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Twenty-second Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINE HUNDRED AND FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 24 June 1958, at 2.30 p.m.

President: Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Vice-President) (Belgium)

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands:

(a) Annual report of the Administering Authority for the year ended 30 June 1957 [3d] (continued)

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AGENDA ITEM 3d

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS: ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30 JUNE 1957 (T/1383; T/L.850) (continued)

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

General debate

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): At the opening of the present session, the Soviet Union delegation called the Trusteeship Council's attention to the danger to which the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was now being exposed in connexion with the nuclear weapons tests being conducted within the Territory's boundaries. This question is so important and so deeply affects the interests of the Territory's population that the Soviet Union delegation deems it necessary to begin its remarks on the Administering Authority's report with that subject.

It has been the great misfortune of the peoples of the Trust Territory that their inclusion within the United Nations Trusteeship System has been marked by the Territory's conversion into a permanent United States proving ground for nuclear weapons. This circumstance has fatally affected the lives and destiny of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory, since military and strategic considerations have ultimately determined the Administering Authority's policy and practices.

The United States started using the Trust Territory for disastrous atomic weapons experiments more than a dozen years ago. Since that time, the disasters and suffering of the indigenous inhabitants have not ceased. As early as March 1946, the inhabitants of Bikini Island were compelled to leave their native land because of the atomic bomb explosions conducted there. For the same reason, the population of Eniwetok Island was forcibly removed in 1947. In 1954, the inhabitants of the Rongelap and Utirik Atolls suffered severely from radioactive fallout resulting from atomic bomb explosions, and they also were moved out of the Atolls.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

The Trusteeship Council is well aware of the fact that for a number of years after the eviction of the Bikini inhabitants from their hearths, those inhabitants were forced to drag out a half-hungry existence and to experience cruel hardships. As is known, the inhabitants of Eniwetok Island were moved to an atoll lost in the ocean, without communication with other parts of the Trust Territory; as a result, they found themselves in a desperate condition.

In his introductory remarks, the special representative vividly depicted the gloomy picture of the disasters which befell the populations of the above-mentioned Islands in their new places of habitation, because of the destructive effects of the typhoons which twice swept over those places within only the one year now under review here. We do not know why the High Commissioner devoted so much attention to the typhoons and failed to find an opportunity even to touch upon the destructive effects of the atomic bomb explosions. From his explanations, however, it is clear that the population which had suffered from the explosions was moved to places where they are systematically visited by typhoons. It is not an accident that these islands had been uninhabited for centuries. The historic experience of men had convinced the people of the impossibility of living permanently in those islands, because of the periodic devastating typhoons.

Thus, to the present day the population of these islands finds itself in a state of constant fear for its security; it has no regular communication with the rest of the Territory. As is known, the schooner "Libra", the beginning of whose operations was presented as a great achievement, was sunk by a typhoon after a short period of sailing last November.

As may be seen, therefore, the consequences of previous nuclear explosions are still a heavy burden on the shoulders of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory. But the Administering Authority is conducting a new series of blasts in the Territory, methodically and in cold blood. The nuclear weapons tests now being carried out present an immediate threat to the population of a vast area. As is known, the danger zone announced by the Administering Authority itself covers about 1.5 million square kilometres. Free navigation and fishing are prohibited within this zone because of the danger involved in even a temporary stay there. It is already well known that the danger from nuclear tests far exceeds the boundaries of the zone established by the Administering Authority.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

What, then, can be said in this connexion about the population which lives permanently in the immediate vicinity of test sites? The High Commissioner personally confirms that some of the indigenous inhabitants live at a distance of less than 100 miles from the point of explosion. This is true, for example, of the population of Rongelap, which has already suffered once very seriously from the explosion of nuclear bombs. At the present session the High Commissioner spared no eloquence in attempting to give assurances with regard to the safety of the explosions from the point of view of the population. Unfortunately, however, such assurances and such declarations are no guarantee of safety. As is well known, similar assurances were repeatedly forthcoming before, but they could not prevent numerous casualties. They did not protect the Japanese fishermen and those sufferers among the indigenous population who were affected by the pernicious radioactive fallout.

Assurances of that kind pursue only one aim, namely, to lull the vigilance of world public opinion. In pursuance of the same aim, as well as for the purpose of concealing such use of the Trust Territory which, in itself, is incompatible with the principles of trusteeship, the Administering Authority exploits every means of disorientation. One such stratagem which has been brought into play is the story of the so-called "clean" bombs, according to which the bombs tested are 96 per cent "clean". It should be noted that the lack of validity of the thesis about the safety of such bombs -- if they existed, and in fact they do not -- has been proved by authoritative sources in the United States itself.

In this connexion an article reprinted in the Congressional Record on 29 May last at the request of Senator Clark is well worthy of attention. It contains the conclusions from a report made by a special committee of the National Planning Association. According to that report a ten megaton weapon which derived 96 per cent of its energy from fusion and 4 per cent from fission -- that is, a 96 per cent "clean" bomb -- would release the same amount of "dirty" fission fragments produced by twenty Nagasaki-size fission bombs. That is the view of an authoritative organ of the United States.

Competent officials of the United States openly declare that tests of both "clean" and "dirty" bombs are now being carried out in the Trust Territory. A statement to this effect by Chairman Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission was

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published in the New York Times as far back as 26 May of this year. It is true that, for some reason or other, Mr. Strauss has since ceased to be the Chairman of the Commission, but that fact does not in any way change the gist of the matter.

We should not forget for a moment that the scientists of the world believe unanimously in the disastrous consequences of nuclear tests. Incidentally, this view was brought to the attention of the United States Government in a document transmitted to the President of the United States on 4 June 1957 and signed by no fewer than 2,000 American scientists. And a petition by 9,000 scientists from forty-four countries, handed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations last January, says:

> "As all other people we are deeply concerned about the wellbeing of humanity. As scientists we are aware of the grave danger of the tests and that is why we must inform you of it."

Among those who signed that petition there were no fewer than thirty-six Nobel prize winners. The scientists warn us that millions of people within each generation will be affected by inherited diseases if nuclear weapons tests continue. Those nuclear tests are fraught with terrible consequences for the whole of mankind. Not only are the nuclear tests which are being carried out in the Trust Territory creating a danger for future generations, but they are also fatally affecting the present generations of many Asian peoples.

The Trusteeship Council is fully informed of the sad facts about the heavy damage brought to a great number of people by the radioactive particles released during previous tests of nuclear weapons in the Trust Territory. The Council now possesses irrefutable evidence to the effect that products of radioactive fission carried by the winds fall out with the rain and affect populations thousands of miles from the place of detonation. No statement and no assurances by the Administering Authority can ensure safety for many people from the menace hanging over them, for as a well known Indian spokesman once said...

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): On a point of order, Mr. President. I am not going to raise a holding point of order, but I hope that you will warn the representative of the Soviet Union that he has gone thousands of miles afield

(Mr. Sears, United States)

from the borders of the Trust Territory. All he does, if it is accepted, is to open up a Pandora's box here, and, when one thinks of the fearful consequences which have been perpetrated by his own people, I do not think that it is proper. He can continue. I do not intend to raise the point again, but I should like to bring it to your attention.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I invite the various delegations to bear in mind that we are examining conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. All discussions about the general consequences of atomic test explosions throughout the world are not likely to advance our debates and would in fact trespass upon the competence of other commissions or organs of the United Nations which deal with problems of this nature. I call upon the various delegations to bear this in mind and to avoid giving to our debates a tone or a content which would cause them to overlap with United Nations work in other commissions, committees or sectors.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I thank you, Mr. President. I should like to remind the representative of the United States that if anybody sought to eschew the question which is now being discussed by the Trusteeship Council, it is the delegate of the United States. Even though he opened the Pandora's box at the last meeting, I am not availing myself of that occasion, and I am sticking strictly to the matter under discussion in the Council, that is: conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

I should like to say that the statements we have heard repeatedly, including the statement given at the last meeting by the representative of the United States about alleged safety connected with atomic weapon tests, these statements in the words of a well-known Indian spokesman -- words which were spoken in the United Nations -- will not save the peoples from the menace hanging over them for, as that well-known Indian spokesman said: "winds and sea currents unfortunately do not comply with declarations and resolutions."

