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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWELVE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 20 May 1964, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. CORNER (New Zealand)

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Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e. the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.1225 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

OPENING OF THE THIRTY-FIRST SESSION

The Temporary PRESIDENT: I declare open the thirty-first session of the Trusteeship Council.

I am very pleased to welcome the members of the Council to this session of the Trusteeship Council.

We have with us today the new Under-Secretary for Trusteeship Affairs, Mr. Godfrey Amachree, who succeeded Mr. Protitch. I am sure the Council would like me to extend to him a very warm welcome, and I am certain that we will all benefit from the assistance Mr. Amachree will render to the Council.

The members of the Council will observe that we are meeting in the Economic and Social Council chamber, and this is because of the structural changes which are being made in the Trusteeship Council chamber. I am quite certain that this change will not detract from the ardour that accompanies our debates or from the interest which is manifested by this Council in its work. We will endeavour in this new place to perform our work with our usual skill.

AGENDA ITEM 1

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA (T/1618 and Add.1 and 2)

The Temporary PRESIDENT: If there are no observations on the agenda, I will declare it adopted.

The agenda was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 2

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON CREDENTIALS

The Temporary PRESIDENT: As the credentials of all the members have not yet been received, the Secretary-General is unable to submit his report. If there are no objections, that item will be postponed to a later date.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 3

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT

The Temporary PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the election of the President. In accordance with rule 41 of the Council's rules of procedure, the election of the President and the Vice-President are by secret and separate ballot, and it is the custom of the Council that there shall be no nominations or speeches. I would also remind the members of the Council that the vote should be for an individual, and not for a delegation.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

As the result of the vote, Mr. Corner (New Zealand) was unanimously elected President.

The Temporary PRESIDENT: Before I vacate the Chair of President of this Council, I should like to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation and thanks to the members of this Council for the co-operation they have given me during the period of my service in this capacity. I recall that, when I was elected President of the Trusteeship Council at the last session, I mentioned that, if the Council succeeded in its work under my Presidency, this would be due only to the co-operation that the Council would give me. We did succeed in our work in a measure, and this was indeed due to the support, the sympathy and the understanding shown to me by the members of this Council, which I deeply appreciate. I am sure that we shall all extend this same co-operation and understanding to our new President, whom I now invite to take the Chair.

Mr. Corner took the Chair.

The PRESIDENT: In assuming this office, may I, first of all, offer my warmest congratulations to the retiring President, Ambassador Barnes. He is a most distinguished representative of Liberia and of Africa. That combination of calmness and persistence with which he conducted our work at the thirtieth session sums up, in a way, the distinctive virtues of the Trusteeship System itself. I am honoured to succeed such a President in this responsible position and I can only hope that my colleagues will extend to me a forbearance of which he was never in need.

Coming from a Pacific country, I have a special interest in the progress in the remaining Trust Territories, all of which are situated in the Pacific. We are not, however, meeting here today for any special reasons of geography, but because all of us are dedicated to continuing and completing the task of trusteeship. We can be proud of the work that has been done. Eight of the original eleven Trust Territories have already attained the goals of the Charter, completed their self-determination, and passed beyond our hands. But we cannot pause or congratulate ourselves until the last of the three Territories has followed the same path and the work of trusteeship moves into history.

(The President)

Although only three Territories remain, each of them presents a distinct and different problem. As we follow the thorough and detailed procedures evolved by this Council for inquiring into the progress of each Territory, it is clear that we have a great deal of work before us. I am hopeful that the assistance and courtesy which have been the mark of this Council will, at this thirty-first session, continue to lighten our labours.

The Council will now proceed to the election of Vice-President. I would remind representatives that the vote should be for an individual, and not a delegation. Therefore, each delegation is requested to write down the name of one individual on the ballot for the office of Vice-President.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

As a result of the vote, Mr. Doise (France) was unanimously elected Vice-President.

The PRESIDENT: I congratulate Mr. Doise sincerely.

The VICE-PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In the first place, Mr. President, I should like to reflect, I am sure, the feelings of the whole Council by saying that we are all glad that you are now at the head of the thirty-first session of the Trusteeship Council. I congratulate you sincerely on your election which is justified in view of your personal qualities and your attachment to the objectives and tasks of the United Nations.

I also wish to take advantage of this opening meeting to greet Mr. Amachree, the Under-Secretary, who is here with us for the first time. I am sure that we will be able to make use of his experience at this session.

I do not wish to make a long speech. I will just say that I am very grateful for the honour which the members of the Council have paid me by electing me Vice-President. I thank them with all my heart and wish to assure them that I will endeavour to continue the tradition of impartiality which has always been the rule in the Trusteeship Council.

Finally, Mr. President, I want to join you in the congratulations which you have expressed in regard to Mr. Barnes who so successfully conducted our work at the last session.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): It is true to say that the Council has today indeed honoured itself by electing you, Mr. President, to the high and responsible office of President because your eminent qualities fully equip you to perform the role of President. Your country, New Zealand, has played and continues to play a very effective role in the United Nations in assisting in bringing about the emancipation and independence of peoples who have not yet enjoyed that great blessing of life. It was my very good fortune to have you, Mr. President, serve with me as Vice-President at the last session of the Trusteeship Council. I recall with great pleasure and satisfaction the support, the co-operation and the assistance you so unstintingly rendered me which, to a great extent, helped me in performing the arduous duties of President. My delegation is therefore under a

(Mr. Barnes, Liberia)

special obligation to you, Mr. President, to render you that co-operation as will ensure the success of this session of the Council. I take this opportunity to assure you of our fullest co-operation at this session of the Council. I congratulate you again on your election to this high office, and I pray that the work of the thirty-first session of the Trusteeship Council will redound with success.

Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): Mr. President, your election to the Presidency of this Council is most welcome to my delegation and, I am sure, to all delegations represented here because of the experience of your country in trusteeship affairs, because of your own well known competence in United Nations affairs and because of your own great personal distinction. By reason of the close ties between our two countries, my delegation is especially glad to see you presiding over this important council, and I should like to extend to you my delegation's most sincere good wishes for your tenure of office.

I need hardly say how pleased we are to have the representative of France as Vice-President. His country also has had long experience in trusteeship matters, and Mr. Doise himself has served with distinction both in a former Trust Territory and in this Council.

It is usual to congratulate the officers of this Council on their election. If you will permit me, Mr. President, I will also congratulate the Council on its choice and on its good fortune in having you and Mr. Doise to preside over us.

Finally, I should like to associate myself very warmly with the tribute which you have paid to the outgoing President, Ambassador Barnes of Liberia. I think I can say that he has endeared himself to all of us in this Council by his personality and by the combination of firmness and friendliness with which he has discharged the responsibilities of his office.

I should also like to associate my delegation with the warm welcome which you, Mr. President, extended to the new Secretary, Mr. Amachree, and I should like to wish him well in his new and important task.

Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): Mr. President, I offer to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation on your election to your distinguished office. To us you bring great experience in the United Nations, most significant experience in the administration of dependent territories, and personal qualities of the highest order. You may be assured of the fullest co-operation of my delegation at all times in the discharge of your very important duties. You have our utmost confidence, Sir.

This assurance of our co-operation extends also to our distinguished Vice-President, whose election we most warmly welcome. In his own person and as the representative of France he will, we have no doubt, bring to us here that efficiency, grace of expression and devastating logic which are so much the marks of his great country.

I would not conclude without a special tribute to our outgoing President. He has been to us an example to live up to, of wisdom, of impartiality and of efficiency. I would like to say simply that Ambassador Barnes is not only an outstanding representative of Africa and his own country, but would be an outstanding representative of any country. By his distinguished chairmanship he has assisted the cause of the peoples of dependent territories throughout the world, and to us he is the best expression of the African personality.

