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Thirtieth Session

## VERBAL RECORD OF THE TWELVE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 17 June 1963, at 5 p.m.

President:

Mr. BARNES

(Liberia)

Later:

Mr. CORNER

(New Zealand)

1. Examination of annual reports of the Administering Authorities on the administration of Trust Territories: conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 14b (continued)
2. Examination of annual reports of the Administering Authorities on the administration of Trust Territories: conditions in the Trust Territory of New Guinea 14c (continued)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e. the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.1218 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

AGENDA ITEM 4 (b)

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF  
THE PACIFIC ISLANDS (T/1611; T/L. 1056 and Add.1) (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Goding, Special Representative of  
the Administering Authority of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands,  
took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I now give the floor to the Special Representative  
for the closing statement of the Administering Authority on the Trust Territory  
of the Pacific Islands.

Mr. GODING (Special Representative): May I first express my  
appreciation and that of my colleague Mr. Santos, for the many courtesies shown  
to us by members of the Council during this meeting. Mr. Santos, who cannot  
be with us today, will take back to Micronesia a deeper understanding of the role  
of this body and a new appreciation of the interest and concern of the Council  
in the affairs of our islands.

For my part, this year's review has been a most stimulating one. As High  
Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, I am deluged -- if I  
may use this term -- during the year with the minutiae of our many-sided activities.  
I find it refreshing and rewarding to have the opportunity to receive the analytic  
comments and views of the members of the Council, many of whom have devoted years  
to working on problems of administration not dissimilar in broad outline to those  
we face in the Pacific Trust Territory. Seen through your eyes, certain of our  
problems take on new aspects, new dimensions and different meaning. I can assure  
you that my staff and I give careful and serious consideration to the recommendations  
that emanate from this body.

I am particularly appreciative of the many encouraging comments made during  
the closing statements on the progress achieved during the past year and on our new  
accelerated programme of development. I say "appreciative" not in a personal  
sense, but in terms of my staff, Micronesian and American, who have worked  
together as a team under trying conditions to put this accelerated programme into

Mr. Young, Special Representative

action. The representative of the United Kingdom commented on how the "bounding energy of the New Frontier" had been applied to the Pacific area. I might add that we have met an equal response on the part of our Micronesian people. If our programmes succeed, it is in large measure due to the co-operation, the patience, the willingness and the energy of the Micronesians themselves.

The representative of Australia has noted that, in our political development programme, we have been guided by the concept that political advancement should be an evolutionary process which evolves through the will, the needs and desires of the people of the Territory. That this is the pattern desired by our people is shown over and over in the debates of the district legislatures, in the deliberations of the Council of Micronesia, and in the discussions of local municipal councils. One of our younger and highly respected political leaders expressed this concept with the words: "We must learn to walk before we can run."

I have participated for the past two years in the Council of Micronesia deliberations, and have had the privilege of sitting as an observer at several of our district congress sessions. I have been deeply impressed by the political growth that has taken place, at the maturity of judgement that is being demonstrated by elected officials, and by the willingness of our Microresian leaders, not only to accept the privileges, but also to assume the responsibilities of democratic self-government. I cannot, at this point, predict precisely when in the near future the present Council of Micronesia will become a functioning Territorial legislative organ. I can assure the Council, though, that a sound and representative legislative body is in the making, and that I regard it as a great honour and privilege to participate in its formation. At a previous session, the representative of the United Kingdom commented that in any area the touchstone of political advance must be the will of the people. Here, in the Pacific Trust Territory, I feel that there is a legislative body which is evolving through the will of the people and at the pace desired by them. There is no question that political advancement on a Territorial level is entering the final stage; we have learned to walk, and soon we will be running. Thus, at the risk of repetition, I say again that I have every confidence that, well before 1965, a truly representative Territorial legislative body will be operating in our Territory.

It was pointed out by the representative of New Zealand that the shape of the new legislature has been discussed and defined at some length by the Council of Micronesia. The Council's recommendations are now under study. We have been able to obtain the complete text of the Council of Micronesia recommendation on the framework of a proposed Territorial legislature, and this has been distributed to all members of the Council. The other resolutions and recommendations of the

October 1962 and of the March 1963 sessions of the Council of Micronesia will be made available to the 1964 Visiting Mission. These recommendations also will be treated in detail in our next annual report, which will be examined at next spring's session of the Trusteeship Council. The representative of New Zealand was correct when he noted that the steps that remain are largely technical ones.

The past year witnessed major strides of the Council of Micronesia toward its eventual destiny and has also seen other major political advances. The adoption of a Trust Territory flag as a political symbol has done much to strengthen the unity of the people of our several districts. For the first time in the long history of the islands, the people have a flag which is theirs -- a flag designed by one of them and chosen by their elected representatives. This may seem a relatively small thing, but it is nonetheless of tremendous significance in welding a widely-separated group of island people together and creating a sense of "national unity". The deliberations of the Council of Micronesia, during its two sessions this past year, reveal a significant trend from political parochialism of a district level to a broader "national" feeling. Whereas, in earlier meetings, specific district problems tended to dominate the sessions, the sessions of the past year stressed common problems and joint ways of solving them. One District Congress President, in writing to his counterpart in another district, stated this oneness of feeling in these words: "Divided we cannot proceed; united we cannot fail." There is no question that a "Micronesian self", in the terms described by the representative of New Zealand, is emerging in the Territory.

Through charter change and technical assistance we have strengthened district legislatures to enable them to function more efficiently, in a more representative and democratic fashion, and to take over larger law-making responsibilities at the district level. Technical assistance also has been given to local governments and local officials. At all levels, election supervision has been provided, and our political affairs section has given advice and aid in the formation of political parties.

I would like to assure the representative of China that we are giving careful attention to political development on the municipal level. Our programme of chartering is progressing satisfactorily; and through our expanded political affairs staff, at both the district and headquarters level, we are now able to provide training sessions for local officials. The formal chartering of a local

municipality is important; but equally important is the need for trained local officials who understand how to conduct the functions of municipal government within the framework of its charter. The people themselves must not only be willing to accept the privileges of self-government, but they must be prepared to shoulder the responsibilities that go along with these privileges.

I am most appreciative of the penetrating comments made by the representative of New Zealand in his closing remarks. He rightly pointed out that, though a Territorial legislature must be the focus of political consciousness, the Micronization of the executive side is no less important. He noted that preparation of schedules for replacement of expatriates is one way of achieving the goals of a replacement programme. This, in essence, is what we are doing. A Manpower Review Committee was established this past year to screen all new hirings as well as renewal of contracts of all present non-Micronesian employees to ensure that Micronesians are being placed in posts for which they qualify. I can assure the representative of Liberia that, with the unification of all the territory under civilian control on 1 July 1962, most of the disparities noted by the 1961 Visiting Mission, as between the former district of Saipan and the rest of the Territory, have been removed. With the second increment of our wage scale adjustment, scheduled for next month, wages for Administration employees will be uniform throughout the Territory. Our accelerated elementary programme will provide equal elementary schools and equally qualified teachers in all districts. The former Saipan Copra Stabilization Fund has been merged with the larger Trust Territory Copra Stabilization Fund.