The representative of the United States this morning repeatedly mentioned the Soviet Union and sought to represent matters in a distorted fashion. In this connexion may I remind you of the true state of affairs in a few brief words. Guided by the desire to make a start in the universal suspension of nuclear weapons tests and thereby take the first step towards finally ridding mankind of the menace of a devastating atomic war, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a decision to discontinue, unilaterally, as of 31 March 1958, the testing of all types of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The Supreme Soviet called on the parliaments and Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom to support this initiative.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I am compelled to request the representative of the Soviet Union to confine his comments to the question under discussion. The comments relating to the general cessation of the use of nuclear weapons does not concern the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I should like to remind you that nuclear tests are now taking place in the Trust Territory, and that we are now discussing conditions in the Trust Territory. It is odd to be told that events which have a decisive impact on life in the Trust Territory should be regarded here as falling outside the province of our discussion in the Council. Of course, attempts were repeatedly made to divert the Council from its obligations; but not all members of the Council follow the bidding which is pursued by certain delegations here. We are guided by public opinion in a number of -- in fact, in most -- countries of the world,and we are duty bound to be guided by it and to take it into account.

If I deal now with questions which are of concern to the whole world, it is only in connexion with what is actually now occurring in the Trust Territory. I should like to remind you that it is not I but the representative of the United States who thrice in his brief speech today mentioned the Soviet Union. Permit me, therefore, to clarify the true state of affairs rather than to leave it in the distorted shape in which the representative of the United States left it.

I emphasize that the Soviet Union has, for its part, stopped the testing of all nuclear weapons. If the United States and the United Kingdom were to do likewise, there would be no reason now for us to discuss this question at all. Let me remind the members of the Council that the unilateral discontinuation of the testing of all types of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union raised the ardent hopes of the peoples for a universal termination of nuclear explosions and for the reduction of the danger of a nuclear war, by that very token.

A heavy blow is being inflicted to these hopes by the United States which continues nuclear weapons tests ,using for this purpose the Trust Territory which is under the International Trusteeship System. Within a short period of time seven gigantic explosions were reported and announced. In fact many more explosions were carried out, but information about them, as it was reported by The New York Times of 12 June 1958, is being kept secret for fear of public opinion.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

The conducting of nuclear tests by the United States on the Trust Territory is at variance with the principles of the International Trusteeship System. The actions of the Administering Authority are incompatible with the provisions of Trusteeship and with the obligations of the Administering Authorities as defined in Chapter XII of the Charter, in the Trusteeship Agreement, and with the obligations of the United Nations also.

What kind of responsibility would the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council face before the peoples of the world if they did not use all their influence to bring about an immediate halting of these tests of nuclear weapons in the Trust Territory? Taking into account the demands of the peoples of the entire globe and proceeding from the fact that the Trusteeship Council is responsible for the destinies of the Trust Territories, the delegation of the USSR submits the following draft resolution:

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of Belgium on a point of order.

Mr. SMOLDEREN (Belgium)(interpretation from French): This is the fourth time during this debate that the representative of the Soviet Union has spoken, so called, in behalf of world public opinion. During our meeting yesterday, he did not even hesitate to speak in behalf of the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi. Now, as far as my delegation is concerned, I should like to deny him the right to speak in behalf of other peoples and populations and world public opinion because it seems to me that a Government which was solemnly condemned by the United Nations General Assembly has no right to speak on behalf of world public opinion.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I would never assume the hopeless task of speaking on behalf of the representative of Belgium. Let him have no concern about that. I would never speak on his behalf neither in nor out of the Trusteeship Council. But if I speak on behalf of and refer to world public opinion, I am guided by communications

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received with every passing day in the United Nations. I am guided by documents which are on the agenda of today's meeting of the Trusteeship Council. There are petitions right before us from organizations representing millions of human beings, I should like to remind the representative of Belgium, and I do not think that you will strip me of the right to speak on the basis of information which is received in the United Nations.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

I should like to read out the text of the draft resolution which my delegation wishes to present to the Trusteeship Council for its consideration. It is as follows:

"The Trusteeship Council,

"Noting with deep regret that despite the demands of the peoples to put an end to the nuclear weapon tests and disregarding the favourable conditions for a final and universal solution of the question of suspending nuclear tests created as a result of the decision by the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to discontinue atomic and hydrogen weapon tests in the Soviet Union beginning 31 March 1958, the Government of the United States of America decided further to conduct nuclear weapon tests and has been carrying out nuclear explosions since the end of April 1958 in the area of the Marshall Islands comprising a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;

"Considering that the use of the Trust Territory by the United States for conducting nuclear tests contradicts the principles of the International Trusteeship System and is incompatible with the provisions of trusteeship and obligations of the Administering Authorities defined in Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter and likewise with the obligations imposed on the Government of the United States under the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;

"Noting that in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Trusteeship Agreement the population of a number of the Trust Territory's islands have been moved by force by the United States authorities and that these islands and vast areas of the high seas are illegally being turned by the Government of the United States into a proving ground for the tests of nuclear weapons;

"Being also concerned by the fact that the life and well-being of the population of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and of the peoples of many other countries as well are again exposed to a grave menace resulting from the nuclear weapon tests held by the Government of the United States in this Trust Territory;

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

"Recommends that the Government of the United States should stop nuclear weapon tests in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;

"Recommends also that the Government of the United States should restore all rights of the indigenous inhabitants to the islands of which they had been deprived by the United States authorities, take the necessary measures to remove the danger caused to these inhabitants by the carrying out of nuclear tests on their territory, and compensate the indigenous population of the Trust Territory for the material damage inflicted upon them."

The transformation of the Trust Territory into an American proving ground and naval base is a circumstance which determines the whole destiny of the population of the Territory. It is no accident that for fourteen years the government of the Trust Territory has been concentrated mainly in the hands of the Navy which decides what policy will be followed in regard to other developments.

As noted in the report for the year under review, there have been no changes in the structure of the government of the Territory. As before, administration is divided between the Navy and the Interior Department. It is in our opinion time to eliminate this division which is harmful to the development of the Territory.

The development of the Territory is guided by considerations which in turn are dictated by the circumstance to which I have just referred. It is noticeable that in every annual report, as in this one, the Administering Authority finds it possible to announced that the main feature of post-war American policy has been the restoration to the islanders of places which they regard as their homes. This eloquent declaration is apparently designed to stifle the voice of protest which has been arising for more than ten years from the indigenous population of the island addressed to the United Nations and to world public opinion.

The declarations of the Administering Authority are refuted by the facts. Not only have the people of Bikini and Eniwetok been kept away from their homes, but, if we really study the report of the Administering Authority, the fact is that they have lost those homes forever. The Administering Authority tells us that it has annexed these islands for indefinite use for its own purposes, having expended $325,000 for one of them and $175,000 for the other. In order to give

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some semblance of legality to its actions, the Administering Authority has manufactured two documents which it has called agreements and has annexed them to the annual report. These agreements in themselves are unprecedented violations of international law, of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Trusteeship Agreement. In brief, they can only be regarded as an abuse by the Administering Authority of the powers vested in it by the United Nations.

