secretariat of not more than four. I remember that when we went to Western Samoa we were served by a Secretariat of only three and I cannot see why four would not be sufficient; in other words, it would be a party of eight instead of a party of fourteen. If that were followed it would reduce very considerably the expense and I should like to see economies in the sending out of these missions so that we could send out more missions.

I feel that we either could profitably send out more missions or send out the same number of missions with a longer stay in the Territories visited; in either one of which cases it means economy must be practised.

I would therefore express the hope that we could think of this mission in terms of eight people: four members and four members of the Secretariat.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): I entirely agree with my United States colleague that the mission should not consist of more than four members, which is the number which has been appointed in the case of other visiting missions both in West and East Africa but I am not quite sure why he is so anxious to exclude the United Kingdom representation from this mission....

Mr. SAYRE (United States of America): May I correct what evidently was a misstatement on my part? I did not mean at all to exclude in any sense the representative of the United Kingdom from visiting the Pacific Islands Trust Territory. I am wondering, as to Nauru and New Guinea, whether or not the Council will want to send members representing one of the Administering Authorities to those Territories. I have not thought that through; I simply raise that question. I certainly would not want to exclude, I certainly would want to express the idea that we would very much desire, a member of the United Kingdom to be one of the four members of the

/mission visiting

mission visiting the United States Trust Territory.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): I am quite sure that my United States colleague did not misunderstand me.

Apart from that question, on the number of members on the mission I want to make a suggestion to the Council. We are fortunate in having with us today the special representatives both from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and from the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea and also, I think, a representative from Western Samoa. If that is so, could we not get from them some idea, without entering into a long debate, as to how many days they really think would be necessary. Clearly no final decision could be taken by us now; it will have to be taken by the mission. But I should like to ask Rear Admiral Fiske to tell us whether thirty days is a proper number of days to allocate to the Pacific Islands and perhaps Mr. Halligan could tell us whether forty days for New Guinea and seven days for Nauru are reasonable times to allot.

Rear Admiral FISKE (Special Representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands): I believe that with three weeks in the area a thorough coverage of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands could be made. This could not include all the sixty-four island ^{groups}. It would include the six districts and sub-districts and probably a dozen representative islands in the different areas.

Mr. Sayre covered the area in about three weeks and we have had previous inspection parties cover it in that length of time.

While I am speaking I would like to urge consideration in keeping the total number in the party to eight or not more than ten. Our reason for this is that the accommodations in some of the districts are rather meagre as far as guests are concerned. The larger the party the greater the burden and the more improvised the facilities would have to be. The other point, which is the most important one, is that a good deal of the travel in the Pacific Islands would be by airplane: either land-plane or seaplane. The seaplanes particularly have limited capacity; therefore it would be much more advantageous and expeditious if the party could be reduced to the size I mentioned: eight or not more than ten.

/Mr. HALLIGAN

Mr. HALLICAN (Special Representative for the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea): In regard to Nauru, a maximum period of four days on the island would be ample and three days would be sufficient; but certainly not more than four. There again I endorse what the special representative of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had to say in regard to transport and accommodations. On Nauru there are no established accommodation houses, no hotels or boarding houses but arrangements could be made by the Administration for the use of bungalows etc. Therefore it would be desirable to have the party at a minimum and the figure of eight or ten which was mentioned in regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands would be a figure that would be appropriate for Nauru and that we would be able to handle there.

I have looked at the draft itinerary for New Guinea and a total period of forty days was allowed there. It is a very extensive tour of the Territory, the distances are great, but so far as I have examined it I think a maximum of thirty days should give ample opportunity for a mission to see, if not all of the Territory, certainly representative parts of it and would be sufficient for them to have a complete picture of the whole.

/There is the question

There is the question of accommodation and air transport too. Most of the transport in the Trust Territory would be by aircraft; some of it by flying boat -- the Catalina, where the accommodation is limited and eight or ten would be the maximum. In some of the places in the Territory there are hotels -- at Rabaul and Port Moresby there is hotel accommodation -- but for a large party there would be considerable difficulties in the other areas. So I fully endorse the remarks which were made in regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands concerning transport and accommodation in our Territories.