Finally, Mr. President, I would join in your words of welcome to our distinguished colleague, Mr. Amachree. We welcome him to us with confidence in his wisdom, with confidence in his knowledge, and assured of his friendship for the cause for which we all stand.

Mr. YATES (United States of America): Mr. President, may I congratulate you upon your accession to the Presidency of the Trusteeship Council. No man has ever brought to that chair higher qualities of ability, experience and intimate knowledge of the affairs of the Council than do you, Sir. You know at first hand the actual situation in the Trusteeships that remain for our consideration. You have been there, you have seen what goes on in the Territories themselves and are in a unique position to appraise and to weigh the testimony which will be presented to this Council and the resolutions which will be offered for our consideration.

(Mr. Yates, United States)

Certainly, Sir, your predecessor, Ambassador Barnes, wrote a record as President of the Council which will be most difficult to match, so excellently did he perform his duties. His tact, his determination, his wisdom, his fairness and his sense of humour were truly outstanding. But my delegation feels, Mr. President, that if any person can match that record, you can do so. We give you our heartiest congratulations and our best wishes for your success. My delegation will co-operate with you in every way.

May we congratulate too our good friend René Doise of France on his election to the Vice-Presidency. We have every confidence in the manner in which he will perform his duties.

We join too, Mr. President, in your welcome to our distinguished Under-Secretary, Mr. Amachree. It has been our good fortune to work with him on the Committee of Twenty-Four and we look forward to again working with a person of his fine talents and abilities in this Trusteeship Council.

May I say too that this Council is indeed fortunate in being able to attract back from the joys of retirement our good friend Mr. Cottrell. With his staff he has served us so well in the past and will undoubtedly continue to do so at this time.

Mr. KTANG (China): May I first of all say how grateful my delegation is to the outgoing President, Ambassador Barnes, for the manner in which he presided over the last session of the Council. I do not have to add that we were very much impressed by his impartiality and great efficiency.

And now, Mr. President, it is my great pleasure to offer you my congratulations on your election to the Presidency. I think I need hardly add how delighted I am to see you, Mr. President, with whom I had the pleasure of travelling and working during the Visiting Mission to the Pacific Islands, now presiding over the proceedings of this Council. May I say, the Council itself should be congratulated for having chosen you, Mr. President, a man of great capacity and wisdom. I can assure you that my delegation will fully co-operate with you.

Our Vice-President, Mr. Doise, is, I think, among us the oldest member of the Council, and he started his career in this Council as a Special Representative of a Trust Territory. I am sure his experience and ability will be of great benefit to the Council.

Before I conclude, I would tell our Under-Secretary, Mr. Amachree, how much we welcome him to this Council. Many of us have already worked with him while he was assisting the Fourth Committee during the last session of the General Assembly.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): I had intended to speak twice today in congratulating the new officers, first to congratulate the President and then to express our congratulations to the Vice-President, and had asked for the opportunity to do so.

Mr. Doise was the representative of France at the last session of the Trusteeship Council when I presided, and I recall the invaluable services that he rendered here in that capacity, the full co-operation he gave me as President. My delegation is delighted to see him occupying the high office of the Vice-President and I am very certain that the Council will benefit from his experience and wisdom.

I extend to you, Mr. Doise, my delegation's and my own congratulations on your election as Vice-President.

Mr. NORRISH (New Zealand): Mr. President, I am very glad of the opportunity to associate my delegation with the warm congratulations that have been conveyed by the preceding speakers to Mr. René Doise on his election to the Vice-Presidency of the Council. Like those preceding speakers, we are aware of the long and distinguished service of his country in the Trusteeship Council in both of the capacities in which Member States may be here represented, and we are equally aware of the great personal qualities and the great experience of which Mr. Doise himself has shown so much evidence in the course of his association with the Council's work.

(Mr. Norrish, New Zealand)

May I say, Sir, to you, as well as to the Vice-President, that we are confident that the direction of the Council's work is in good hands. I believe it will be clear also that your words as President would also be those of the New Zealand delegation in expressing appreciation to Ambassador Barnes for the quality of his Presidency of the Council last year, and in expressing welcome to Mr. Amachree, the Under-Secretary.

AGENDA ITEM 4

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: We now take up item 4 of our agenda, the organization of the work of this session. I suggest that the examination of conditions in the Trust Territories follow the order as set out in the agenda, that is, that we start with the Trust Territory of New Guinea, follow on with the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and then take up the Trust Territory of Nauru. I think at this stage we do not need to lay down a detailed time-table, but might proceed first into the consideration of New Guinea.

On arrangements, may I say that as is customary, the Council will meet at 3 o'clock each afternoon, though it will have to alternate with the Security Council and with the Committee of Twenty-Four whenever these two bodies are in session, which may affect our arrangements and which, of course, will be made known to everyone.

Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you and the Vice-President on your election and to wish you success in your work in the Trusteeship Council so that the Council may make better progress this year than in previous years.

I should also like to join other members in congratulating our last year's President and to thank him for his efforts to implement the objectives of the Trusteeship Council.

As I understand it, we have before us the provisional agenda for the thirty-first session of the Council, and my delegation would like to make a few remarks on the organization of our work for the session.

This session of the Trusteeship Council takes place against the background of the developing process of national and, in many instances, social liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the United Nations this process is most fully reflected in the work of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, which plays a significant role in the activities of the Organization as a whole, particularly as regards the liquidation of the remnants of the colonial system in implementation of the lofty principles of the Declaration on granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

This year the Special Committee, for the first time, began consideration of the situation in the Trust Territories of the Pacific which, up to now, have been the subject of lengthy and, in most cases, futile discussions in the Trusteeship Council. If we compare the activities of the Special Committee with those of the Trusteeship Council, we cannot fail to notice that, in contrast to the Special Committee -- which directs its efforts first of all to the assistance of the peoples under colonial regimes in achieving self-determination and independence -- the Trusteeship Council, because of the excessive strength of the representatives of colonial Powers, is faced with an obstacle on the road to self-determination and independence of the peoples of Papua and New Guinea, as well as of Nauru and the Pacific Islands. These colonial Powers use the Trusteeship Council as a tool in maintaining, by any means, their domination in the area of the Pacific Ocean. It is the forum in which the colonial Powers attempt to find ideological justification for their activities in this respect and where they present all kinds of assertions about allegedly exceptional conditions in the Pacific Islands, saying that the experiences of Asia and Africa are not applicable in the Pacific.

(Mr. Shakhov, USSR)

The question of the liquidation of the trusteeship system is part of the general problem of the liquidation of the colonial system. The problem now is not whether the colonial system will be liquidated or whether it will continue to exist, whether we speak of Non-Self-Governing Territories or of Trust Territories. No; the question is how soon the last remnants of colonial regimes will be liquidated. The peoples of the colonies, whatever form of colonialism the Administering Authorities apply in order to keep these people under their domination, either directly or indirectly, through subjugation or by means of trusteeship, have awakened. They cannot subject themselves to any system of colonial subjugation. People have learned a great deal since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and speak decisively against all forms of colonial subjugation.