It is embarrising even to use the word "legality" wirh regard to these actions within the walls of the United Nations. We cannot fail to draw attention to the statements of the Administering Authority to the effect that these agreements were signed with the consent of the people given freely and without any coercion or violence. Such an assertion can only cause a smile because how can one say seriously that a document signed ten years after the forcible deportation of the people from those islands, after unheard of sufferings inflicted upon the population of these islands and after unceasing and unremitting petitions and complaints on the part of that population, constitutes a free expression of the people's will? If the forcible ejection of these people from their homes is not violence and coercion, we would like to know what is violence and coercion. Did the people of Bikini freely leave the land of their ancestors in 1946 and freely allow that land to be used as a proving ground for a particularly hideous death-dealing weapon? Or did the population of Eniwetok freely move into an inhabited atoll which is cut off from the rest of the world to the bargin?

The special representative told us openly in this Council that these agreements were signed ten years after the indigenous inhabitants had been deported from the islands on the ground that the Administering Authority did not have the money previously to defray this particular brand of commercial operation. The legitimate question arises: What gives the Administering Authority the right to carry out commercial operations of this kind? Does it not realize that for the people of the island the land is not only the basis for their material well-being, but that in its absence the whole complex of spiritual life, which cannot be valued in dollars, simply vanishes?

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

The actions of the Administering Authority bring to mind pictures of the "The Realm of the Dark" which was so beautifully described by the great Russian dramatist Ostrovsky. One of the persons in a work by Ostrovsky, Tit Titich Bruskov, when he was told that he was hurting human beings, answered in that drama: "I will hurt and I will vouchsafe grace or else I will pay money. In my life I have paid lots of money for things like that." The point is that in the eyes of people like Titich money is the highest and best yardstick for material and moral values alike. But can we say that this merchant's approach is compatible with trusteeship and with the principles of the United Nations? Nevertheless, this is precisely the approach to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands which has been announced as the main feature of post-war American policy.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

Sad indeed is the destiny of the people of this Territory, which has been bought and sold at retail and wholesale. It was bought wholesale in 1899 by Germany for $4-1/2 million. Now it is being bought up by the United States retail. It is being bought up in order to be used further as a proving ground for the testing of death-dealing nuclear weapons.

As the report under consideration makes abundantly clear, there has been no detectable progress as regards the Territory's political advancement. We cannot fail to note that the last report of the Administering Authority is almost indistinguishable from previous reports as to contents. A study of the report creates the impression that over the past year the only thing that has changed in the report of the Administering Authority has been the cover. The report, with remarkable monotony, repeats the foggy sentence to the effect that the indigenous inhabitants are being assisted at all levels of administration through the setting up of conferences and congresses, or things of that kind.

This is all that is stated about political advancement of the Territory as a whole. For the rest, the measures of the Administering Authority only relate to individual details of the separated parts of the Territory. There can scarcely be any doubt that in themselves these conferences, despite their positive significance, will not succeed in moving the Territory towards self-government and independence if they are not attended by the establishment of all-territorial representative organs of self-government.

A feature of these conferences has been the circumstance that they were carried out just twice, and the twice that they were carried out was outside the boundaries of the Territory. Even more symbolic perhaps is the fact that the voices of the participants of the last conference in Guam were overwhelmed by the noise of jet planes that were flying over their heads. As noted in the Micronesian Reporter, the meeting had to be moved to the hospital for these reasons.

In its reports, the Administering Authority seeks to justify the stagnation in the political advancement of the Territory on the ground of the natural closeness and limited nature of the interests of the indigenous inhabitants

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as well as their lack of understanding of the basic conception of democratic government. But, may I ask, what is the value of the efforts of the United States if after fourteen years of the administration of the Territory they have been unable effectively to contribute to the understanding by the indigenous population of even the fundamental conceptions of democracy?

May I suggest that progress consists not of repeating references to difficulties, but of overcoming difficulties. It should not be forgotten that the Pacific Islands were discovered by Europeans at about the same time as America was discovered. Is there any reason why over this lengthy period of time the development of the islands has not moved forward? Surely the reason has been, and remains, foreign domination, which not only contributes nothing to the development of this consciousness of the population as an entity, but serves to kill or suppress any sort of an independent initiative. Can actions such as the sale of islands, with the auctioneer's gavel, or destructive explosions within the Territory, contribute to the progressive development of the population of the Territory? Such things can only contribute to cementing the feeling, in the consciousness of the indigenous inhabitants, that they are doomed. The Administering Authority has definitely declared that it was impossible to create even advisory organs of an all-territorial scope. The reasons given by the Administering Authority to support this assertion cannot be regarded as valid. Would it not be more correct to say that the refusal to set up all-territorial organs is due to the policy of the Administering Authority, which finds it useful to use for its own purposes the political dismemberment of the islands?

Over the years, the members of the Council have so often drawn attention to the abnormal state of affairs in which the government of the Territory is concentrated outside its boundaries, whereas the needs of the Territory have long since called for the establishment of a centre of administration in government within the Territory itself, having in mind that this in itself would help consolidate its various parts. The time has come long since for the establishment of all-territorial representative organs that would not be just advisory but would even be executive and legislative.

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As is known, the Administering Authority has refused to carry out the terms of the General Assembly's resolution for the establishment of final time limits for the attainment of independence by the Territory. This was confirmed with great clarity by the representative of the United States at the present session. One might have thought that the Administering Authority would take a more favourable view toward the establishment of intermediary time limits or targets, since it is the delegation of the United States which seemed to have come out in favour of this approach to the development of the Territory. But even these hopes have been dashed.

The delegation of the Soviet Union has already drawn the Council's attention to the fact that a careful study of certain intermediary targets and dates for the development of the Territory, as reported by the High Commissioner, creates the impression that they are designed not to move or push the Territory towards self-government, but to consolidate its dependent status forever. If a time limit of seven years is provided for the attainment of such a target as the introduction of elections for the advisory district councils, which are in fact without rights anyway, then how long a time will be required to set up all-territorial legislative and executive organs of government? It should not be forgotten that the plans of the Administering Authority contain nothing at all that would be calculated to contribute to the consolidation of all the sections of the Territory.

The transformation of the Territory into a proving ground for the testing of nuclear weapons has left ineradicable traces on the economy of the Territory. As in the case of its political development, there has been no shortage of declarations on the part of the Administering Authority as to its good intentions in the economic field. One of these declarations has been the repeated assertion to the effect that it has been the Administering Authority's policy to conserve the Territory's natural resources for the indigenous population. But the question arises: Do statements of this kind have any value if they are not bolstered by deeds? And the deeds indicate the reverse.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

Let us take the meaning of these statements as applied to the main natural resource of the indigenous population, which is the land. This can be judged by token of the annexation of islands.

Another important natural resource of the Territory has been its wealth in fish and other sea creatures. Unfortunately, this natural resource has been badly harmed by continuing nuclear weapons tests. We have already read reports from the islands about the mass poisoning of fish in the Marshall Islands of a nature hitherto unknown, which has caused widespread illness of human beings and great harm to the fishing industry. Whatever arguments and evidence the Administering Authority may adduce to account for this plague, there should be no doubt that at the bottom of it have been the explosions of nuclear weapons. It is surely undeniable that poisoning of the type now observed affecting the fish in that area had never before occurred in the Marshall Islands. This type of poisoning appeared only after the Administering Authority had begun to utilize the Territory for exploding nuclear weapons. According to available scientific data, the Territory's fishery resources, as a result of those explosions, have been reduced not only in the Marshall Islands area, which is in the immediate vicinity of the test grounds, but also in other parts of the Territory. Convincing evidence of this state of affairs can be found particularly in John Fisher's book The Eastern Carolines, published in 1957 by the National Academy of Sciences of the United States.

It should not be forgotten that, apart from the land and sea resources, the Territory has, unfortunately, no other source of income at the present time. The Administering Authority continually emphasizes the Territory's poverty in mineral resources, which, incidentally, were, to a considerable degree, plundered by outsiders. Therefore, we fail to see what resources it is that the Administering Authority proposes to conserve if these land and sea resources are being plundered and used up.