A very important as well as provocative question was posed by the representative of Australia when he asked what is the proper point of balance between social development, economic development and political development in an area such as ours. That political advancement is not necessarily dependent upon economic self-sufficiency has been dramatically illustrated over and over by the birth of new nations during the past ten years. None the less, neither political advancement nor social development will mean much if the economic growth lags far behind. The representative of Australia has also noted that our Territory, in common with other island areas of the Pacific, possesses certain unique characteristics: the small land area, the tremendous ocean distances that must be traversed, and the relatively small populations which provide only limited sources of manpower. Often it is hard to see, given these limiting factors, how economic self-sufficiency can ever be attained in an island area such as ours. Perhaps the islands of the Pacific Trust Territory may never reach self-sufficiency, but as the representative of New Zealand commented, who can say what possibilities exist until all have been explored. That our economic potential lies in the sea is unquestionable. Here lies the hidden wealth of Micronesia; here lies the great hope of its future. Farming the sea must be achieved if the islands of the Pacific are to achieve a sound economic base. The opening of the area to commercial fishing concerns is only the beginning step in the development of an intensive local fishing industry which in time should provide livelihood for thousands of our people. I assure the representative of Liberia and the representative from China that we fully share the feeling that this major resource must be protected for the Micronesians. This is a paramount feature in all our considerations, and I might add this aspect is fully accepted by every American industry which has demonstrated interest in our area. Provisions for training of Micronesians, for them to hold stock, and provisions for eventual purchase of equipment and plants by local investors are an essential feature of any negotiations we undertake.

The farming of the sea in other respects will be equally important to our islands. Paramount here are the world-wide experiments of desalination of sea water. Many areas of the world will have vast new horizons open to them once this barrier has been breached and low cost and simple methods of desalination

have been achieved. To us it will mean that hundreds of tiny islands now not habitable can be put to use. It will mean vastly increased production of all types of crops in our world of island atolls. Another area in which we have keen interest is that of the use of solar energy. We are investigating all possibilities of how solar energy experiments can be put to use in our region. Pilot projects using simple solar devices for cooking purposes, for small scale refrigeration units, and for solar batteries for power uses are under consideration for certain of our islands.

Hope has been expressed here that more effort will be made to diversify our present agricultural export crops, that is copra and cacao, in order that the local agricultural economy will not be completely dependent upon the fluctuating world market of these two products. Through experimental pilot projects and through subsidy programmes we are encouraging the development of other crops which have commercial value. The production of ramie fibre, coir fibre and its by-products, limited lumber production, papain, tylosin starch export, export of bananas, and many other items, all have real economic potential. While I do not envisage any of these becoming a major source of income, combined with a major cash crop such as copra or cacao, they can provide an important secondary source of income. Thus I hasten to assure the representative of France that we are in agreement with his viewpoint that we must strive for economic diversification. Many other aspects in the economic field are receiving careful attention. Serious attention, for example, is being given to the possibility of rice growing in our area. Three of our districts, Ponape, Palau and the Marianas, have good potential for rice growing and next month we are starting a pilot project to demonstrate that rice growing, both by the wet as well as dry method, is economically feasible for these three districts. While we cannot look forward to completely supplying all of our local rice demands, I feel confident that in time we can cut down rice imports which now average close to a half million dollars a year. The potential of meat producing is great. Our high islands should be able to supply almost all of our fresh meat requirements. Saipan, Rota, and Tinian Islands of the Mariana District, Ponape Island and Kurukie Island have the most potential for development of a livestock industry and already many thousands of head of cattle are found in these islands. With faster and better roads of transportation, adequate freezing

The representative of UNESCO drew attention to one of the major problems in the field of elementary education -- that of the inability of many of the municipalities to bear the local costs of education. We are devoting major attention to this aspect in our accelerated education programme, and I have already described our proposals in detail in my opening statement as well as during the questioning period. However, I should like to add that in addition to building new schools, the recruitment of American teachers and the training of Micronesian teachers, there are several other equally important aspects to which we are devoting attention. The first of these is a programme of equipping elementary schools with suitable school furniture and teaching aids, and the furnishing of free books and supplies for all public school students. Formerly only minimum aid was extended in this field and here a major change is being made. This coming year, for example, the expenditure for elementary school equipment and supplies will run into several hundred thousand dollars.

In co-operation with the district legislatures, we have instituted a system of subsidizing elementary school teachers' salaries. While the basic salary is still being paid out of district revenues, the central government now provides a considerable subsidy which is added to the salary of all elementary school teachers who meet minimum certification standards. Further, during this coming year, it is our intention to review present elementary school teacher salary levels and to bring them in line with salaries which are paid in our Micronesian Title and Pay plan. Since the district legislatures desire to continue their support of elementary schools, the raising of teachers' salaries at all levels will mean an increased subsidy on the part of the central government.

I am also pleased to assure the representative of Liberia that we are providing additional opportunities for study in the metropolitan country. This year, for example, some ten to twelve additional students will be going to the University of Hawaii; others will be going to universities in the mainland United States; while still others will be attending the College of Guam. The College of Guam, a month or so ago, received accreditation as a four-year college and greatly expanded programmes in all academic fields are now under way. The College of Guam has many potentials for our use. It is strategically located with respect to the Western Carolines, the Marianas and the Eastern Caroline region.

(Mr. Godwin, Special Representative)

It has an imposing campus, and a physical plant whose eventual cost will run into several million dollars. Its staff is well qualified and many are specialists on the Pacific area. The College of Guam can well become a centre for Pacific studies. It has the added attraction of being close enough to all our districts to enable our students to return home at regular intervals to visit their families. This is an aspect which means a great deal to our students, particularly those who are married. Thus, although in general I would agree with the representative of Liberia on the value of an institution of higher education within the Territory, it is my feeling that it would be somewhat premature and uneconomical for us to attempt to build a college when we have such ready access to the College of Guam. This does not mean, however, that we shall not continue to expand higher education facilities in certain selected fields of study within the Territory. I have already indicated our expansion plans for our Nursing School, as well as our Teacher Training Institute. These will be further expanded. Similarly, our School of Dental Nursing will be strengthened, as will our Farm Institute, which provides extension training on a post-high-school level for local agricultural agents.

There appears to be some misunderstanding with respect to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands not using the United Nations scholarship programmes. Over the past ten years, an average of two United Nations fellowships has been received annually by Trust Territory citizens. These have covered a variety of fields ranging from study of radio broadcasting in New Zealand and Western Samoa to public health activities in Japan and the Philippines, community development study in the Philippines, Burma and Jamaica, and social defence grants in Hawaii and elsewhere.