According to the provisions of the Charter, it is the duty of the United Nations to assist in the rapid implementation of the wishes of the peoples who find themselves under the trusteeship system and to bring them towards self-determination and independence. The Trusteeship Council must accelerate this process. Facts have shown, however, that the Trusteeship Council's efforts have not been directed towards implementing these lofty principles of the Charter. If we wish to make a literary comparison concerning the backwardness of the Trusteeship Council regarding the needs of our time, let us compare it to Washington Irving's Rip Van Winkle, the hero of which, after sleeping for twenty years in the Hudson Valley, awoke to wonder how these new people could speak so freely without the fear which characterized his time: how they could speak of revolution, of chasing away the Red Coats, and so on. The Trusteeship Council occupies a unique position in the United Nations because to the majority of its members the idea of independence and self-determination is as little understood as the new ideas encountered by the hero of Washington Irving's book.

Therefore, when a more competent and more representative organ, namely, the Special Committee, is dealing with Trust Territories, the Trusteeship Council becomes an anachronism because of the position of the colonial Powers. It becomes a brake on the road to the implementation of the Declaration.

(Mr. Shakhov, USSR)

It must also be said that, however paradoxical it may appear, the colonial Powers show, in the practical activities of the Trusteeship Council -- despite statements to the contrary -- very little respect for the Council and its members. For example, despite the clear provisions of rule 72, paragraphs 1 and 2, of our rules of procedure, the present session of the Council has not received the documents which would lead to a thorough study if the Council expects to achieve satisfactory results. Among these documents is the report of the United States on the administration of the Pacific Islands and the report of the Visiting Mission of 1964 to those islands. Other documents, for example, Australia's report on the administration of Papua and New Guinea, have been presented with inexcusable delays.

Nor can we ignore the lack of respect on the part of the Administering Authorities for the implementation of the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council. An illustration of this is the reply to the recommendation of the thirtieth session with regard to the training of teachers in Papua and New Guinea.

Without going into detail, we should like to bring to the attention of the Council paragraphs 48 and 49 of the Working Paper prepared by the Secretariat on New Guinea (T/L.1071), the text of which reads like a mockery of the Council.

(Mr. Shakhov, USSR)

Such an approach would have been paradoxical only at first glance, since the facts brought to the fore are not accidental. Some of them reflect the attempt on the part of the colonial Powers not to allow the members of the Council to be able to study the necessary documents in order to arrive at the necessary conclusions and prepare recommendations. They want our work to be hasty and to proceed at a gallop, because in these conditions it is easier to bypass criticism and to continue the old policies after the session is concluded. They try to create the impression that they are ready to cooperate with the United Nations when such co-operation is lacking. They try to create the illusion of progress when actually we are going forward at a snail's pace.

However, whatever resistance the colonial Powers might show to the process of national liberation and whatever subterfuges they might use in the Trusteeship Council, the peoples of the Territories of the Pacific Ocean understand their right to self-determination and independence, and they will emerge from the stifling atmosphere of colonial subjugation.

Finally, I would like to introduce the following proposal. The Soviet delegation feels that in order to facilitate the work of the members of the Council and to accelerate the Council's work, the Council should discontinue the practice of having the introductory statements of Administering Authorities given at the beginning of the consideration of each Territory. The Soviet delegation proposes that all these statements of the Administering Authorities should be given during the first few days of the beginning of the session. After that, each Territory should be taken up. This would permit the members of the Council to have time to study more carefully the situation in the Territory and it would bring about a more fruitful consideration of the questions now before the thirty-first session of the Trusteeship Council.

The Soviet delegation also wishes to reaffirm its previous position with respect to drafting committees, as mentioned in the Secretariat document. In our view such drafting committees are unnecessary in view of the limited composition of the Council. The Council itself could work out the recommendations for each Trust Territory.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Soviet Union, as I understand it, has made two proposals: first, that introductory statements on the three Territories should all be made together in the first few days of our work rather than being made separately as the introduction to the study of each Territory, and secondly, with reference to the Secretariat paper, he suggested that there be no drafting committees. With reference to the Secretariat paper, may I suggest that this document at present has no formal standing, and that in the meantime we set this document aside for later consideration depending upon our progress. May I also suggest that we consider the question of drafting committees when the stage is reached in respect of each Territory. May I finally suggest that members might wish to address themselves to the first of the proposals made by the representative of the Soviet Union, namely that all introductory statements be made in one group at the beginning of our session.

Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): With regard to the first suggestion of the representative of the Soviet Union that all introductory statements should be made at the beginning of a session, I would suggest that he has overlooked the fact that the Administering Authorities, to which he is so much opposed, are at special pains to inform him and the other members of the Council regarding developments in their Territories. To this end, I have with me here today a delegation from my country fully to inform the Council, in accordance with past procedures in this Council. Therefore, I am sure it will be most inconvenient to the Administering Authorities to proceed as the representative of the Soviet Union has now suggested. It would not be in the best interests of the expeditious work of this Council. It is not part of the intention of my delegation to try to hold up the work of this Council. Despite the assertions not only here but elsewhere in the United Nations by the Soviet representative, our object is to facilitate the work of this organ of the United Nations, as it is our object to facilitate the work of the other organs of the United Nations with which we are concerned.

Therefore, I would suggest that we proceed with the discussion of the first Territory appearing on our agenda, which my delegation is prepared to do, that is the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

Mr. YATES (United States of America): I find myself in disagreement with the proposal of the representative of the Soviet Union. I think such a proposal is really an invitation to chaos. It seems to me that each of the Territories is a separate entity unto itself, and each has its own problems, its own peculiarities and its own conditions which require separate treatment. It seems to me that if all the opening statements were to follow each other and as a result there was a tendency to combine them, my impression is that there would be confusion. The procedure which has been set forth in the Secretariat document is clear and allows for considering each Territory in a coherent manner. I feel that the proposal presented by the Secretariat should be followed.

The PRESIDENT: If there are no further comments on the question of our organization of work, I shall take it that members wish to proceed with the opening statement on New Guinea.

Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I cannot agree with the assertions which have just been made by the representatives of two of the Administering Authorities that the procedure which has been proposed by the Soviet Union is inappropriate. Of course, I can agree with the assertion of the representative of Australia that, as he said, this would be uncomfortable for the Administering Authorities. But I consider that the Council should base itself on the comfort of its members as a whole, because they also should feel themselves to be in a comfortable position.

I consider also that it is incorrect to assert that the proposed procedure would not speed up the work of our Council. I proposed that procedure in connexion with the organization of our work precisely in order to expedite our proceedings, and on this point I should like to answer the representative of the United States. He said that the proposal which had been made by the Soviet delegation was an invitation to chaos, and he added that each Territory required to be examined separately since there are particular characteristics and peculiarities in each case.

Is it possible to ask the representative of the United States about the non-production of these documents concerning the Territories which now have to be examined by the Trusteeship Council? Is that not chaos already? The members of the Council have no documents before them which they can possibly use. Rule 72 of the rules of procedure says quite clearly that

"Each report of an Administering Authority shall be considered by the Trusteeship Council at the first regular session following the expiration of six weeks from the receipt of the report by the Secretary-General ..."

The six weeks have elapsed, and now the Trusteeship Council is starting its work, but so far no reports have been given to us by the Administering Authorities concerning the situation in the Territories. How can we move in such a situation? How is it possible for us to make progress?

Concerning the observation that each Territory requires separate examination, I said in my statement quite clearly that we proposed that, in order to guarantee the necessary materials being available to enable the members of the Council to consider these items, the Administering Authority should, over a certain period

of time -- I even suggested a period of two, three or four days -- make their initial statements in the Council so that we could then take up the examination of each separate Territory. That was the essence of my proposal, and I consider that this way of going about the work of the Council would speed up our proceedings because members would have the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the material, whereas at present we have no such opportunity.