The inadequacy of the Administering Authority's efforts in respect of the economic advancement of the Territory is indicated by the deplorable state of so important a branch of the economy as the fishing industry. Even though the Administering Authority recognizes that there are possibilities for the development of commercial fisheries, it has done nothing so far to translate these possibilities into reality. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, over the year under

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review production in the field of commercial fisheries has been only 7,500 pounds; that is less than a total of four tons.

According to the report, the deplorable situation in the fishing industry is due to lack of equipment, lack of deposit of stock-piling facilities, and the inadequacy of the market. There is no doubt that commercial fisheries are not developing for these very reasons, and would it not be logical to ask: who bears responsibility for the fact that these factors exist? Is it not the primary obligation of the Administering Authority to contribute to the development of fisheries by means of supplying the Territory with the necessary equipment, building the necessary storage facilities, working out processing enterprises through organizing profitable markets for the disposal of products? Surely, the Administering Authority has large resources which could be used to bring this into effect and requires no outside assistance to this end.

Unfortunately, the efforts of the Administering Authority have been limited up to now to the appointment of a special administrator for fisheries. At the same time, it prefers to import into the Territory canned fish from the United States and Japan. As is well known, $130,000 worth of canned fish was imported into the Territory during the year under review. During the previous year the amount was $151,000. Practically nothing is being done to prepare trained manpower qualified to engage in the fishing industry.

For the second consecutive year we are being told in the reports that three fishermen were sent to New Caledonia to study contemporary fishing methods. It is perfectly obvious that three men can scarcely change the state of affairs, even if they do learn the newest methods, and there is even the serious danger that, on returning to the Territory, these same men will again be obliged to fish with their primitive tools and will have no opportunity to apply whatever knowledge they have acquired.

In examining the information about agriculture, we should bear in mind that favourable conditions exist in the Territory as regards agriculture. In particular, there is regular rainfall in all parts of the Territory. Despite this fact, however, agriculture in the Territory is in a state of retrogression and decay. How else can one account for the fact that 41 per cent of the Territory's imports consist of foodstuffs?

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

Speaking of the development of agriculture, we cannot ignore so important a point as the question of the return to the population of alienated lands. The report indicates that the Administering Authority proposes to resolve this problem shortly. However, it is not stated how the Administering Authority proposes to proceed. Apparently the same system which was described in the previous report still remains in force. That system provides for the solution of the question by means of satisfying the population's claims in dollars. It can be seen in this case also that the philosophy which triumphs is the philosophy of our old friend Titovich: they take away the land and they justify themselves in terms of dollars. People are subject to death-dealing radiation and they are offered compensation in terms of dollars. Has the time not come to ask how long dollars are going to be used to conceal abuses? An analysis of the tables in the report by districts indicates that, as a result of the satisfaction of claims in dollars, it turned out that in the year under review the quantity of land in the hands of the Administering Authority and religious missions was increased by 10,365 acres, whereas the quantity of land in the possession of United States and other citizens was reduced by 394 acres. Now I ask: where did the remaining 10,000 acres come from? Does this not indicate that the alienation of the land of the indigenous population continues apace?

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

Any references to resurfacing of boundaries etc., will not carry any conviction so long as the report fails to indicate the number of hectares or acres of whatever it may be that had actually been returned to the indigenous population for use by the indigenous population. In this connexion, the Council surely should recommend to the Administering Authority to take urgent measures to settle the land question on a basis of justice and equity by returning the actual lands to the indigenous population, to the indigenous owners, their legitimate owners.

It may be added that the economic development of the Territory may be judged from such indicators as revenues, as may be seen from tables contained in the report of the year under review. The year under review was characterized by a further reduction of revenue from local territorial sources by an amount of $350,000. According to the same information, these revenues are expected to be reduced even further in 1958. The Council should not ignore these important indicators; it should take them into account in formulating recommendations.

We cannot fail to recall the useful, even though not radical, recommendations for the development of local industries which were adopted by the Council at past sessions. Unfortunately, these recommendations have not been implemented, and they should be repeated in the decisions of the Council, especially as regards the enterprises for the transformation of copra, trochus and other sea products and resources.

Social problems, problems of health care and education also require far greater efforts on the part of the Administering Authority. In the field of labour, now as before, it is a matter of particular concern to note the amount of production accidents. During the consideration of the report at the twentieth session, the members of the Council drew attention to this phenomenon, but the Administering Authority did not heed their observations and failed to take any measures. As a result, the number of accidents during production, work accidents, has not gone down. One of the reasons for this state of affairs has been the fact that the actions of the Administration are entirely uncontrolled. There are no trade unions in the Territory, for example, to check its actions. There is no-one in the Territory who will take a stand in defense of the workers. The special representative tried in vain to account for the large number of accidents by speaking of higher employment rates and the expansion of production.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

It should be noted, unfortunately, that there has been no evidence of any expansion of production in the Territory. Moreover, even if there had been such a thing, normally this should have been accompanied by a corresponding improvement in safety techniques and labour protection devices rather than an increase in the rate of accidents.

Statistical data make it clear that the Administering Authority's efforts in the field of health here have been inadequate. So deadly and dangerous a disease as tuberculosis still remains a major problem in the Territory. The Administering Authority's measures in respect of prophylactic vaccinations should be approved, but unfortunately they are incapable of freeing the population from this scourge. Vaccinations should be attended by continuing improvement of the social and living conditions of the population.

Much has been said here about the extremely poor housing conditions of the indigenous population. The special representative himself confirmed that these conditions are far below normal standards. If this problem is not solved and if the nutritional standards of the population are not improved, there is no chance to overcome the problem of tuberculosis within the measurable future. It is no accident that the Administering Authority expresses the hope that tuberculosis will diminish in the next few generations.

The report of the Administering Authority also draws attention to the extraordinary increase in children's diseases and morbidity.

In the field of education, we deem it essential to limit our observations only to the training of the personnel which should long since have occupied leading posts in the administration of the Territory. Over the decade the Administering Authority has been quite accurately reporting about the training of personnel. In the report for 1949-50, it was stated that Micronesian students had enrolled in various universities. One might have expected that by now the major part of the leading posts in the Administration would have been occupied by Micronesians. Has this happened? It has not. For the second year in succession we are being told of some unique event as the appointment of a Micronesian as an Educational Administrator in the Marshall Islands. This is described as a unique event. To these may be added a number of health care jobs which now are occupied by indigenous inhabitants. And that is just about

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

the end of it. Is it not extraordinary that up to the present day there is not one indigenous teacher in the secondary schools in the Territory?

An analysis of the periodic report of the Administering Authority leads us to the conclusion that the development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands runs far afield from the main objective of the Trusteeship System, which is independence. The factor which causes this deviation has been the policy of the Administering Authority which flows not from the interests of the indigenous population, but from considerations of a military and strategic order, which constitutes the cornerstone of this policy.

The delegation of the USSR deems it its duty once again to declare that it is incumbent on the Council to use all its authority to correct the trend of development in the Territory and to bring it into full harmony with the requirements of the Charter and the Trusteeship agreement.

The delegation of the USSR reserves the right to speak again in the course of this debate if the developments of our deliberations should make this necessary.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): With the kind permission of previously listed speakers, I intervene now because of the nature of the remarks just made and because what I shall have to say will not pertain to the internal administration of the Territory.

After the various members of the Council have made their final statements on conditions in the Territory, the High Commissioner will base his final remarks in recognition of their expressed views.

In view of the forthcoming technical conference in Geneva, I am sincerely sorry that the remarks of the representative of the Soviet Union have been on such an unconstructive level.

I can only hope that he will not be sent to Siberia for failing to be sufficiently provocative.