Most of the Council members have remarked favourably on our greatly increased appropriations, particularly in the field of elementary education. I am indebted, though, to the representative of New Zealand for pointing out that provision of additional money does not remove all the stumbling blocks. He has rightly noted that all educational progress in a sense consists in the replacement of one set of problems by another. This, indeed, can be said to be an aspect of all progress and growth -- problems are never completely solved, for new and different ones constantly arise. What we are attempting in all our education programmes

is to equip our Micronesian young people to solve better the problems which inevitably will face them in their changing world. It is our contention that the most immediate problem lies in expanding and improving education at the elementary school level. This belief has brought about the launching of a vast accelerated programme in this field. Our next stage will be acceleration in secondary school education and in the vital field of adult education. Here, also, is a great challenge to be met, for unless we can bring the older generation within the orbit of the changing world our accelerated education programme on the elementary and secondary level could serve to create a gulf between the young and old. There is great eagerness among our adult population for education -- education for their children and education for themselves. For our part we intend to provide facilities to meet the educational needs and desires of this vital portion of our population. We share the concern expressed by the representative of Liberia on the needs of the tuberculosis control programme. We are endeavouring to strengthen the programme of tuberculosis control in all districts. BCG vaccination continues, new and more potent drugs are constantly being introduced, and we are stressing preventive aspects as well as treatment of this disease. TB control teams have been established in each district and will be greatly strengthened under our accelerated public health programme. The Special Assistant to the Director of Public Health devoted full time this past year to organizing tuberculosis control work in the Marshall Islands District. Our expanded medical programme calls for a tuberculosis specialist to be added to our staff. We are determined that this dreaded scourge will be brought under control in the Pacific Islands. Funds for public health activities for the year we are about to enter on 1 July, that is fiscal year 1964, have been appreciably increased over funds of the past year. For the next fiscal year, an even greater acceleration is planned, and expansion of all aspects of our public health programme will be carried out.

We still have unique problems connected with the provision of education, health services and social services for the inhabitants of those small islands we have come to term the "outer islands". I would be among the first to admit that these problems have not been adequately met in the past, mainly because of insufficient transportation services. These outlying islands with their small populations, however, represent only a small fraction of our total land area and only a small

(Mr. Godding, Special Representative)

minority of our population. We must, of course, meet the demands of the out-islanders and fully intend to do so, but there is a point at which economic practicability must enter into the picture. The representative of China touched on this point when he suggested that it might be worth while for the Administration to consider ways and means of encouraging small isolated groups to move to more populated areas and join larger communities. In certain of our small islands, the total population consists of only ten to thirty individuals, and the islands on which they live often are a hundred miles or more from the district center or other populated areas. In the main, these islands have little to offer economically and the young adults increasingly move to the district centre or to other populated regions. Thus, we are left with small isolated groups made up of elderly people and young children. There is no question but that eventual amalgamation of tiny groups of this nature will come about.

The question as to how to achieve a proper balance between the programmes at Headquarters, the district centres and the outlying areas is one to which we have given a great deal of thought. I agree with the representative of China that more attention needs to be given to decentralization, not only to ensure that our programmes reach into the isolated "cut island" areas, but also into the hinterland region surrounding the district centre area in which the great bulk of our population resides. Much of the problem of attracting and keeping our educated young people in the village level will disappear as we open these hinterlands to the conveniences of modern life possible under local resources. It is not enough simply to station a well-trained teacher, a doctor, a nurse or an agriculturist in an outlying area. They must be able to put into practice what they have learned and they, as well as the people of the outlying region, should be able to participate in improved standards of living. It is this goal that we are striving for in our accelerated education programme by providing the means whereby an elementary school far from the district centre will have equal facilities and as well-trained teachers as do the schools in the urban centres. Our public health programme calls for expansion of hospital service to the population centres outside the district centres through the building of field hospitals. The building of roads and the extension of public utilities, in so far as this is feasible, into the hinterland area must be an important phase of any programme of development. These items have high priority in our present programme, and even greater emphasis will be placed on them in our expanding programme, which calls for acceleration in all fields of endeavour.

I am pleased to be able to report at this time that the typhoon rehabilitation programme for the Mariana Islands is progressing most satisfactorily. On 11 June, President Kennedy allocated \$1,500,000 for the special rehabilitation programme I described in detail in my opening statement, and this will enable us to move forward rapidly in the reconstruction of damaged facilities in Saipan, Rota, and Tinian. The Administering Authority shares the hope expressed by members of the Council that a speedy solution to the long-standing problem of the Kwajalein land claims, as well as compensation

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for the people of Rongelap, will soon come about. My Administration earnestly hopes that these two areas of doubt and uncertainty can be cleared up well before this Council convenes next spring.

It has been our practice each year to circulate, immediately upon the return of the Special Representative to the Territory, the summary records of the Trusteeship Council in order that the people of the Territory may read for themselves the complete transcripts of the meetings here. Not only are these summary records distributed in considerable quantity but our local radio stations use them in special broadcast programmes. I can assure the Council that the deliberations of this body are followed with keen interest by the people of the Trust Territory. Before the first of July, records of this meeting will be distributed throughout our Territory.

In closing, may I express again my appreciation for the many helpful comments brought forth at this meeting, and thank the President and the members of the Council for the interest expressed in the affairs of the Trust Territory.

Mr. YATES (United States of America): This is my first year on the Trusteeship Council. When I came here, I really did not know what to expect. However, after several weeks of this session and after having seen the manner in which the affairs of the Council are conducted, I must say that I am profoundly impressed by the way in which not only the representatives of the Administering Authorities, but all the representatives, participate in the discussions and in the critical analysis of the affairs of the various trusteeships. I believe that the members are doing a very good job, and I am delighted to find myself as one of the participants in this task.

My delegation is gratified that the strenuous efforts made by my own Government on behalf of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands have been recognized by all the members of the Council. I have noted at the same time that the great majority of members of the Council have not hesitated to tell us of the shortcomings they have seen in our report, and I pledge to them that we will not only consider their comments but will do everything we can to remedy such defects as they have brought to our attention. The High Commissioner, Mr. Goding, has already discussed some of these constructive criticisms in his final statement.

May I say, too, that we listened with great respect to the remarks of the representative of the Soviet Union, most of which, I may say, were not nearly as complimentary as those of some of the other members. I can say, however, that his remarks were stimulating, they were provocative, and on occasion they even related to the facts.

But I must say also that I was struck in this, my first experience in this Council by the implacable and almost uniform criticisms which were contained in his statements and his questions. I had occasion to review the entire record, and I doubt that there was any single commendation or compliment that my Government received in connexion with the administration of the Trust Territory. Not one development, not one achievement -- not one intention, if you please -- was recognized in connexion with the efforts made by my country to administer the Trust Territory. I think it is unfortunate that the attitude indicated was one of relentless attack on the stewardship exercised by my country.

I can say in all sincerity that the High Commissioner and I have done our best patiently and painstakingly to answer all the questions that were addressed to us, including the questions of the representative of the Soviet Union.