On behalf of the Soviet delegation I declare that we have no documents and no material on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The material relating to New Guinea and Nauru reached us only on 13 May, one week ago today, and it consists of approximately 500 pages. It has to be gone through very carefully in order for us to be able to express our ideas before the Council, and in order that we may be able to carry out a correct discussion of the situation in the Territories and arrive at the appropriate recommendations and conclusions.

As I have said, we have no such materials before us, and we are blamed for proposing something which, it is alleged, would lead the Council into chaos. But it is not we who are inviting the Trusteeship Council into chaos. It is the Administering Authorities which are trying to create chaos in the Council by not presenting material necessary for the examination of these Territories, so that they can quickly, and without being noticed, jump over what is happening in those Territories, and so that we shall not be able to make the recommendations which should be reaffirmed constantly in sessions of the Trusteeship Council. They wish to continue their old policy as far as these Territories are concerned. I consider that the Council cannot agree to such a working procedure.

Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): It is no part of the purpose of my delegation to jump over the consideration of the first item on the agenda as it appears before us in document T/1618. I am prepared right now to meet the wishes of the representative of the Soviet Union and to bring up to date the information which he has already had in his hands, in great detail and far beyond the requirements of his Council, on the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and, with his permission and to save the time of the Council, I am ready to begin that process immediately and to continue it thereafter.

Mr. YATES (United States of America): If I may reply to the representative of the Soviet Union, and if I may speculate on some of the things he said -- because the proximity of my seat to his caused me to lose some of the interpretation as the result of the force of his delivery -- let me say that the report of my Government has been filed with the Secretariat and, I assume, is available to him. Secondly, I think that, amazingly enough, we are perhaps not far apart since, if I understood his argument correctly, it was that the three opening statements should be delivered together and that thereafter the Territories should be considered separately.

I still think that this is not as logical or reasonable an approach as considering each Territory separately, and I think that the thrust of the argument of the Soviet representative is that they should be considered separately except for the opening statements. My delegation thinks that all parts of the presentation should be considered separately, and therefore I adhere to my original suggestion.

Mr. KLANG (China): I have no firm view on the matter which is at present being discussed in the Council, but there is a practical question which I should like to put to the President. I should be grateful if he could throw light on this inquiry of mine.

As we know, when a Territory is to be examined by the Council the Administering Authority likes to have the special representative here to make his statement. I wish to ask, through you, Mr. President, whether the two Administering Authorities have their special representatives available today, for instance, or would have them available tomorrow, so that we could hear the three statements at the same time. If that is not possible then we are dealing with a very academic question. I should like, therefore, to know if it is possible, and if the Administering Authorities are indeed ready to make the statements then that will be perfectly acceptable to my delegation. If it is not possible, it will be a futile exercise for this Council to go on discussing the question.

The PRESIDENT: May I ask, first the representative of Australia, and then the representative of the United States, to indicate whether their Special Representatives from the Territories would be ready to make statements to us within the next few days, as requested by the representative of the Soviet Union?

Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): The special representative for the Trust Territory of New Guinea is in the Council room now, and is prepared to make his statement today. With regard to the second Australian Trust Territory, the special representative is not at present in New York, being engaged in important discussions affecting Nauru and the welfare of the people of Nauru, in Australia, so that he will not be available until later in the session. But we will certainly do our best to have the special representative here as early as possible in order to meet the convenience of the Soviet representative or any of the other representatives round this table, consistent with those commitments to which he is at present pledged in Australia.

Mr. YATES (United States): May I say that the Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is not here today, and I do not know whether he could be available within the next day or so. I have alerted the appropriate department of my Government to have the Commissioner available in accordance with the tentative time-table prepared by the Secretariat; that time-table calls for him to be present next Tuesday. I would point out that that is less than a week away, and the work of the Council would not be unnecessarily delayed by having him here at that time.

Mr. KIANG (China): In the light of the answers which the representatives of Australia and the United States have given to you, Mr. President, I would propose that, in order to save time, we should proceed with the item on New Guinea. If the Council wants to change its whole practice and tradition, then it would be perfectly all right for the Council to make that decision and put it into effect later on. I am afraid that we cannot change our practice today, because it is physically impossible to do so.

The PRESIDENT: May the Chair suggest to the members of the Council that in view of the statements that have been made, and in view of the presence of the special representative from New Guinea, we might at least take advantage of the opportunity we have and proceed at once to hear the opening statements of the Australian representative and of the special representative from New Guinea. This will meet, at least partially, the request of the Soviet representative.

(The President)

If I hear no objection to this suggestion, I will proceed to invite the representative of Australia to open the discussion on conditions in the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

AGENDA ITEM 4 (a)

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA (T/1621; T/L.1071)

Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): Australia has reported annually to this Council for a good many years. Each year, I believe, the story we have had to tell as an Administering Authority has been one of increasing development and progress.

This year will be no exception. Indeed, we will, I believe, report this time on particularly exciting and far-reaching achievements not only in the political sphere, where the developments carefully planned towards a popularly-elected parliament as the means of the expression of a people's will, as part of an ordered constitutional progress, have about them perhaps a quality of movement and a vividness of a kind quite uncommon in this modern world, but also in the no less important field of social and economic development -- the partners of political progress. Not that we seek to gear down the rate of progress in one field to perhaps an inevitably slower rate in another. But we do seek some proper and reasonable points of balance between the three great related fields; and between these and such other developments as cannot fit completely into any one of these three, but are essential parts of all -- a competent Public Service, an enlightened and unwavering judiciary, the establishment and acceptance of certain conventions, procedures, freedoms and intangible sanctions which are the very stuff of democracy itself. These are the sort of tasks to which Australia has been addressing itself in New Guinea, and our progress with regard to them gives us satisfaction as an Administering Authority.

This tempts me to the observation, particularly in the light of the remarks just made by the Soviet representative, that the position of an Administering Authority before this Council, or any similar body of United Nations, is a strange one; interesting also, and perhaps difficult also. Each year, as the Administering Authority, we place before the United Nations the detailed record of our trusteeship.

That record is set out in very great detail, with the so much that is good, the details of whatever may be considered to be not so good, and the details of whatever errors of commission or omission there may be; and if from anxious planning and devoted efforts there are still only shattered hopes, these are exposed. A very honest record of effort is published not only in this room, but to the world. Those who wish, whatever their own purposes may be, to find something to criticize can no doubt do so, passing over, if they are so minded, the greatness of the story.

In speaking thus, however, I am making no plea to this Council. No such plea is necessary. I do not appear here in any apologetic role as the representative of an Administering Power. Very much to the contrary. The reality in New Guinea is that we, as an Administering Power, see ourselves as one of the sheet anchors of the hope of the people of New Guinea, both now and in the future. We have a most responsible role, and a proud one, but it is not an easy one and we do not delude ourselves for one moment here that it is a grateful one. What, then, are we looking for?

There are a number of very good reasons for our being in New Guinea, but these are not separate and perhaps they all overlap.

The mere historical fact of our presence there is in its own right an important reason for our being there now because, just as an individual cannot escape his past, neither can a nation, for the past has conditioned and shaped the present and will continue to condition and shape the future. We are all victims of our history. I would not deny that one of the prime historical reasons for our being in New Guinea was that originally we believed this to be important to our own survival. And it would not be true to say that commercial prospects was not a factor which brought some individuals to and interested some commercial organizations in New Guinea.

But at the other end of the scale are different sorts of motives. To eliminate old customs repugnant to humanity, as we understand it, and positively to bring benefits, these have constituted most impelling forces to us in their own right. They still remain so. Associated perhaps in some way are such good human impulses as those which seek to give expression to loyalties and interests which have developed from close personal association between our people and those of New Guinea, both in peace and in war, and the simple impulse to find what lies beyond the distant mountain, to venture into the unknown, to break away from the beaten paths.