I have tried to analyse the possible reasons for his delivery of such an exaggerated statement, and there can be only three:

One is that, in the rash of satellite troubles which have recently broken out for the Soviet Union, his Government has completely forgotten to give appropriate instructions to its Trusteeship delegation in faraway New York, or (2) for some reason the delegation here and the Government in Moscow have gotten their signals crossed, or (3) -- and this is obviously out of the question -- the Soviet Union is deliberately using the Trusteeship delegation to embarrass the forthcoming talks in Geneva.

Since the latter explanation is utterly improbable, we are forced to the conclusion that the Soviet representative in this Council has in fact been forgotten or perhaps, through no fault of his own, has gotten his signals mixed.

In any case, we will not prolong his difficulty, and we will say no more, because this occasion in the Trusteeship Council is certainly the most inappropriate possible time to rock the boat by hurling distorted allegations about the United States.

As I stated this morning, the United States has advocated the immediate suspension of all nuclear weapons tests under proper inspection as the first step of a disarmament agreement.

To this end the United States has put forward, and the Soviet Union has accepted, a proposal that technical experts meet soon in Geneva to study the possibility of detecting violations of a possible agreement on suspension of nuclear tests.

(Mr. Sears, United States)

We believe that the experts will be successful in this undertaking. Agreement on the inspection requirements would constitute a great step, and a necessary first step, forward.

We have told the Soviet Union that the talks in Geneva would be undertaken without commitment as to the relationship of nuclear test suspension to other more important disarmament measures.

What more can we say at this time except to repeat that this debate in the Trusteeship Council is the worst possible occasion to rock the boat.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): It goes without saying that I reserve the right to speak again in the course of our deliberations on this matter. But, in connexion with the observations which the representative of the United States has ventured to utter, I should like to remind him that his conjectures and guesses have no bearing whatsoever on, and no relevance to, the questions under consideration in this Council.

As regards his various improper references to mixed signals, and so forth, I can assure him that it is not the Soviet representative, let alone the Soviet Government, that stands in need of instructions from the United States representative or, for that matter, any other representative. We determine our policy without any such assistance.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France)(interpretation from French): I should like, first of all, to apologize if I come back to the matter before us and if, giving priority to this matter, I speak of the Pacific Islands, the conditions in those Islands and the way in which the Administering Authority has discharged its responsibility.

The working paper prepared by the Secretariat and submitted in document T/L.850 states, in the section on political advancement in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands:

> "The year under review saw no significant change in the structure and scope of the local legislative and administrative organs." (T/L.850, para.10)

(Mr. Kosczjusko-Morizet, France)

Probably this is an appraisal which is not completely in accord with the facts because, in his opening statement, the special representative emphasized that in 1957 the Administering Authority had "continued... to press forward in all phases of political development". (T/PV.894, p. 52)

As this is a Trust Territory broken up into hundreds of islands and atolls, most of which are not inhabited and the total population of which does not exceed 67,000, the reforms introduced obviously cannot be other than municipal in character. Nevertheless, these reforms cannot be called modest. As a matter of fact, the municipalities exercise legislative powers at the local level and therefore continue to be the foundation of the administration. Any change in their manner of operation is of considerable importance. The Administering Authority has confirmed to us that it is continuing to carry out a programme designed to grant a charter to each one of these municipalities in accordance with a plan adaptable to special local conditions. Within the framework of this plan, twelve municipalities had already received such a charter as of 20 June of this year. I think that our Drafting Committee should take account in its recommendations of the intentions of the Administering Authority in this field as well as the first results achieved.

Moreover, it is not without a great deal of frankness that the Administering Authority has recognized that the implementation of this programme will require more time than had originally been expected. In agreement with the opinions of the local political chiefs, the Administration has noted that the population is often far from having understood the exact meaning of these charters and their impact on local political development. It is compelled to act slowly in matters relating to political advancement.

At the district level, political advancement has also been pursued in a satisfactory manner. Taking into account the interest displayed by the Trusteeship Council last year, the United States Administration, working in the Truk District three years before the date originally provided, has worked feverishly and has instituted a charter, the first consequence of which has been the holding of a unicameral congress in that region. The special representative has described to us the success of this first meeting of this new body. The

(Mr. Koscziusko-Morizet, France)

Trusteeship Council has repeatedly expressed satisfaction at the tendency observed in a number of Territories to replace the traditional chiefs by elected members, and it cannot fail therefore to note with interest the progressive abolition of bicameral chambers based on the hereditary system in favour of unicameral bodies the representatives of which will henceforth be elected.

However, there is no doubt that we should also emphasize, together with the reforms introduced at the local and regional level, the striking development of this year represented by the inter-district conference of Micronesian leaders. The Administering Authority should be congratulated on this. It has provided that henceforth such a meeting should be held each year. This inter-district advisory committee cannot but facilitate the creation of a common sentiment in all districts, the feeling of Micronesian unity. The French delegation was struck by the way in which a representative was able last October to express the emergence of this feeling of belonging when he said, as the special representative reported in his opening statement:

> "I no longer feel like a stranger to the other delegates, but as though we were brothers living on different islands." (T/PV.894, p. 56)

We can already see in these meetings a forerunner of the future elected territorial advisory council, although the Administering Authority feels that this body can be set up only about 1965. This date does not seem to be too far in the future if one recalls that the sparse populations of these islands have no common past as regards either their history or their economy and that the feeling of community belonging is not acquired in a single day. Need I recall that, barely ten years ago, the Micronesians did not know that they belonged to a group included in the trusteeship regime of the United Nations?

Every year, the problem of the removal of the headquarters of the Territory and the reassembling of the administrative services is raised in the Council. It is certain that the centralization of these technical and administrative services in one single place -- services that today are spread out -- would make the unity of the Territory more marked and would facilitate its administration.

(Mr. Koscziusko-Morizet, France)

However -- and why should we deny this -- the present system of organization is rendering a valuable service, and, taking account of geographical conditions, particularly the difficulties of communications, the system is adapted to the actual circumstances of the Territory.

If as a matter of fact the Island of Guam is not juridically included in the Trusteeship System, it is nevertheless geographically a part of this group of the Pacific Islands. It therefore offers an undeniable advantage, particularly logistically, as regards the proper operation of the administrative services. With respect to the disposition of certain particular services, it should be noted that the only ones located away from the Island of Guam are those dealing with technical problems -- such as education, at Truk; health, at Ponape; and dental care, in the Marshall Islands. Moreover, since the activities of these services are concerned primarily with the preparation of programmes, it matters little that for the present they are established in one Island rather than another. This in no way impedes their taking action for the community as a whole.

The interest connected with revising the schedule of titles and salaries of Micronesians has not escaped my delegation's attention. This constitutes a certain advantage for the indigenous wage-earners. Moreover, the Administering Authority should be congratulated on the perseverance with which it has tried to continue replacing United States staff members by qualified Micronesians.

In the economic field, the Administering Authority's policy has been to promote the development of local activities and to increase local income. This is reflected in the establishment of new business installations. Nevertheless, we should note that there is still some lag between this development and the rate of political progress, which continues to be much more rapid. But how could it be otherwise in a Territory with such limited resources? We all know that arable land is rare in these coral islands and that efforts to ensure some fertility have not so far met with success. The only important product, apart from trochus and fish, is still copra. The representatives of the United States authorities have told us that, as a result of the disastrous typhoons, the quantities of this crop -- which had not varied in previous years -- have decreased considerably. We are told that the exportable quantities in the current fiscal year will not exceed 12,000 tons.

(Mr. Kosczlusko-Morizet, France)

In this field, we should express our satisfaction at the work of the Copra Stabilization Fund, which has made it possible for suitable protection to be provided against fluctuations in the price of this product on the world market. The operation of such stabilization funds has been known in other Territories, too. The special representative has been good enough to inform us that the price paid to producers has never gone below $100 per ton, and that the working capital available in the Fund's account -- that is, $850,000 -- is more than adequate to stabilize prices over a two-year period. Our delegation has been very happy to learn that henceforth Micronesians appointed by the various Districts will sit, in turn, in the office of the Copra Stabilization Board.