At the risk of again bringing down the wrath of the representative of the Soviet Union upon the representative of New Zealand, I think that we must again remember the nature of the problem, and I thought that the representative of New Zealand presented a very succinct and perceptive delineation of what the nature of that problem is when he said:

"The problem here is to create a nation -- not in any rhetorical sense but quite literally: to fuse one people out of six districts, nine separate languages, two thousand islands and three million square miles of ocean. ... The latter -- "

and here he was referring to my country --

"has accepted a two-fold responsibility: it must in a sense create the very community which it is guiding toward self-determination. Clearly there can be no meaningful self-determination until a micronesian 'self', as distinct from a collection of island communities, exists to exercise an active choice." (Z/IV.1214, page 5 - 10)

That is what my Government is doing. At a pace now accelerated, it is helping the people of Micronesia toward the day of self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

It was in this spirit and in this context that the High Commissioner and I attempted to answer the questions put by the Soviet representative. Most of the time it was indicated that we did not answer his questions. We submit that we did answer his questions, and I trust and I hope that the other members of the Council agree that we answered his questions. I could not avoid recalling in my mind a certain poem when the questions of the Soviet representative time and again indicated that he had not really listened to our answers. I was struck by the great similarity between his approach to the problem and the tactic employed by the great British admiral, Lord Nelson, when he was called upon to view something that was distasteful to him. As the poem put it, "He clapped his glass to his sightless eye and 'I am damned if I see it', he said".

But when all is said and done, the theme of the Soviet representative reduces itself to the charge that the United States is a great colonial Power and to the related charge that its operations are incompatible with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). I declared in the course of my main address that my Government favoured paragraph 2 of resolution 1514 (XV), and, in response to a direct question by the representative of the Soviet Union as to whether or not we also favoured paragraph 5 of that resolution, I answered in the affirmative, pointing out, however, that the resolution must be read in the context of the relevant portions of the Charter of the United Nations, that one cannot divorce one from the other, and that whereas the resolution proposed that Non-Self-Governing Territories be brought to independence as promptly as possible, in respect of trusteeships the appropriate provision of the Charter required that they be given a choice, that they be given a right to choose for themselves as to whether they wanted independence or whether they wanted to affiliate themselves with an existing State, or to name the type of Government they wanted for themselves.

I can only think that there is a deep confusion in the mind of the Soviet representative, and that this may be induced by a way of thinking entirely different from that of my own country. I would say that his attitude is based on an ideological interpretation of history which is dogmatic and inflexible.

(Mr. Yates, United States)

It seems to me that the entire record of the United States in this century and I think the record will sustain this -- is one of progressive, voluntary divestment of territories which have been administered by my country. One of these former territories is now an independent and respected Member of the United Nations and is serving with distinction on the Security Council of the United Nations. Of course, I refer to the Philippines. Two other former territories have chosen to become States of my country, as in the cases of Hawaii and Alaska, as also in the case of Puerto Rico, which has become, through its own self-determination, a commonwealth in close association with the United States. I would suggest that the record of my country should be compared with the record of the Soviet Union in this respect, which has, from its inception, brought under its domination free peoples of Europe, Asia and the Pacific. Having little faith in the Trusteeship System, it has never resorted to it.

But, again, I would refer to the statement made by the representative of New Zealand in pointing out the benefits that have accrued to the peoples of individual nations who had been under trusteeship as a result of the operations of this Council.

In a suzerainty at the 1215th meeting of the Council, the Soviet representative said:

"But the important and fundamental question is whether the Administering Authority is implementing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in connexion with the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands." (T/PV.1213, page 36)

I accept this as a fundamental question, and I phrase it in its full and obligatory context because the Government of the United States has an agreement with the United Nations pursuant to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and the question must be phrased as follows: Is the United States implementing this Declaration by preparing the people of the Trust Territory progressively for self-government or independence in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, as required by Article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations and Article 6 of the Trusteeship Agreement? I say that we are, and I believe that the vast majority of the members of this Council will agree that we are doing so.

(Mr. Yates, United States)

May I conclude by expressing the gratitude of my delegation and its pleasure at the knowledge that the Visiting Mission appointed by this Council will visit the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands before the next session of the Council. We want such a Visiting Mission in our Trust Territory to see what we are doing. We have nothing to hide, and we are proud of what we are doing. We look forward to the visit of the Mission and to its report. We believe that a great deal has been accomplished in the Territory since the departure of the last Visiting Mission. We are anxious to have a group representing this Council observe this progress at first hand.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the Special Representative for his statement and for his patience and courtesy in replying to the questions put to him on behalf of the Council. I would like to express to him, and to Mr. Santos, President of the Marianas District Legislature, our best wishes for their safe return to the Territory. We ask them to convey to the people of the Territory the Council's best wishes for the future.

Mr. Goding, Special Representative, withdrew.

Mr. BRYKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): As my colleague, the representative of the United States, I am participating for the first time in the work of the Trusteeship Council, and I will not conceal the fact that I had previously a very remote impression of the Trusteeship Council. Nevertheless, I did not believe that this was a body in which we must indulge in compliments, and, indeed, in compliments addressed to the Administering Powers. Therefore, if the United States representative is displeased and complains about the fact that there were no compliments or favourable statements on my part addressed to the Administering Authority, this can be explained, at least, by two factors.

One reason is that the Trusteeship Council is called upon to observe the manner in which the obligations of the Administering Authority in the Trust Territory are being implemented. In the second place -- and this we shall not attempt to conceal since it is quite well known -- the region of the Pacific is, unfortunately, not very pacific. The United States has a dominating position in that area which clearly influences the situation there, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is in that area.

The representative of the United States accuses the Soviet delegation of approaching the matter dogmatically. I hope that he will not make any semantic interpretation of the word "dogmatic", but perhaps for the first time in the history of the Trusteeship Council -- at least as far as I know -- a representative of the United States, although not agreeing with much of what we said, did say that our statements had helped his delegation to see certain problems in a different light. We do not wish to compliment ourselves, but we feel that that was useful. Negotiations can never bring positive results and if, in the Trusteeship Council, we wish -- and I hope that the Council as a whole so wishes -- to find a proper solution to the problem now under consideration, we must have some point of departure; we must have certain positions at the outset.

For us, the point of departure in the Trusteeship Council is not prejudice towards the United States as a Member State of the United Nations. We are not at all guided by any preconceived hostility towards the United States. On the contrary, the history of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States, both in the past and in the last few days, has demonstrated that the Soviet Union desires to have normal relations with the United States, and I do not think that there is any need to try to prove it. This fact is well known and widely recognized.

Our point of departure is quite different and, in the Trusteeship Council, is determined by the decisions of the United Nations. It is determined by the tasks and the objectives which are placed before the Trusteeship Council by these decisions.

The question is not whether the United States has built houses on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The peaceful construction of houses, schools and hospitals is, of course, a good thing, but it does not fulfil the objectives and tasks placed upon the United States with regard to the Trust Territory.

We would not wish to return to the discussion, which was a very useful one but showed that many of the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council, while not objected to by the United States, were not implemented by the Administering Authority.

The Charter does not say that the United States must carry out its trust forever; neither does such a provision appear in the Trusteeship Agreement between the United States and the United Nations. But there is a clear and definite indication in this respect in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. That Declaration contains a clear and unequivocal formulation, and it is clear that, since the representative of the United States has just said that his country recognizes that Declaration, the United States must take a decisive step to implement the principles and objectives of that Declaration without further delay.

I have said that we do not wish to return to the discussion which took place in the Council and which is fresh in the memory of every representative, but we cannot conceal the fact that the statement which was made today by the Special Representative contained one quite obvious quality.