Last, but not least, our international obligations have been very vital reasons indeed for our activities in New Guinea. We are pledged in the words of the Charter:

(Mr. McCarthy, Australia)

"to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each Trusteeship agreement; and

"to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, /and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world;"

This we are doing and this we will continue to do to the best of our ability for the simple reason that we believe that it is proper and necessary to do this, and because we have promised to do this.

And whatever accidents of history, whatever motives of fear, or gain, or curiosity, may have led us as individuals in the past into New Guinea, the reason we remain there now is because we have undertaken a task to the world and, even more importantly, to the people of a country who, until that task is achieved and until these people themselves wish it to be otherwise, are our people.

Furthermore, as has been pointed out in this Council previously, even if we wished to do so -- which we certainly do not -- we could not turn back the clock in this day and age; we could not divert and withstand the forces which we in our own right, and which we as part of the modern world, have not only helped to create but have carefully fostered. Nor have we any need to attempt to do so. We have no expansionist dreams. We ourselves can use all of our own skills and all of the efforts of our own people in our own country. New Guinea's resources do not make it a commercial asset to us.

Despite this lack of material need for us there will be no weakening of Australia's intentions and efforts. Australia's Foreign Minister, who, as an Australian delegate to the San Francisco Conference, himself helped to draft the Charter of the United Nations; who helped vitally to frame that Australian initiative at San Francisco, referred to as recently as the last General Assembly

as the initiative "which in retrospect has provided the machinery for the emancipation of many colonial peoples within the last seventeen years"; who, as Minister for Territories for some twelve years, was the great architect of the progress in New Guinea which is being reported here, only this year has said:

"We are finally committed to promoting self-government of Papua and New Guinea and achieving it as soon as possible. ... It is government of the people of Papua and New Guinea by the people of Papua and New Guinea. It means the ending of government by any other foreign Power. Self-government does not mean government of Papua and New Guinea by Indonesia or China or the United Nations or anyone other than the people of New Guinea themselves ... Self-government also means ... government according to a form chosen by the people themselves, introduced at a time which they think appropriate and confided to a government which they themselves have entrusted with office. If we renounce our rights to impose our will on our wards, we do not do so in order that someone else may impose their will on them. This gives us a great responsibility. Up to the point of self-government we have to protect the freedom of choice of these people."

And now, so that the Council may be informed in the fullest possible detail of the latest developments in the Trust Territory of New Guinea, I would like to introduce the Australian Special Representative. He is, to my very great pleasure, an old, personal friend, Mr. G.W. Toogood, Assistant Secretary, Department of the Administrator, Administration of Papua and New Guinea. Mr. Toogood's record in that Territory extends over thirty-one years, both in peace and war. It is a long and very honourable one, of very dedicated service, in all of the fifteen administrative districts of Papua and New Guinea. He is not a stranger to the United Nations, having previously been here as Special Adviser to the Australian delegation at the General Assembly and at the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. We are most fortunate to have his assistance in this Council.

We are most fortunate also to have with us, as advisers to the Special Representative, two indigenous officers of the Papua and New Guinea Service: Mr. Magan, a graduate of the Co-operative Education Centre at Port Moresby, and for the past four years Manager and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bougainville Native Societies Association Limited; and Mr. Tau Boga, from Papua, a supervisory teacher in the Sepik District of the Trust Territory. Although it was our hope that we might also have had here as advisers some elected indigenous members of the new House of Assembly, the fact that that House is to open on 8 June, and this opening is being preceded by an intensive course in parliamentary practices and procedures for the new members, has unfortunately prevented this.

And now I would be grateful if the President would invite Mr. Toogood to make his opening statement as Special Representative for the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Trusteeship Council, I wish to extend a welcome to Mr. Toogood, who has come direct from New Guinea as Special Representative to be with the Council, and also a hearty welcome to Mr. Magan, from Bougainville, and to Mr. Tau Boga, from Papua.

I now invite the Special Representative to take his seat at the table and make his opening statement to the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. G.W. Toogood, Special Representative for New Guinea under Australian Administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

Mr. TOOGOOD (Special Representative for New Guinea under Australian Administration): This is the first occasion on which I have had the honour of speaking before this Council and I thank you, Mr. President, for according me this privilege.

In past years Australia's Special Representatives have spoken before this Council of the progressive development in the Trust Territory of New Guinea in

all fields of administration. I wish now to continue this story of the outstanding progress that has been achieved during the period currently under review.

Progress in the extension and consolidation of the Administration's influence has continued in the few remaining "fringe" areas, necessitating the establishment of ten new Administration Posts in the past eighteen months. It is from these newly established posts that Administration patrols continue to penetrate the remotest parts of the Territory. The framework of district administration has also been further strengthened by the creation of six new sub-districts in areas where the development of the people had reached a point where they were ready for more intensive assistance than could be made available within the larger sub-districts of which they formed a part. These newly created sub-district headquarters are the centres from which the work of consolidation stems. Accelerated development in the Administration's planned extension becomes more evident at this stage, with the establishment of health, education and agricultural services and the introduction of community welfare. I am proud to state here that the New Guinea tradition of peaceful extension of influence is being splendidly maintained, there having been no loss of life during the period in any way associated with the progress of Administration patrols.

During the past twelve months, the use of helicopters has greatly assisted the work of our patrols.

Illustrative of this was the establishment of a new patrol post amidst the formidable limestone peaks of the Star Mountains. Movement of all personnel, stores and equipment was effected in thirteen hours by helicopter, as against the estimated sixty days required to achieve the same result by foot, and with a saving in cost of approximately £90 per ton.

(Mr. Toogood, Special Representative)

Even more spectacular was the initial use of helicopters for investigation and exploration of an area not previously visited by patrols. Here, because of the difficult terrain, it had not been possible to fly low enough in conventional aircraft to carry out a detailed examination of the area. By using the services of two officers and a helicopter for half a day, it was possible to prove beyond doubt that the area was uninhabited. This avoided the necessity of equipping a patrol consisting of three officers, seventy carriers and police, lasting about ninety days and which also had to be supplied by air drops.

The helicopter is being used to great advantage in a wide range of other administrative functions -- increasing mobility, enabling more effective utilization of staff and resources, and an overall decrease in costs. The more important of these are in connexion with investigations of forest resources, agricultural soil surveys, fisheries surveys, road location and the installation of very high frequency repeater stations associated with telephonic communications.

In considering communications, one of the main difficulties which has faced the Administration in the development of a viable economy in the Territory has been that of providing access between seaports and centres of production. In the past the Territory has been dependent largely on the use of aeroplanes for access to inland areas. This means will still undoubtedly be necessary for some time, but present policy is to develop a transport system based on roads feeding into a series of main ports and major aerodromes. The continued use of smaller airfields will be principally for the carriage of passengers, mail, perishables and other urgently needed commodities.

At the main coastal centres of Lae, Madang and Wewak, new overseas wharves or major extensions are under construction. From these points trunk roads, fed by a network of lesser roads, are being developed to cater to the needs of the big indigenous population of the hinterland and the economic development of the Territory. Of particular importance perhaps is the progress being made on the main Highlands road, which engaged the attention of your last Visiting Mission. This project is being pushed ahead with the objective of completing the lowland section of the road this year. One million pounds has been budgeted for the uplands' section, between the Ramu Valley and Kainantu, on which work has already begun. It is estimated that capital works expenditure on roads, bridges, wharves and aerodromes will approximate a further £2 million in the coming financial year.