Apart from the disadvantages inherent in the geographical and climatic conditions of this Territory, whose economy will for long be marked by a single-crop pattern, the paucity of public revenue is striking. It is to be feared that the Administering Authority will for many years be compelled to continue to provide the financial aid which it has so generously been providing for ten years now. In this respect, it is difficult to conceive of this Territory's future other than in association with a larger economic community.

Anxious by all possible means to develop the Territory's resources, the Administering Authority is apparently going to be forced to increase its financial contribution even further, although we know that that contribution is now in the neighbourhood of $5 million. A considerable increase in production is not, however, to be expected in the near future. It would therefore appear to be necessary to resort to taxation to cover the present deficit. But, since any increase in revenue from taxation is uncertain, this resource should not be counted upon. In these circumstances, the Administering Authority must try to increase the income from the present fiscal system.

An inquiry on fiscal programmes and measures has been carried out at the local level in a very able way in the Territory as a whole, to try to find means of evaluating the fiscal system. In the light of the conclusions of this inquiry, the Administering Authority has just informed us that it will shortly amend sections of the Territorial Code relating to the tax system in order to work out a more equitable programme. The essential reform to be introduced would, it appears, boil down to requiring all municipalities henceforth to prepare

(Mr. Koscziusko-Morizet, France)

separate annual budgets as they are set up in accordance with the new administrative programme. The Administering Authority has intimated that this reform will not lead to a considerable increase in revenue from taxation. Nevertheless, by next year we should be able to determine whether or not this pessimistic view is well-founded.

Every year, the Trusteeship Council is concerned with possibilities of industrial development. No important change would appear to have been made in this field in 1957. In its working paper, the Secretariat correctly recalls that the only forms of industrial activity in the Territory are handicrafts, the processing of copra and the establishment of small shipbuilding companies. For its part, the Administering Authority has informed us of the activity it has undertaken to hasten the growth of local industry, in particular within the framework of the development of the trochus industry; the cultivation of trochus has been extended and subjected to more effective control. It appears, however, that this development will rapidly be exhausted and that, despite the efforts of local business firms, progress must be very slow so long as production methods are not improved to the point where the Micronesians will be able better to compete with producers from other regions of the world.

As regards health conditions, the Pacific Islands would appear to be in a satisfactory position. The effectiveness of the health services established by the Administering Authority has been reflected in the way in which, without outside help, the first great epidemic recorded since the United States took over the reins in these Islands was snuffed out. It is certain that the success of the health training programme for Micronesians is to be considered one of the most encouraging achievements by the Administering Authority.

Repeatedly in the past, the Trusteeship Council has noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in the field of education. It is appropriate, we feel, to restate our satisfaction at the educational policy, which has marked a very great victory, since out of 68,000 inhabitants 12,000 are attending primary school.

The Administering Authority's policy is designed to make the local communities fully aware of their responsibilities in the field of education; it is doing this by facilitating the work of the local communities through

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

subsidies. The special representative described these to us at the Council's twentieth session. The building and opening of new schools have been the result of a joint effort.

Finally, let us note with satisfaction the increase in the total number of students following courses of higher education outside the Trust Territory.

Generally speaking, therefore, we must note the great effort devoted to the building of new schools and the recruitment and training of new teachers. The petitioner this morning was an excellent example of this work.

I should not like to conclude this statement without saying a word about the nuclear experiments which have led us to hear the petitioners this morning and the discussion of which has consumed a considerable amount of the Council's time. This is not a new question. The Trusteeship Council has already discussed it in 1954 and 1956.

(Mr. Koscziusko-Morizet, France)

In our view there are two questions which are quite separate here. The first relates to the protection of the people. This question has already been the subject of previous resolutions. In this connexion, precautions were taken by the Administering Authority and nothing in the replies given by the one petitioner who was competent in this respect, Mr. Heine, gives us reason to doubt the assurances given by the Administering Authority.

There has been no case of disease or notification of illness of any kind as a result of the recent experiments. We have faith in the Administering Authority, and we are sure that it will take all the necessary measures to protect the health of the inhabitants of these Islands.

The other question is that of the right of the Administering Authority to conduct such experiments. This question, incidentally, has already been dealt with in the past also. But we think that neither in law nor in fact is it a question which falls within the competence of the Trusteeship Council for, as has been pointed out, it is a matter of trusteeship over strategic areas. It is the Security Council which is competent in this field. The Security Council calls upon the Trusteeship Council only for assistance, and it retains its full competence. Need I remind the Council of article 13 of the Trusteeship Agreement, which was adopted unanimously and which states:

> "The provisions of Articles 87 and 88 of the Charter shall be applicable to the Trust Territory, provided that the Administering Authority may determine the extent of their applicability to any areas which may from time to time be specified by it as closed for security reasons."

I repeat that that article was adopted unanimously. Therefore, it is not measures taken by the United States Government which can be questioned here. Rather, it is the approval of the Security Council of this text, and it is the Security Council which is competent to reconsider that approval if need be.

Finally, without resorting to arguments that are too exclusively legal, how can we fail to be struck by the fact that these nuclear experiments cannot be isolated from their international context, which is concerned with all nuclear experiments and the problem of disarmament as a whole? I shall not embark upon

(Mr. Koscziusko-Morizet, France)

a discussion of that problem, which falls outside the purview of this discussion. You were quite right, Mr. President, to stress that fact this morning, but I would emphasize that it would be not very serious on our part, and even not honest -- either towards the populations of the Marshall Islands or, what is more, towards world public opinion -- to try to settle such problems in an ineffective manner and by playing upon legitimate humanitarian feelings in order to mislead opinion.

The problem of peace is indivisible; it requires total reciprocity. Let it be approached face to face, in its entirety, in the place where it should be approached, in the presence of those who should be present and with the inspection and control which are necessary. Such an approach, in the view of my delegation, would demonstrate a sincere desire for peace. It would show a sense of responsibility. It would show a desire for the security of all -- not merely for the inhabitants of the Marshall Islands but for all peoples, for all the men and women of the world, who have the right, in the broader sense, to the trusteeship protection of the United Nations. Any partial or unilateral approach to these problems would appear to us to be a diversion, a camouflage and mere literature.

I should not like to conclude without thanking the United States delegation for the valuable assistance that it has afforded to our study, both by presenting a complete report and by bringing to us the detailed explanations of the special representative. The High Commissioner, Mr. Nucker, deserves our very particular thanks since he has been able to give us brilliant evidence of his ability and of his sustained devotion to the progress of the Trust Territory.

Mr. SMOLDEREN (Belgium)(interpretation from French): In the Pacific Islands the United States Administration has assumed an ungrateful and thorny task. The Territory comprises 2,000 islands, which would seem to challenge any enterprise of coherent colonization. And when I say "colonization" I mean it in its modern sense of technical assistance practised on a broad scale in all fields by a generous nation for the benefit of populations which, in the absence of that assistance, could not avail themselves of the progress of the contemporary world. Therefore, my American friends will surely forgive me for using the word "colonization" in the privileged sense which I attach to it, although they are wary of the word except in reference to "colonial style" or "colonial furniture".

The Administration has used the special geographic circumstances I mentioned in the best possible way. It has set up a vast network of municipalities, and in so scattered a territory municipalities are obviously the touchstone of the whole political system and its working level. The years to come will surely be decisive in the development of this system and the Trusteeship Council must be gratified to note the patience and flexibility shown by the Administering Authority in solving this problem, which has proved its profound understanding of conditions.

When the more advanced elements of the population have begun to realize that their small insular collectivity is really a member of the broader community then, and only then, will it be possible for the district assemblies to be developed satisfactorily and, later on, for federal organs to be worked out properly. For this latter type of institution the foundations have been laid. District assemblies have appeared and they have been modernized. As for the advisory inter-district council, it is already the embryo of a central organ, but it is much too early to pass judgement on whether this will be a viable body. It would be advantageous if it were to remain a clearing house of experience, useful for all, where measures of interest and benefit to the whole of the Territory could be discussed and examined. But, no doubt, haste in this field may well give rise to conflict with local authorities which are not yet fully alive to the fact that they belong to so vast and scattered a community.