The special representative in replying to remarks of the various delegations in this Trusteeship Council and carefully bypassing the remarks of the Soviet delegation, spoke in a manner which was such that one could understand him to be speaking on behalf not of the Administering Authority, but of the inhabitants of the Territory. Very often he said "we", "our people", and so forth, and we must say that at times it was difficult to understand what he meant by these terms. When he said "we", did he mean the United States or the indigenous population of the Pacific Islands? When he said "our", was he referring to the United States or to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands? Once again we would point out that this is not accidental, since the United States follows a very clear and definite policy aimed at incorporating the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands into the Territory of its own country.

In previous sessions and in this session as well we have not received a clear impression of the wishes and aspirations of the indigenous population of the Pacific Islands, a Trust Territory the situation of which differs from that of other Trust Territories and Non-Self-Governing Territories. This is one aspect of the matter. Another aspect, one which has great importance going beyond the interests of this Trusteeship Council, is the international aspect of the matter. Is the Trust Territory a region which contributes to the strengthening of peace and neighbourly relations in the area of the Pacific Ocean? No facts or data have been produced, either in the statements of the representatives of the United States or in the replies to questions asked by our delegation, which would indicate that the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is headed in this direction. It is for this reason that the replies to our questions on this aspect of the matter contained nothing which would substantially alter our point of view. This is something regrettable and cannot fail to cause grave concern. I did not wish at this time to enter into the broader question of international peace and security, but everyone recognizes -- everyone in the United States of America as well as everywhere else in the world -- that the peace of the world is indivisible that any situation in any particular region, however remote it may be, that does not contribute to the strengthening of peace and the development of normal neighbourly relations in that region, because of the inter-dependence which now exists in the world, cannot but give rise to

(Mr. Bryant, USAH)

serious concern everywhere. This is the second aspect of the matter, and I wish to stress, once again, that this causes us great concern -- very great concern indeed -- and there is no doubt that it causes even greater concern among the peoples of the Pacific region.

The representative of the United States once again brought up the question of whether or not the United States is a colonial Power. We wish to state immediately that we never intended to touch upon this question and we did so only because of a definite statement made by the representative of the United States.

The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples applies to Non-Self-Governing Territories, Trust Territories and other territories that have not yet attained independence. The title of that Declaration is clear and definite. It crosses the t's and dots the i's. The judgement of a people in history is not determined by the statements of its representatives, however high their responsibility and rank may be; it is determined by their actions and deeds, and it is better to leave this for the people to judge.

The United States of America, both before and following the Second World War, received under its administration several Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories. We do not wish to touch upon the matter of the Philippines; the facts in this regard are so well and so widely known that it really is not necessary to speak about them. But the general tendency in the policy of the United States in regard to Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories consists in incorporating them into the United States itself. The United States is the greatest capitalist Power in the world, and the peoples of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories under United States administration do not, of course, have at their disposal even one-thousanth of the might possessed by the United States. So long as in these Territories the United States maintains large contingents of United States troops, so long as the United States dominates and determines the situation in these Territories, how can it be said that these Territories freely choose the roads they wish to travel? To say this would mean to close our eyes to the actual facts.

(Mr. Bulganin, USSR)

The representative of the United States made a comparison between the history of the United States and the Soviet Union. I do not know what his intentions were when he made this comparison; it is still not clear to us. Every comparison is limited. We only have to look at the last statement made by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, who spoke of the sufferings which the Soviet Union endured during the Second World War. Our people, we, those who represent our country in the United Nations, are not guided by the feeling of wishing ill of the United States or of being envious of it. That is the good fortune of the people of the United States, the fact that they did not suffer from aggression, that they did not have to suffer because of an invasion and that they were not bombed or destroyed. Unfortunately, our country was subjected to all these things and suffered from them much too often. Despite this neither our country nor our people nor our Government have ever felt any or feel any feeling of hostility or revenge. We are very sensitive to any attempt to cast doubts on or attack our rights or the way in which we run our country or how we live in our country. No one can know our history better than we ourselves do, our lives better than we know them ourselves.

We have many reasons to be proud and many reasons for our national pride, but we also have many reasons to remember the sufferings which our people, the people of the Soviet Union, had to endure as a result of such invasions and such aggression. Therefore, this comparison is so conditional, and I am not mentioning the fact that the regime in our country which has existed there now for almost forty years, which was established as a result of the Socialist Revolution in our country, is entirely different from the regime which exists in the United States.

The Soviet Union does not have one single enterprise abroad. We do not receive any profits from any source. Our only profit is what we receive from the advantages we gain in trade and the small percentage of interest, 2 per cent, from the credits which we grant to several countries. The United States is in an entirely different position; we will not dwell on this. Therefore, from this point of view as well there is a very substantive difference between our country and the United States.

(Mr. Brykin, USSR)

Finally, there is the question as to whether the United States fulfills the provisions and principles contained in the Declaration in regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. We dwelt on this point at great length in our questions and in our statements; we stated everything with great clarity both in our statements and questions and we do not feel the need to repeat them. I will add only one thing: that everything goes inevitably towards a situation when perhaps only very few colonial Powers will remain in the world, and the United States should not remain among the last ones along with Portugal. This is a problem for the United States to contemplate.

Mr. YATES (United States of America): I appreciate very much the remarks of the representative of the Soviet Union. I must say that his statement on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was a very pacific one indeed, and I am not constrained to carry on the dialogue any further. I merely want to close by again expressing the gratitude of my delegation to the representatives in the Trusteeship Council for their very constructive and helpful suggestions in connexion with the administration of the Trust Territory and to say again that we look forward to the visit of the Visiting Mission.

The PRESIDENT: Before I appoint the Drafting Committee, I should like the Council to dispose of the petition contained in document T/PET.10/35. The Council heard the petitioner, Mr. Hosmer, who is aware of the comments of the Administering Authority. If there are no objections, may I suggest for the consideration of the Council that no further action is called for.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I would now suggest that China and the United Kingdom be appointed as members of the Committee to draft the conclusions and recommendations regarding the conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4 (c)

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA (T/1607, 1615; T/L.1057; T/PET.8/L.8 and L.9) (continued)

The PRESIDENT: The Council will begin the general debate on conditions in New Guinea.

Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): When we look at the unique problems they present, it is not difficult to see why three out of the original eleven Territories should still be under trusteeship. Perhaps we are reminded of this more forcibly than ever as we turn direct from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to that of New Guinea. Each of these Territories presents peculiarly difficult challenges in fulfilling the goals of trusteeship; each must for the present depend almost entirely on assistance from the Administering Authority -- in the case of Australia, this is now running at about £25 million a year -- and in each, the most fundamental task is to build a nation where only isolated tribes and islands have existed before.

In the case of New Guinea, these challenges have been magnified by the sheer vastness of the scale. The devastation wrought by the vast war was such that the Administering Authority to all interests started out afresh when peace was restored. The inaccessibility of much of the country had, from the earliest human settlement, shaped its history, or rather the lack of it. There were a thousand clans or tribes, many still isolated in their valleys and islands; and, by long experience, hostile and suspicious of one another. They spoke languages only rarely comprehensible beyond their own group, subsisted mainly on traditional crops and foods, and in many cases lived closer to the Stone Age than to the twentieth century.