(Mr. Toogood, Special Representative)

The outstanding progress which I have outlined enabled one of the most significant steps in the political history of the Territory to be taken during the past twelve months. I refer to the reconstitution of the Legislature leading to the recent elections to the House of Assembly.

You will recall that, as a result of a report submitted in 1962 by the Select Committee on political advancement, legislative provision was made for a Territory parliament with an elected indigenous majority - elected by adult franchise on the basis of a common roll.

Provision was made for a House of Assembly to comprise sixty-four members, made up of one elected representative from each of forty-four Open and ten Special electorates, and ten official members.

In introducing the parent legislation in the Australian Parliament, the then Minister for Territories, Mr. Hasluck, stated:

"We are moving with steady purpose and without hesitation or delay to bring self-government to the people of Papua and New Guinea. We are protecting to the utmost the right of the inhabitants of the Territory to choose. The test of our wisdom will be found in what happens to the people of Papua and New Guinea, and, facing that test, we will continue to work as clearly, strongly and speedily as we can towards self-government along the lines I have indicated in close association with all the inhabitants of the Territory."

However, the proposal to make provision for a new House of Assembly did not mean simply amending legislation. It included the tremendous task of compiling a common roll, the education of the people in political forms and procedures, and the organization and conduct of the elections -- all to be effected within twelve months. The necessary Bill was passed by the Australian Parliament on 17 May 1963, and it was only then that the full machinery for implementing the proposals could be put into action. This meant that between May 1963 and 18 March 1964, when polling in all electorates of the Territory concluded, field staff were almost constantly engaged in activities associated with the development of the House of Assembly.

Some 500 patrols visited more than 12,000 villages scattered over all parts of the Territory. The prime task was to record the names and particulars of more than 1 million people eligible to vote. Other Administration activities

(Mr. Toogood, Special Representative)

were modified or temporarily suspended to enable officers to devote as much time as possible to this colossal exercise. Every conceivable means of transport was used for the movement of these patrols between villages -- foot, horseback, motor vehicles, canoes, launches, aeroplanes and helicopters. In the six months between May and November 1963, every known village, even in the remotest areas, was visited and the names of all persons eligible to vote recorded.

Patrols were organized on a sub-district basis, each patrol covering one or more census divisions. Names were recorded in alphabetical order on a village basis in view of pronunciation differences and the difficulties in identification which would have arisen should the names of all those entitled to vote have been arranged in one long alphabetical list.

A few years ago this task would have been impossible, and only by the tremendous progress in the extension of Administration influence and the development of communications was it so successfully accomplished in the required time. Recording officers were not only faced with the heart-breaking physical difficulties of the terrain, but also with the innumerable complexities of verbal communication in a Territory where over 700 languages are spoken, some by as few as thirty people, and where tribal superstition, varying from group to group, often dictates when, where or how names may be used or spoken. A widely held belief is that harm will befall a man should he call his own name and variations of this belief, frequently associated with magico-religious sorcery, extend throughout the Territory. This complicates and prolongs the field officers' work.

Other difficulties faced in these unenlightened societies is that a man may be known by several different names at the one time, or for one reason or another he may change his name to suit the particular circumstances under which he is required to be known. Officers, therefore, recorded each person's principal name, together with other names by which they were or are known, father's name, occupation, sex and the village census division, sub-district and district in which they live.

(Mr. Toogood,
Special Representative)

From this it will be seen that recording a name on the common roll required a great deal more detailed enquiry than would be the case in a more modern community. Instances have been recorded of patrols preparing the roll among recently contacted people, where it was necessary to use three interpreters to determine a man's name because of dialectic differences in the area.

Ascertaining the date of birth was another major problem, and often painstaking means had to be used, such as relating tribal events to major historical occurrences, to determine with reasonable accuracy when a man was born.

This assignment often required officers to work far into the night, seven days a week, after covering long distances on foot or by other uncomfortable means of transport, in order that the material would be compiled in the allotted time. This undertaking was completed and the material placed in the hands of the Chief Electoral Officer by the end of October 1963.

While the task of compiling the roll was in progress in the field, an electoral headquarters was being set up in Port Moresby. A Chief Electoral Officer was appointed whose first concern was to adapt electoral machinery that had worked effectively in more advanced countries to the somewhat unique conditions existing in Papua and New Guinea.

Electoral officers were appointed throughout the Territory, and by the end of June a steady flow of names was pouring in from the officers in the field. On receipt of the lists at electoral headquarters, the names were transferred to "Kalamazoo"-system strips, both individual name and village sorted into alphabetical order, checked letter by letter and arranged as pages. These pages were then passed to the Government Printer who, using photographic and offset printing systems, produced them in book form, each a complete electoral roll for one of the forty-four open and ten special electorates. The rolls also contained a general list in which were included the names of people living in urban areas and who had not been included in a particular village area. This in itself required special legislation to meet the unusual circumstances of persons working away from their homes or living in other parts of the Territory, yet who wished for electoral purposes to identify themselves with their home areas.

(Mr. Toogood,
Special Representative)

In the absence of any form of political-party organization in the Territory, it was necessary for the Administration to undertake another difficult assignment -- a more intensive education of the people in political forms and concepts. This covered instruction in the purpose of the House of Assembly and its composition, the right of every adult person to vote for whichever candidate he wished to represent him, that his vote would be recorded in secret, and that while enrolment on the common roll was compulsory, voting was voluntary.

This task too fell largely on the shoulders of the field officers of the Department of Native Affairs, officers dedicated to the welfare of the Papuan and New Guinean people. It became the major aim of every routine patrol. It meant explaining painstakingly in many languages -- on the basis, in many places, of experience gained by the people through Local Government Councils -- the fundamentals of democracy and, step by step, the reason for so many things which had appeared completely incomprehensible to politically unsophisticated minds. This often required the officer to retrace his steps over tortuous country to ensure that everyone was made as aware as possible of his rights and responsibilities in the election. Few officers spent much time at their home base during the latter half of 1963 and earlier months of this year, and many officers deferred leave to ensure personally that the task was effectively completed in their particular area. Many officers of other departments also played their part during this period of mass instruction, particularly those of the Department of Education, while the resources of the Department of Information and Extension Services were utilized to the limit of their capacity. During this campaign every practical aid to, and means of, mass communication was used.

Many of the candidates standing for election played a big part in this education process by recording and distributing their policy speeches, which included detailed instruction on the House of Assembly and the machinery by which it was established. People in newly opened areas put aside their tribal differences, guaranteeing the safe-conduct of candidates in order to afford them the opportunity of stating and explaining their policies.

Campaigning was generally on personal lines as there were no organized parties. Most candidates confined themselves to fairly narrow, local issues, the main interest being in economic and social development, more particularly related

(Mr. Toogood,
Special Representative)

to roads, bridges, educational and economic opportunities. There was little discussion of alternative courses of political evolution beyond affirmations that the help of Australia was desired in advancing the Territory. Race and race relations were not raised as issues in the election.

Full use was made in the more advanced areas of Local Government Councils, rural progress societies, growers' associations, women's clubs and other social and sporting organizations, which proved to be ideal focal points for the dissemination of political information.

The success of this tremendous effort in mass education was evidenced in the orderly and incident-free conduct of the elections.

The culmination of all the months of involved preparation was the elections; yet a vast amount of organization was still necessary to enable people simply to record their votes.