(Mr. Smolderen, Belgium)

This danger may well increase if the members of the advisory council are to be elected directly by the population instead of being selected by the district assemblies. We have been happy to note that these developments have taken place in the presence of a constant endeavour not to interfere with traditional social structures.

I should like to express my delegation's sympathy with the indigenous inhabitants who have been devastated by the terrible typhoons -- christened with such poetic names as Lola and Ophelia -- which have laid waste the Territory during the past year. The Council should, it seems to me, express its gratitude to the United States Government for the promptness and generosity of the measures taken to limit the effects of this catastrophe, as well as for the extent of the reconstruction programmes.

In view of the geographic configuration of the Trust Territory its economic activity is bound to be quite modest unless new and unforeseen resources become available, which is improbable. In these circumstances the Administering Authority is well advised to concentrate its efforts on the improvement of the yield of subsistence agriculture and to develop certain other possibilities, such as the fisheries, from which the indigenous inhabitants may obtain an increased income.

The slight recession which is now being experienced by international markets has had its repercussions in most of the regions whose income is derived in large part from the export of raw materials, as is the case for quite a number of Trust Territories. Local production, therefore, is by no means to be regarded as a negligible factor. Fortunately, this observation is of only relative importance for the Pacific Islands because they can count each year on assistance from the Administering Authority which, let it not be forgotten, is of the order of 80 per cent of public expenditure. But surely the disequilibrium in the budget must be progressively eliminated lest self-government or independence become synonymous, once again, with economic retrogression.

(Mr. Smolderen, Belgium)

The rational economic policy of the Administering Authority and possible revisions in the revenue system are likely, we trust, to meet these eventualities. In thinking of the future my delegation does not lose sight of the fact that the Territory is now undergoing a particularly active phase of economic development. Its equipment in port installations, for example, so indispensable for the setting up of a transport and communications network between the various archipelagoes require relatively large-scale investment. In this connexion we have noted with interest that the various construction programmes are being carried out with vigour and energy in all districts.

The ordeal of the influenza epidemic of July 1957 has had the one comforting result of demonstrating the efficiency of the Micronesian health services. The result of this test will surely be properly appreciated and valued by this Council.

Education is making satisfactory strides notwithstanding the obstacles presented by the scattered nature of the islands. The interest of local communities in this problem in their efforts in constructing new school buildings appears to be a good omen for the future.

Lastly, we have noted with gratification the Administering Authority's estimates as to future promotions of Micronesians to the posts of directors of public health, attorney-general and educational directors in the islands.

My delegation fully trusts that the Administering Authority, we are confident, will enact organic legislation and set up programmes for the reorganization and development of municipal communities. It would be deeply unfair to blame the American administration for not having achieved certain objectives as speedily as it hoped to. Quite the contrary, it is the duty of the Council to note the flexibility and the sense of realism displayed by the American administration in dealing with this problem which is so delicate.

We have noted with particular interest the statement of the special representative that the way of reaching an objective may be even more important than its achievement within particular time limits -- meeting a particular deadline.

(Mr. Smolderen, Belgium)

Now, this is really the crux of the problem. As I understand it this policy is designed to humanize the geometric nature of the plans recommended by the Council. The French philosopher Henri Bergson in his book "Creative Evolution" speaks of the limits of intelligence which moves easily through the mathematical and physical sciences but hesitates, stumbles and shows its shortcomings as soon as it begins to tackle human problems.

The American administration seems to be fully alive to the imponderables which confront it and which to a considerable extent escape the ambit of its responsibilities. It has in fact affirmed that the democratic development in the Territory must be based on a growing acceptance of and assumption of responsibilities by Micronesians themselves. The advancement of the population depends more on its ability to progress than on the desire of the Administering Authority to meet deadlines. Let us express the hope that the indigenous inhabitants will understand the meaning of some of the formulas presented by this Council and that the calendar or deadline set should be a spur rather than a cause of discouragement or resentment. For our part we have no reason to question the realism and profound political sense and sensibility of the American administration. It is on this optimistic note that I should like to close my statement.

The discussions which we occasionally have with the United States delegation on the question of intermediary stages are in most cases only semantic questions. All Governments have projects and plans for the future. What really matters is the job that they actually do and their achievements.

Let me thank the special representative and the representative of the United States for their signal contribution towards our deliberations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next meeting of the Council will take place tomorrow, 25 June, at 2 p.m.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.

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Trusteeship Council
22nd Session
13th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1403
24 June 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

The Trusteeship Council this afternoon began general debate on political, economic, social and educational conditions in the Pacific Islands trust territory administered by the United States.

IVAN I. LOBANOV (USSR) recalled that at the opening of the Council's current session his delegation had called attention to the "dangers" to which the territory was exposed as a result of the nuclear tests in the area.

The question, he said, was so important and so deeply affected the territory that he wished to begin his statement with this issue.

It was the "misfortune" of the people of the territory, he said, that their territory had been "converted into a permanent American proving ground for nuclear testing." The "disastrous experiments" in the area, he remarked, started more than 12 years ago, and since then the population of the territory had suffered. The people were in "constant fear" for their security.

The consequences of previous explosions, he said, constituted a "heavy burden" on the population. Yet, the administering authority was conducting a new series of nuclear tests in a "methodical and cold-blooded" manner. The explosions, he said, were an "immediate threat" to the population.

The special representative of the administering authority at this session, Mr. LOBANOV went on, had again given assurances concerning the tests, but this was "no guarantee of safety." Similar assurances given in the past, he said, had not prevented numerous casualties -- Japanese fishermen and Micronesians -- from the "pernicious effects" of radioactive fallout.

The assurances concerning the "safety" of the explosions, Mr. LOBANOV alleged, had only one purpose: to lull world public opinion.

According to competent United States authorities, he said, both so-called "clean" bombs and "dirty" bombs were being exploded in the Pacific Islands.

The scientists of the world, the Soviet representative continued, were unanimous in their opinion as regards the "disastrous consequences" of the tests. The views of 2,000 American scientists had been brought to the attention of the US President on 4 June 1957.

(END OF TAKE 1)

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Trusteeship Council
22nd Session
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24 June 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

Mr. LOBANOV (USSR) also recalled that a petition signed by 9,000 scientists had been presented to the Secretary-General last January. The signers, he said, included 36 Nobel Prize winners.

The scientists, Mr. LOBANOV said, had warned that if the nuclear tests were continued, millions of persons would suffer from inherited diseases. The tests, he said, were a threat to the whole of mankind.

Nuclear tests now being carried out in the trust territory, the Soviet representative continued, were of "immediate danger" not only for future generations, but also the present generation of many Asian peoples.

The Soviet representative then went on to cite the opinions of a "well-known" Indian spokesman concerning the effects of radioactive fallout carried by winds for thousands of miles away from the place of explosion.

MASON SEARS (United States), on a point of order, said the Soviet representative was going "thousands of miles afield." All the Soviet representative could do by this was "to open a Pandora's box" and, in view of the "fearful" acts "perpetrated by his own people," Mr. SEARS did not think the Soviet representative would be wise to do so.

The PRESIDENT reminded the Soviet representative that the Trusteeship Council could not deal with general disarmament questions.

Mr. LOBANOV said it was the United States representative who had "opened the Pandora's box." He himself was keeping entirely to the subject, he said.

The United States representative had given a "distorted" account of the situation, and he had to clarify it, he said.

The PRESIDENT again intervened, asking the Soviet representative to confine himself to the subject under discussion.