Mr. NORIEGA (Mexico) (Interpretation from Spanish):

I have never felt that Visiting Missions should be taken as picnics or days in the country. I think we ought to understand by the words "Visiting Mission" that there are certain inconveniences and troubles involved, because they are not parties or picnics but work. Therefore, as far as the accommodation not being perfect is concerned, if the members of the Visiting Mission are healthy they can manage, because there are ways and means. If they want to visit typical villages they can set up tents and camp out and I think they can overcome any of these grave difficulties.

To ensure the future working of the Council and especially the work of these Visiting Missions, which are a recognized instrument of the Council established in the Charter and which therefore have very great importance, they must not be considered as visits where -- as the Spanish proverb says -- "Blow the candle out, and let us go." In other words, just let us go and take a glance and get out, or investigate under the light of one match.

So, the members of the Visiting Mission have to go -- and I think in this matter I agree with the representative of the United Kingdom who, in his remarks regarding the Visiting Mission to Tanganyika said several times that the Visiting Mission was there for too short a time to be able to sum up the situation completely -- so that they are able to assess the situation, come to some decision and be able to pass judgment on it. I was almost ready to suggest that Visiting Missions be almost permanent, but of course this would be exaggerated.

/I think that

I think that such an important territory as New Guinea requires a certain number of days and that the 40 days suggested by the Secretariat would be required. But with regard to Nauru, in spite of it being a small island, I do not see how a Visiting Mission can in three days see what the entire economic, social, political and educational situation of that island is. If we consider the time necessary for eating and sleeping, how much will be given to Nauru? In the end there would be twenty-four hours in which to contact the population. It is a fantastic mathematical calculation that a Visiting Mission can give a responsible, formal and honest opinion on the state of affairs in Nauru after twenty-four hours of hypothetical contact with the authorities and with the people.

Undoubtedly, any criticisms in the report would be subject to criticism themselves because anyone who read that report would say: "Well, you worked there for twenty-four hours; what could you do in twenty-four hours?" Owing to the fact that Visiting Missions are an institution of the Council they should be given great importance. The Administering Authorities, as well as the non-administering authorities should be very interested in this matter and they should consider it very carefully. We should not consider this in such a light that the visit should be cut as short as possible so that the members can get back for meetings of the Council. I do not think that is feasible or logical. The most important thing is a good report -- a conscientious, detailed, honest report -- which can give some judgment on the matter and that can be followed by the Council. Otherwise we are merely fulfilling a formality, wasting the money of the United Nations in a useless manner and paying lip-service to the ideas expressed in the Charter. We shall get no benefit whatsoever from all this.

I think the most practical, concrete and useful thing to do would be something on the lines which the special representative suggested. It would be possible to visit a certain number of typical places in the Pacific Islands area in a certain time. But as far as ^{New Guinea} Nauru and Western Samoa are concerned, the Visiting Mission should give them as much time as possible so that the Council may have more light on these subjects and be able to form a conscientious judgment on the matter.

/I do not see

I do not see how, if heavy machinery was sent to New Guinea for the mines by plane -- many tons of it -- it can now be difficult -- and practically impossible -- to send eight or twelve people by plane to New Guinea. I know that this is not the right place to discuss or decide on this, nor is it a Mexican responsibility to solve this problem, nor will it be our responsibility to consider the reports presented by this Visiting Mission, but on a matter of principle I submit to the Council that these Visiting Missions should not be taken as a picnic or an outing of the Council, where the primary factor to be considered is the comfort of the representatives on the Mission. And I insist that twenty-four hours are not sufficient to sum up the situation in Nauru.

The PRESIDENT (Interpretation from French): It is very late, so we will continue this discussion tomorrow and I shall call first of all on the representative of New Zealand tomorrow afternoon. We cannot continue after six o'clock for technical reasons, therefore the meeting is adjourned until tomorrow at 2.15 as usual.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.