It was realized early in the planning stage that it would take far more than one day to hold a Territory-wide election in Papua and New Guinea. Many voters would be required to walk long distances through almost inaccessible country, often under adverse climatic conditions, to reach the nearest polling booth. A period had to be determined, therefore, in which it would be possible for mobile polling booths to reach and function at reasonably accessible points convenient to the people. Four and a half weeks was the period finally decided upon. Three thousand polling places were planned, 2,700 serviced by mobile polling teams and 300 in urban or semi-urban areas. The routes to be followed by mobile booths ensured that, except for a few isolated cases, no voter was required to walk for more than three hours in order to record his vote. Specially designed lightweight equipment was supplied to the mobile units, including waterproof fibre-glass ballot boxes weighing little over five pounds each, which could be locked to ensure security.

Polling began on 15 February 1964 in all contested electorates and concluded on 18 March. The usual procedure was that a voter identified himself, his name was marked off the roll and he was given a ballot paper. If he was able to communicate satisfactorily with the electoral official, an interpreter was made available. On receiving a ballot paper the voter retired to a polling booth

(Mr. Toogood,
Special Representative)

where, if he was able to record his vote unassisted he did so, and, if not, he could request the assistance of an official present for this purpose, with a scrutineer, specifically approved by the candidates. The voter himself then folded and placed the paper in the locked ballot box.

Although it was intended that polling in all urban areas be completed in the one day, in several areas it was necessary to extend the hours of voting to accommodate the unexpectedly high number of voters.

In the rural areas polling officials with their equipment had to move from centre to centre on a prearranged schedule. This involved the use of pack horses, paddle-propelled canoes, powered canoes, light speedboats, launches, trawlers, all types of motor vehicles and aircraft, including helicopters.

(Mr. Toogood,
Special Representative)

Weather was an ever present hazard and the following extracts from reports indicate what officers had to contend with:

"Moved for four days through swamp with patrol personnel up to their knees in water, feeling with every step for firm ground on which to tread."

"Canoe capsized, throwing equipment, including filled ballot boxes, into the sea."

The sequel to the latter episode was contained in a report from a Returning Officer who advised that one ballot box received had been submerged in water and that the ballot papers had become a sodden mass necessitating hours being spent in separating the papers for counting.

Despite many frustrations the poll was completed in the appointed time.

A total of 298 candidates stood for election. Thirty contested the ten special electorates which were set aside for candidates who were not indigenous inhabitants of the Territory, and 267 contested the 44 open electorates which were open to candidates of all races.

Twelve members of the old Legislative Council stood for election. Of these, only five were successful. Of the 267 candidates who stood for the open electorates, 32 were Australians who contested 22 of the 44 seats. Six were successful. The candidates included two women, one Australian and one New Guinean. Neither, however, was successful. The percentage of electors on the roll who voted at the elections was encouragingly high at 69.8 per cent, while the number of indigenous people who exercised their right to vote was also highly satisfactory. Some villages registered as high as a 100 per cent poll.

While the report covering a survey of the elections is not yet complete, the following observations will give a brief summary of a cross-section of opinion. There was no indication of any preference or otherwise on racial grounds or any particular social issue. Candidates stood virtually as individuals. Where a candidate made extravagant promises, as happened in several electorates, whether the candidate was indigenous, or non-indigenous, the electors were quick to challenge his ability to keep such promises. Candidates just had to go out to the voters if they wished to win support. Those who relied solely on their names or past reputations generally polled badly.

(Mr. Toogood)
Special Representative

An interesting example of the unbiased attitude of electors was the success of Mr. Gaudi Mirau, a Papuan from the Gulf District of Papua, who contested and won the Markham electorate of New Guinea.

The new House of Assembly, which will be formally opened on 8 June 1964, will have among its elected members the sophisticated and the unsophisticated, ex-Administration officers, farmers and traders, village councillors and former fight leaders; but all will be participants in an event of tremendous historical significance when they take their seats in an Assembly having an elected indigenous majority of 38 in a membership of 64.

With regard to two further particularly significant steps in political progress, I should like again to quote the then Minister for Territories, Mr. Hasluck, speaking to the relevant Bill in the Australian Parliament:

"We have already taken measures to produce in the Administrator's Council an embryo executive and by the Bill before the House, it is now proposed to enlarge this Council considerably and to require the exercise by it of fuller functions. At the same time Parliamentary under-secretaries will be appointed from the elected members to understudy those official members who act in the legislature in a role resembling that of Ministers. By this and other means we will try to ensure that at the time of self-government there will be members of parliament who will have learnt a great deal more than the arts of debate and who will have gained some executive experience."

The Administrator's Council previously comprised seven members. It has now been enlarged to a membership of eleven -- the Administrator, seven elected members of the House of Assembly and three official members. So this Council, too, will have a substantial elected majority.

Selection of the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries from among the newly elected Members of the House is at present under consideration. It is envisaged that the Under-Secretaries will understudy heads of Administration Departments, though not necessarily only those departmental heads who are official Members of the House. Indeed, as there are sixteen functional departments it may be desirable to obtain representation in the House for those departments not represented by an official member, through the appointment of an under-secretary.

(Mr. Toogood,
Special Representative)

Political development has not been restricted solely to the reconstitution of the Legislature as no structure, political or otherwise, can last unless it rests on solid foundations. The first Local Government Councils were proclaimed in 1950, and since their introduction they have been regarded as the main instrument in political education. There are now fifty-four Councils in the Trust Territory alone, covering almost half the entire population. Experience gained in elections at the Council level contributed in no small measure to the success of the recent elections to the House of Assembly.

Councils to date have been largely confined to rural areas with no participation in local government by non-indigenous inhabitants. Provision has now been made, however, for the establishment of multi-racial councils with a far wider range of functions and extended means of raising revenue for local services. With the steady expansion of Local Government Councils throughout the Territory, established Councils are being encouraged to accept greater responsibility for local development. Some Councils now purchase radio sets for distribution to villages within their Council area and a number conduct their own monthly news sheets. In 1963 an education subsidy scheme came into operation which enables Councils to receive assistance on a pound for pound basis in the construction of schools and teachers' accommodation. A partnership arrangement has also developed between Councils and the Department of Health. This partnership provides for the development of aid posts, maternity and child welfare services, rural health centres and ambulance services. It extends, for example, into the fields of malaria eradication, village sanitation and housing, environmental sanitation and water supply.

The inclusion of provision in the Local Government Ordinance for multi-racial participation in Councils further indicates my Government's interest in the complete racial integration in the development of New Guinea. The elimination of aspects of legislation which might be considered discriminatory has been systematic. The movement has been positive also.

The Administration has affirmatively legislated against commercial and social discriminations by introducing the Discriminatory Practices Ordinance 1963. Its enactment is abundant evidence of the firm intention of the Administration in this matter.

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(Mr. Toogood,
Special Representative)

During the year under review also, legislation has been enacted to give effect to the declared aim of the Administration to eliminate any possible racial aspect in the actual administration of justice. For example, the Local Courts Ordinance replaces the Courts for Native Matters and Native Affairs, which had jurisdiction only over and in relation to the indigenous people by courts with jurisdiction over members of all races.

(Mr. Toogood, Special Representative)

Initial steps have been taken by the Administration to ensure indigenous participation in the administration of justice in the Territory. At the same time as these reforms have been made, provision has been re-enacted to ensure due and proper regard for indigenous customs as justice is administered.

I turn now to land and land policy.

One of the major problems associated with the move of the indigenous people into cash cropping has been the question of clarifying the actual titles to land owned by them so that an individual could proceed with safety to devote years of work to planting and cultivating long-term tree crops. The original land tenure system of the indigenous inhabitants is based on group ownership, the details of which have become very involved over the centuries. It was a system suitable for the subsistence economy of pre-European times but both the New Guineans and the Administration have realized it creates difficulties under present-day conditions.