(END OF TAKE 2)

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Trusteeship Council
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13th Meeting (PM)

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24 June 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 3

In reply, Mr. LOBANOV (USSR) said he found it strange that matters having such an effect on the people of the trust territory were considered out of order. He had to correct the "distorted" account given by the United States, he said.

The Soviet Union, for its part, had entirely stopped the testing of nuclear weapons, he went on. If the United States and the United Kingdom would do the same, there would be no question to discuss. It was the duty of the Trusteeship Council and the United Nations, in his view, to use all their influence to bring about an immediate end to nuclear tests. That was what the peoples of the world wanted.

LUC SMOLDEREN (Belgium), on a point of order, said the Soviet representative should not try to speak on behalf of world opinion, when the Soviet Union had been "solemnly condemned" by the United Nations for its actions.

Mr. LOBANOV, continuing, said he spoke on the basis of information received.

He then read out the text of a draft resolution, under which the Trusteeship Council, "noting with deep regret" the continuance of nuclear tests by the United States in the trust territory of the Pacific Islands, and being concerned about the danger to the life and well-being of the people of the territory and "of many other countries as well," would recommend that the United States stop nuclear tests in the area, restore the rights of the indigenous inhabitants, take steps to remove the danger to them, and compensate them for damage suffered.

Mr. LOBANOV said the administration of the territory was still divided between the United States Navy and the Interior Department. It was time, he said, to eliminate this division which was "harmful" to the development of the territory.

(END OF TAKE 3)

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Trusteeship Council
22nd Session
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TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 4

In order to give "some semblance" of legality to its actions in its continued use of the islands of Eniwetok and Bikini for the tests, Mr. LOBANOV (USSR) said, the United States had "manufactured two documents" called agreements which it claimed gave the United States rights to "indefinite use" of the islands. He called these agreements an "unprecedented violation" of international law and of the trusteeship agreement. Under these agreements, he charged, the United States had "illegally" bought the land for lethal experiments.

The present report on the territory was not any different from previous reports, except for the cover of the report, the Soviet representative went on. As regards political advancement, all that the report mentioned was that the administering authority was assisting the population in their development. The administering authority seemed to justify the territory's "stagnation" in political development by claiming in the report that the people were insular in their outlook and that they lacked an understanding of democratic government.

Mr. LOBANOV charged that the "refusal" to create an all-territorial government stemmed from the policy followed by the administering authority. The administering authority, he alleged, found it useful for its own purposes to perpetuate the "dismemberment" of the territory. He further charged that the reason the administering authority refused to set time limits for self-government or independence was because it wished to perpetuate the dependency of the territory.

The Soviet representative also criticized the "inadequacy" of the administering authority's efforts in promoting the territory's economic advancement, particularly in the development of fisheries. Despite the existence of favorable conditions, agriculture was in a "state of retrogression and decay," he charged.

(END OF TAKE 4)

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TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 5

Mr. LOBANOV (USSR) also charged that the facts given in the report on land holdings showed that the alienation of land from the indigenous people continued. The administering authority, he said, should be asked urgently to settle the land question in a just and equitable manner by returning the land to their legitimate indigenous owners.

"Far greater efforts," he declared, were also required in the social and health fields. Statistics, he said, showed that the efforts of the administering authority were "inadequate," as evidenced by the high incidence of tuberculosis and the increase in childhood diseases. He also criticized the situation in the educational field.

An analysis of the report for this year, Mr. LOBANOV said, showed that the development of the territory ran "far afield" from the main goal of the trusteeship system -- namely, the independence of the territory.

He charged that the factor causing this "deviation" stemmed from the policy of the administering authority which, he alleged, flowed not from the interests of the inhabitants but from military and strategic considerations.

Mr. SEARS (United States) said he wanted to speak now because of the remarks of the previous speaker. A further statement would be made at the end of the debate.

Mr. SEARS said he was "sincerely sorry," in view of the forthcoming talks in Geneva, that the Soviet representative had spoken on "such an unconstructive level." He hoped the Soviet representative would not be "sent to Siberia" for this.

Presumably the Soviet Union was too concerned with internal troubles right now to give proper instructions to its delegation to the Trusteeship Council in far-away New York. Or else the Soviet representative had gotten "his signals crossed." Mr. SEARS could not believe that the Soviet Union wanted to prejudice the forthcoming talks in Geneva.

The United States representative recalled that his government favored a cessation of tests under proper inspection as a first step toward a general disarmament system. In view of the forthcoming talks to this end, it seemed to him that the present occasion was the worst possible time to "rock the boat" or to make "irresponsible and unfounded" charges.

(END OF TAKE 5)

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TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 6

Continuing, Mr. LOBANOV (USSR) said that the "conjectures" of the United States representative had nothing to do with the question under discussion. The Soviet delegation had not gotten its signals crossed and had no need of instructions from the United States or any other delegation, he stated.

JACQUES KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) noted from the opening statement of the special representative, that the administering authority had continued its efforts to expedite in every way the territory's political development. In a territory such as the Pacific Islands, with its many scattered atolls, such development must begin at the municipal level. Thus, any change in this field must be regarded as of considerable importance.

Because of the scattered nature of the islands and the insularity of the population, he said, the territory's political development must come slowly. The system of government in the Pacific Islands, he noted, was adapted to the needs of the territory. Ten years ago, he observed, the people were not aware that they belonged to one entity.

The administering authority, he said, should be congratulated for its perserverance in replacing American personnel by qualified Micronesians. He also expressed satisfaction at the efforts in the development of the territory's economic resources.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET further expressed satisfaction in connection with the health services and the progress in education, which had received the Council's commendation over the past years, he noted.

Turning to the nuclear tests, the representative of France recalled that the Trusteeship Council had discussed the matter before. Resolutions had been adopted on the question of protection of the health of the inhabitants of the islands, and the administering authority had complied fully with them. As for the general question of the holding of tests in the area, it seemed to him that that was a matter for the Security Council and not for the Trusteeship Council, as this was a strategic area trusteeship.

The nuclear tests could not be isolated from their international context in the whole disarmament picture, as he saw it.

The representative of France said the problem of peace was "a total whole." His country wanted peace and recognized its international responsibilities. To call for an end of tests alone, without considering all the other factors involved, was mere "diversion and camouflage." (END OF TAKE 6)

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TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 7

LUC SMOLDEREN (Belgium) said the United States had taken on "an ungrateful and thorny task" in the Pacific Islands. There were many islands, widely separated, and that made for a number of problems.

A network of municipalities had been set up, which could in time develop into a federal system, he said. But there must be no "undue haste." Traditional forms had to be retained for the time being.

Economically, too, the geographical circumstances limited development beyond fisheries and local production, said the representative of Belgium. The administering power contributed most of the islands' income. However, local resources should be used as much as possible. His delêgation was glad to note the extent of construction under way.

Education was making satisfactory progress in spite of the obstacles arising from the scattered nature of the islands, he went on.

The Belgian delegation had confidence in the administering authority and thought it was wrong to blame the United States for the fact that certain objectives had not yet been attained. How an aim was achieved also mattered, he said.

There had to be "flexibility" in meeting deadlines, he said. His delegation hoped that the indigenous inhabitants understood the purpose of the Trusteeship Council resolutions and would regard the deadlines as a spur, rather than a cause for resentment.

He concluded by thanking the United States representative and the special representative of the administering authority for their contribution to this debate.

The PRESIDENT said he had been informed that two draft resolutions -- one by the Soviet Union and the other by India -- would soon be circulated (Docs. T/L.855 and 856). (For text of Indian proposal, see Press Release PM/3617.)

The Council adjourned at 4:28 p.m. until 2 p.m. tomorrow, Wednesday, when it will continue debate on the trust territory of the Pacific Islands.

The PRESIDENT said he already had eight speakers on his list for the debate tomorrow.

(END OF TAKE 7 and PRESS RELEASE TR/1403)