This was the somewhat daunting challenge facing the Administering Authority in 1945. Eighteen years of effort, and a considerable outlay of Australian capital, have made an energetic reply. The effects of the war were repaired within a few years, and by now only a few scattered pockets of tribesmen remain to be reached by the Administering Authority. Primary and secondary education have been developed to the point where half a million children will shortly be at school. A broad basis of literacy and the knowledge of a common tongue -- English -- has thus already begun to break down the old habits of isolation. Five thousand miles of roads have been constructed and air transport built up -- of necessity

in this precipitous country -- to a level probably matched nowhere else in the world. The expansion of cash cropping has been accelerated by the energy of the Tolai people -- a representative from whom we are now honoured to welcome here -- and returns over £1 million a year to these people alone. The rising production of cocoa and coffee -- of which one half is already produced by indigenous growers -- has begun to erode the subsistence agriculture still traditional among most of the people.

To bring about this transformation -- costing \$70 million or so in Australian grants since the end of the war -- has been no mean achievement in itself. It has changed what is too often thought of as a collection of Stone Age cultures into the modern and rapidly progressing Territory which New Guinea is. But it has done more: it has created the means by which further very rapid advances are going to be possible in the Territory. As is the case when erecting a high building, the Administering Authority has, over the past years, put long and costly effort into preparing the foundations and substructure. Now, as the Visiting Mission discerned last year, the point has been reached where striking progress becomes visible.

The Administering Authority has decided that, with a foundation of local political institutions, educational and social services firmly laid, further progress can best be generated through political development at the centre. I imagine that, in the light of the experience of other territories, few would dispute this decision. For the point has been reached where only the people themselves can grapple with the hard-core problems, those like reform of land tenure, which involve so much more than simple administrative decisions. Only the increasing devolution of power to their elected representatives can confront the people of New Guinea with the reality of these problems, and release the energy to overcome them. Henceforward, therefore, the pace of all other development will be increasingly set by political activity at the centre. Parochialism, indifference to happenings beyond one's valley, will crumble as a Territorial legislature generates a consciousness of common problems and a common destiny in overcoming them. Electors will grasp that the same aspirations which have preoccupied their local discussions are, most of them, common to the whole Territory. A sense of nationality will be born.

(Mr. Corner, New Zealand)

In creating the truly national legislature, the Administering Authority has thus taken a bold step, but a thoroughly justified one. It has decided to establish a House of Assembly consisting of sixty-four members, of which all but ten officials will be elected by the people of the Territory from a common electoral roll. These members will be sufficient to provide adequate representation for all districts; but their number ensures that, in most districts at least, each successful candidate will have to gain the support of tribal groups other than his own. They will have control over the financial estimates -- even though most of the money is supplied by the Australian taxpayer -- and over the making of all laws. A theoretical power of disallowance will remain, as it does in the case of the Administering Authority's own Parliament; but all power of initiating and passing legislation will rest with the Assembly. Whatever enlargements in size or scope may come in the future, this is the great significance of the present advance: that it places here and now all the essential powers of a democratic legislature in the hands of an elected majority. The new House of Assembly will be a ferment, working out there every phase of the Territory's life. Once started, it cannot be stopped or turned back.

This Assembly will be elected, as the Visiting Mission hoped it would be, on the expiration of the present legislature in April next year; even now the complex work of preparing the rolls and readying the electoral machinery has begun. But the establishment of a genuinely Territorial legislature will not complete the advance. Under a parliamentary system, legislative powers cannot easily be divorced from executive functions. The changes now begun, therefore, will include the beginnings of a parliamentary executive. The Administrator's Council will be enlarged and a number of indigenous Parliamentary Secretaries chosen to work with selected departments, and hence pave the way for the introduction of a full ministerial system. This, as the Visiting Mission notes, is the standard procedure in developing the mechanisms of parliamentary government; but it is perhaps worth recalling the Mission's added comment that the introduction of a ministerial system would be best left over "until the first and main task has been completed -- that is, the establishment of a fully representative Parliament".

(Mr. Corner, New Zealand)

Indeed, there is always a danger with progress as rapid as that now proceeding in New Guinea that the principles of political development may outstrip the practice. It is easy, perhaps very easy as we sit in this Council room, to forget how much effort is needed in a territory the size of New Guinea to prepare for even the simplest change. In fact, the point may now have been reached where the speed of development is governed mainly by physical and human necessities: the administrative arrangements required, and the need to ensure that rapid change does not for many people slip into meaningless confusion. The Special Representative, with his close knowledge of the territory, has brought home to us the sheer physical effort required to compile a roll and prepare for elections within the space of a few months.

The present advance is, according to the Australian Minister for Territories, in itself, only another transitional stage in the progress towards the goal of a fully-elected New Guinean executive and legislature. The new House of Assembly is a bold move forward, however, and it may be that a period of consolidation should follow to permit the electorate to absorb and digest its consequences. It is a significant advance on the changes requested by most of the indigenous people. The Administering Authority is right to conceive of its leadership as positive, anticipating and preparing for what will undoubtedly be the expanding desires of the people. But this must be carried through with a speed restrained only by the need to ensure that the new institutions are understood by all who must work them. A little time is now needed for political as distinct from institutional development: to accustom the people to their new legislature; to enable their representatives to grasp the full range of potentialities before them, learn the uses of parliamentary machinery and begin to gain experience of departmental administration. As soon as this has been done, the time for further institutional changes -- changes already implicit in the present legislation -- will once more have been reached.

Stressing political progress at this stage of the Territory's development, however, is not intended merely for its own sake. As soon as the territorial legislature is established it inevitably becomes the instrument of further advances. By reflecting and yet focussing the wishes of the electors, it offers perhaps the best means of dealing with some of the Territory's other pressing needs, particularly those of economic development.

Almost all those New Guineans who spoke to the Visiting Mission last year laid prime emphasis on their desire for greater material prosperity. The Mission itself concluded that the economic obstacles to self-government were probably the greatest obstacles of all. There they were no doubt right. The Territory is manifestly not viable at present. Almost all services and capital expenditure are provided by a large subvention from Australia. But with the continuing generosity of the Administering Authority to be relied on, the Territory's present economic dependence is of less importance than the need to eliminate it in the future. The Territory has many resources. But to reach, in as short a time as possible the goal of viability, and its concomitant, a significant rise in the general standard of living, will require considerable planning and much effort. The situation is one familiar enough elsewhere, and the Administering Authority, with the strong support of the Visiting Mission, decided to draw on this experience by asking the World Bank to prepare a survey. That survey is now going on. It will, we may hope, produce a long-range and comprehensive development plan to fix priorities and assess the Territory's needs over a period of years.

Such an expert survey will suggest solutions, but it will hardly be needed to identify the major economic problems in New Guinea. These -- that is, land tenure and cash cropping -- were also a recurrent topic at every discussion held by the Visiting Mission. The two are intertwined. An effort to reform the one will necessarily expand the other. Since agricultural production offers the best hope of economic progress for years to come, these problems take on a considerable importance. And it is here that an elected House of Assembly can take a lead.

Almost all the indigenous leaders to whom the Visiting Mission spoke favoured a reform of customary land tenures in favour of individual landholdings. In opening up new blocks of land the Administering Authority is pursuing one solution, but a more radical approach to existing holdings can be initiated only by the New Guinean leaders themselves. The preparation of a development plan and its

discussion by the House of Assembly will highlight this need. It will then be for the elected majority to do what only it can do: generate the momentum for reform.

There is one other important political issue in which the new House of Assembly may be expected to concern itself. I mean education. The need for higher education was almost invariably raised with the Visiting Mission in its tour of the Territory. With both primary and secondary schooling being steadily extended in coverage, attention has naturally come to be concentrated on tertiary training. The Administering Authority has set up a Commission on Tertiary Education which, like the economic survey team, is now at work. Its proposals for university and technological education, building on those institutions already established, such as the teachers training college, administrative staff college and others, will in effect cap the educational structure which the Administering Authority has progressively erected. They will ensure that university studies are not merely available for those who can qualify, but that New Guinean students will be positively encouraged to prepare for them in increasing numbers.

The chief impression gained from this and from the other events of this last year is that of a territory poised on the point of a rapid breakthrough. It is a breakthrough which the Administering Authority has rightly concluded can best be sparked off and sustained by political progress. In establishing a legislature with a large elected majority, the Administering Authority has taken a bold but, we believe, a very wise step. It is henceforward sharing with the people of the Territory its responsibility for the pace of future development. The creation of a House of Assembly and the foreshadowing of an elected executive are but one further step in the path towards the goals of the Charter, and there will be more to come. But the political framework now provided is a generous one. Within it the peoples of New Guinea can confront their common problems and gain a common experience in overcoming them. In doing so they will achieve something far more profound: they will begin to forge a common nationality.

Mr. Corner, (New Zealand), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. SIRACUSA (United States of America): No fair-minded individual could fail to have been impressed by the quality and depth of reporting this Council has received on the Australian Government's administration of the Trust Territory of

(Mr. Birnbaum, United States)

New Guinea. The deep sincerity and evident concern for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Territory that has so conspicuously characterized the statements and explanations of the representative and the Special Representative of Australia before this Council are a credit not only to these distinguished representatives and to their Government, but to the Trusteeship Council and the Charter concept of Trusteeship itself. My delegation believes this to be an example of Trusteeship at its best.

It should be superfluous to have to remind this Council that the act of placing a Territory under the Trusteeship System of the United Nations is a voluntary act. No one compelled the Australian Government to incur the heavy expense and awesome responsibility of a conscientious stewardship under international auspices. New Guinea and the adjacent islands could have been remanded to pre-historic limbo or exposed to modern predatory influences had not Australia chosen to expend the blood, service and treasure of its citizens on the Territory's behalf. Nor should it be overlooked that the voluntary act of concluding a Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations is in stark contrast with the unhappy practice, observable elsewhere, of engorging nations and peoples within an imperium that may be modern in time but is assuredly anachronistic in substance.

I should like the members of this Council to join with me in recalling the extraordinary obstacles confronting the Administering Authority. It is only by reminding ourselves of the objective situation in the Territory that we can acquire a proper understanding of what the Administering Authority has attempted, and what it has accomplished.

My delegation was struck at the outset by the number of uniquely formidable difficulties that the administration and supervision of the Trust Territory has presented to the Administering Authority. Here was an area almost entirely out of the main stream of world development whose peoples in consequence had had no real opportunity to experience, for better or worse, the shattering acceleration of scientific, technological and intellectual complexity that has characterized the modern world. Through the accident of historical circumstance, the leap into the twentieth century for these good people involved their spanning a vast chasm of recorded time.

To this obstacle must be added the well-known difficulties of climate and terrain - difficulties that even today pose almost insuperable problems of communication, transport and administration. High mountains, non-navigable rivers, extensive swamps, impenetrable forest, monsoonal rainfall, blistering heat and debilitating humidity are among the conditions to be surmounted by the people of the Trust Territory and the Administering Authority. Nature has not been kind to the Trust Territory and the task of coping with her unkindnesses is an interminable one.

The heritage of extreme isolation and the stern dictates of nature do not exhaust the catalogue of disadvantage. Emergence of the population of the Trust Territory into the twentieth century has been complicated by the confusion attendant upon frequent shifts of administrative control and retarded by the devastation of war and occupation.

The uniquely formidable obstacles to the task of the Administering Authority could be described in greater length and detail -- and they should be, for they provide the only context within which the report of the Administering Authority can be honestly considered. My delegation is aware, however, that this extraordinary context is well understood by the conscientious and fair-minded members of this Council and, in its light, I shall proceed.

In over-all achievement, particularly as measured against the obstacles faced, the record of the Administering Authority can only be described as outstanding. In less than twenty years, the ravages of war have been redressed. I am sure that countries which have suffered war's devastation will not underestimate this achievement -- and substantial economic, social and political advance has taken place. In the field of political advancement, for example, we have learned from the Special Representative that the Trust Territory is on the verge of instituting a territorial parliament whose composition accords with the will of the people and whose elected members are chosen from a large list of self-appointed candidates. This is not a one-candidate system which affords no genuine vote; it is a truly democratic procedure, and the Administering Authority is to be commended for it and for the scrupulous study and consultation that preceded it.

Less spectacular, but equally important, steps are under way in the area of local government and in the training of indigenous leaders for positions of

Greater responsibility. My delegation, conscious of its own programmes for political advancement in its Trust Territory, particularly agrees with the wisdom of the Administering Authority in providing the intensive political training and the instruction in parliamentary procedures that the Special Representative has described for us.

No less impressive, in my delegation's view, are the soundly conceived measures for the economic betterment of the Territory. Certainly, the Administering Authority should be better able to ascertain from the report of the International Bank's mission how close the Trust Territory could be brought to economic viability. And, in this connexion, mindful of its own problems, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to the quiet generosity of the Australian Government and people in their impressive financial contribution to the supervision and welfare of the Trust Territory. One of the most formidable, and I should think most expensive, programmes currently under way is the improvement of the Territory's transportation system. We have learned of the Administering Authority's ambitious plans for new road construction and maintenance, and the Special Representative has most impressively answered our question on complementary progress in sea and air transportation.

My delegation has also admired the brilliantly successful progress the Administering Authority has made in health and education. We think the concentration on elementary and secondary education is well justified by the peculiar problems presented by the Territory, although we note that intensive study is being given to means for developing higher education in the Territory. We think mass education comes first, because my own country's educational system is predicated upon a broad educational base as being essential to an informed democratic process. In the field of public health, little can be added to the commendatory observations of the World Health Organization (T/1615). My delegation would suggest, too, that more resources might be devoted to combating malnutrition, while agreeing that this problem is as much cultural, educational and economic as it is a problem of public health.

The Administering Authority has stated that it respects the right of the indigenous people to choose their own future and has demonstrated that it is expeditiously assisting them toward self-government. One delegation

has consistently questioned the motives of the Administering Authority, although that delegation represents a country which has never had a comparable experience. For its part, my delegation is convinced that the freely expressed wishes of the New Guinean people are being and will continue to be met.

Some will choose to interpret the favourable tenor of my remarks as proceeding from my country's friendship with Australia or our solidarity with another Administering Authority. This is not so. True, the United States and Australia are the closest of friends; true, we share the sobering experience of administration under an international aegis. But, as a member of this honourable body, we have a solemn responsibility to look at the facts. We have looked at the facts with respect to the trusteeship of New Guinea -- and the facts are good.

Mr. KING (United Kingdom): My delegation has examined the report of the Administering Authority on New Guinea, and the statements made in this Council by the representative of Australia and the Special Representative for New Guinea, in the light of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission which visited the Territory in 1962. We do this because we consider the Visiting Mission's report to be a timely, thorough and balanced investigation of the conditions obtaining in the Territory and of the problems that face it.

The Visiting Mission's report brought sharply to our attention the natural difficulties which have to be overcome in raising the standards of living of the people of New Guinea and in ensuring their political advancement. These difficulties are formidable. As the report remarks, nature has created in the Territory massive barriers to free access and easy communication, particularly on the mainland of New Guinea. To match these obstacles, and mainly as a result of them, the people of New Guinea have lived in isolated pockets of population, each group with its own language.

I noted with despondency the remark of the Special Representative that the administration had found more than 700 different languages spoken in the Territory. In addition, New Guinea is one of the few countries left in this world where some parts remain entirely unexplored and where there are still areas to which administrative control has not been extended. We were glad to hear from the Special Representative that this situation is on the point of being brought to an end.

In the economic field, subsistence cropping is the general practice of the people of the Territory, with the result that the contribution made by indigenous New Guineans to the revenues of the Territory accounts for only a tiny percentage of the expenditure of the Administration. As the Visiting Mission noted, the economic obstacles on the road to self-government are probably the greatest obstacles of all.

The Visiting Mission did not, however, regard either these economic obstacles or the geographical and political obstacles mentioned earlier as insuperable, and my delegation is pleased to see that the Administering Authority has not been deterred by them. The Visiting Mission suggested that there were three essential preliminaries for rapid and sound progress towards the accepted goal of self-government or independence, and we have carefully studied the reports presented to the Council to see how far the Administering Authority has been able to move towards meeting these prerequisites.

The first of these prerequisites was that the Administering Authority must be ahead of, and not behind, the rapidly awakening and increasingly insistent desire of the people of New Guinea for material progress. In the view of the Visiting Mission, an essential step in this direction should be the completion of an economic survey leading to the approval of a development plan.

The report of the Administering Authority has satisfied us completely on this point. The services of the best possible consultant, the World Bank, have been recruited, and a Bank team is at present in the Territory. Whether or not this team's report will be ready in time to finalize a plan for development by the target date of 31 December 1965 suggested by the Visiting Mission may be open to doubt, but it is clear that the Administering Authority has moved rapidly and effectively.

It is also clear that, without waiting for the report of the World Bank, the Administering Authority has pressed on with measures to increase the rate of economic development in the Territory. We were particularly interested to note the Special Representative's statement, in reply to a question, that export prospects for the three main cash crops of the Territory were fairly bright for the next eight to ten years, largely as a result of the preferential arrangements made for their sale in the Australian market. Such stability of export prices at a reasonable level will be of major help to the Territory and a matter of envy to other primary producers, whether dependent or independent.

I was also encouraged by Mr. Niall's response to my question on the development of the forestry industry of New Guinea. The detail of his reply showed that he personally has a keen enthusiasm for this aspect of development and that it holds out good prospects for the future.

Finally, my delegation applauds the efforts made by the Administering Authority in one particular aspect, namely, in road-building, during the past year. The progress which has been made, despite immense natural difficulties, with the construction of a road from the Highlands to the Port of Lae has impressed my delegation deeply. We consider that this will be of the greatest value to the people of the Territory from the point of view of their economic development and of their access to the facilities provided by the Administration. We congratulate the Administering Authority on the energy it has deployed in this matter.

The second pre-requisite put forward by the Visiting Mission was that it was necessary to equip the people of New Guinea with higher education so that they could play a leading part, and not merely a subordinate one, in the management of their own affairs. To this end, the Visiting Mission suggested as a target the selection of 100 New Guinea students a year for higher education. My delegation is not clear to what extent this target has been met, largely because of the imprecision of the term "higher education". We note that over eighty New Guineans are studying in Australia, although only three are at the university level, and we very much hope that next year's report will reveal a substantial increase in the number of students from New Guinea attending universities.

We are aware of the difficulties which face the Administering Authority in this regard, and we welcome their decision to put in hand a thorough investigation of the higher education needs of the Territory by the appointment of a Commission on Tertiary Education, which is at present examining the situation. This Commission's report will no doubt take account of the Visiting Mission's suggestions and will contain plans to meet them. We look forward with interest to hearing at our next session details of the Commission's conclusions and of the measures adopted by the Administering Authority to implement them.

The third and final prerequisite of the Visiting Mission was that the whole Territory should be drawn together and given means for free political expression by the creation of a representative parliament. Again, the target date of 31 December 1963 was set by the Visiting Mission, and we are pleased to note that the Administering Authority has, in this case, only narrowly missed the bull's-eye.

In this connexion, the representative of the USSR made some play with the suggested figure of 100 members put forward by the Visiting Mission -- a figure which was endorsed by Sir Hugh Foot as a member of the Visiting Mission. I should make it clear that my delegation sees no particularly magical significance in this number. The essential point is that New Guinea and Papua should have a parliament with members elected directly by adult suffrage. This essential point has been met and, since it is the expressed desire of the people of the Territory to have a smaller assembly, it would be wrong for us to seek to impose any particular number of members.

With respect to the decision to ensure the return of ten non-indigenous non-official members to this assembly and the inclusion of ten official members in its ranks, we note that this is in accordance with the wishes of the people of the Territory -- a fact we consider of fundamental importance. Moreover, the Visiting Mission itself expressed the hope that a number of Australians permanently resident in New Guinea would now, or in the future, enter the House by the electoral process based on the common roll, and suggested that it would be essential for the present to retain in the House a number of officials who would, in the early stages at least, be responsible for the presentation of draft legislation and financial proposals such as the annual budget. It became clear from the evidence collected by the Select Committee that representation of the non-indigenous inhabitants would not be ensured without special arrangements, and it is on this basis that the Administering Authority has decided to allow for ten non-official non-indigenous members. We believe that their decision should be endorsed.

These are the main points which I wish to make in connexion with our discussion of the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

It is clear from the Administering Authority's report that major steps have been taken to meet the Visiting Mission's recommendations. We look forward to hearing next year how these plans and proposals are working out in practice. Certainly the rapid progress in the last year gives us hope and confidence in the future.

The PRESIDENT: The remaining speakers in the general debate on New Guinea will be heard tomorrow afternoon.

Before adjourning the meeting, I have one announcement to make. The United Nations film on the Trusteeship Council and the Trusteeship System will be shown at 2.30 p.m. on Thursday in the screening room in the cinema, which is underneath the Library. One approaches it by going along the first basement corridor past the United Nations post office.

Our next meeting is to be held tomorrow at 3 p.m.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.