A Land Titles Commission has therefore been set up to deal with all questions affecting land ownership by the indigenous people, and to assist them in obtaining individual title to blocks for the purpose of long-term cash cropping. The Commission is concentrating initially on the areas where indigenous agricultural development is most advanced. The Administration decided at the inception that there would be no compulsion on native groups in this regard. Provision has also been made for individual indigenous land owners to obtain financial assistance on the security of their own land in the same way as assistance is obtained by agriculturalists in many parts of the world. We appreciate that, because of the purely voluntary nature of any changes, immediate progress is and will be slower than if it were forced on the people, but we believe that it is vital to allow the people to say themselves what they want to do with their own land.

A further significant step in the administration of land in the Territory was the introduction during 1963 of the Lands Ordinance. This provides for a uniform Ordinance for the Territories of Papua and New Guinea so that all future land dealings in both Territories are put on the same basis. It also safeguards in many ways indigenous land rights. And here I would stress that of the total land area of the Territory only 2.46 per cent is not under indigenous ownership, and much of this is used for public purposes, such as schools, hospitals, roads and airstrips.

(Mr. Toogood, Special Representative)

Other developments associated with land in the Territory in which I feel sure this Council will be interested include the appointment of indigenous members to the Land Board; the training of indigenous staff in surveying, mining and land settlement; requisition of 15,000 acres of swamp land in the vast Wahgi Valley of the Western Highlands for a pilot drainage scheme, with the ultimate aim of opening up the area for indigenous re-settlement. Also in the Western Highlands, three parcels of land totalling nearly five and a half thousand acres have just been released in an effort to promote a tea-growing industry in the area. A report is at present being examined on a survey of the north coast of New Britain by a project development team. Associated with this survey is the proposed purchase of some 155,000 acres of land for conversion to private indigenous holdings.

The Department of Agriculture continues to foster the production of cash crops by the indigenous people and this central Government activity is reflected in the increased production of copra, 78,568 tons during the year, of which approximately 34 per cent was produced by indigenous planters; cocoa 10,360 tons, approximately 35 per cent by indigenous planters; coffee 5,113 tons, approximately 43 per cent by indigenous planters. Peanuts, rice and tea have also seen an increased production, while in the Highlands indigenous farmers have some 500 acres of pyrethrum already in production.

The constant aim of the Administration has been to increase the proportion of indigenous production under all of these headings; for example, some 60 per cent of the total coffee now planted is indigenously owned.

Following years of patient experimentation and investigation the Australian Government sees the development of the cattle industry as one of the brightest hopes of the future. As part of carefully planned Australian programmes indigenous cattle production is developing. Looking to the future an abattoir has already been established at Lae, capable of handling big increases in production.

The results of long-term planning are becoming apparent in the field of agricultural training. Indigenous graduates from the Popondetta Agricultural Training Institute are now emerging as Assistant Agricultural Officers, while the Vudal Agricultural College will be in operation by March 1965, with a curriculum covering three years of theoretical and practical training. Graduates will have full professional status.

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Specialized training at the village level of farmer trainees has now reached the stage where 1,500 are trained per annum. This training is carried out at ten agricultural training stations and sixty extension centres throughout the Territory. The course of instruction is open to any farmer, literate or not, and is of twelve months' duration. The syllabus is basically loaded on the practical side having a minor theoretical background due to the needs of the students.

Indigenous farmer participation in crop processing and marketing of cash crops has progressed steadily with the establishment of another eight Rural Progress Societies. Two societies have reached a stage where they have the managerial know-how of purchasing unprocessed produce, such as rice, coffee and peanuts, from local farmers, processing the product for export and negotiating and marketing to overseas buyers. These groups now operate with the minimum of supervision.

Since the Department of Trade and Industry was established early in 1962 it has concentrated mainly on economic planning in the fields of industrial development and trade promotion in conjunction with the Departments of Agriculture and Forests, which are basically responsible for the primary products of the Territory.

Much work has been carried out on marketing arrangements for our agricultural products, particularly coffee and cocoa. International conferences relating to both these commodities have been attended by officers of the Department during the past year in Trinidad, London, Geneva and here in New York. New markets are being actively sought. For example, a Territory group -- including one indigenous officer of the Department of Trade and Industry and one indigenous planter -- participated in the Osaka Trade Fair -- our first venture into that part of the world.

The need to establish secondary industries also is recognized. The Division of Industrial Development has carried out extensive studies and research into the possible replacement of major imports by local industries. Notable success has been achieved with the establishment of a number of factories. Many other possible industries are in the process of investigation. It must be remembered, however, that Territory industries will, in important part, be related to the ability of the Territory population to pay for manufactured goods. Every encouragement is being given, therefore, to the promotion of new cash cropping by the indigenous people, and business advisory services have been set up in Rabaul and Lae to train indigenous entrepreneurs to conduct small cottage and servicing industries.

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There has been continued expansion in the co-operative movement. For example, in the Highlands a new co-operative society has bought out, for £35,000 cash, a coffee factory previously owned by Europeans. Coffee produced by indigenous planters in the Chimbu area can now be processed in their own factory.

The Marine Division of the Department of Trade and Industry has recently developed a maintenance base and slipway, which, in addition to being used for repair and maintenance of Administration vessels, trains apprentices in these particular fields. The Nautical Training School completed its first course in June 1963, and it has a further thirty students at present undergoing training. A 100-foot steel training vessel is now on order in which to train Papuans and New Guineans as cadets and engine room officers.

I now turn to public finance. All this training and extension costs money and revenue developed through economic activity in the Territory is insufficient for the needs of administration and capital development. The first public loan in the Territory was launched in 1960 to provide additional funds for Works and Services. The target that year was £500,000 and was over-subscribed. The level of the annual loan programmes has increased substantially and the loan target for 1963-64 was £1.7 million, which was reached early in April of this year.

The Australian Government grant, direct, interest-free and non-repayable, which is necessary to cover the gap between Territory income and expenditure, has increased greatly in the post-war period, and from £5.5 million in a budget of £8,335,000 in 1953-54 it has risen to a figure of £25.25 million in an estimated budget of £37.5 million in the current financial year. Additionally, some £5 million is spent each year in and for the Territory directly by the Australian Government, mainly on the provision of works and services.

The Department of Forests continues actively to pursue the programmes of plantation establishment and natural regeneration to replace exploited and unproductive forests and through an increasingly important programme of forestry extension has created an awareness of the value of reafforestation among the indigenous people, particularly in the deforested areas of the Highlands.

The main centre of plantations is the Bulolo-Wau area, where two varieties of pine are being planted at a rate of approximately 1,250 acres per year. More than 100 acres of pine will be planted this year in the Highlands, and increased to 200 acres in future years. At Keravat, on New Britain, the annual planting rate was raised last year to 200 acres, the major species being kamarere and teak.

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Emphasis is placed on the education of the indigenous people in the importance of forestry activity. Approximately thirty nurseries have been established and are staffed by trained forest field workers. The Department of Forests supplies seed and plants and gives guidance in the establishment and maintenance of the stands. Early in 1963, formal forestry training for indigenous officers was begun at Bulolo. The course consists of two years' formal training in all aspects of forestry, followed by one year in the field. Stage 1 of a permanent Forestry School at Bulolo has commenced and will be completed this year.

The recently created Department of Labour is dedicated to the principle of freedom of association. Thus in the fields of industrial relations and organization we have witnessed an increasing interest in trade unions and, through them, activity in collective bargaining for better wages and conditions. Four Workers' Associations have now been formed in New Guinea, with an additional one covering the whole Territory of Papua and New Guinea. There is one Employers' Association.

During 1963 and 1964 eight industrial agreements were registered as awards under the Industrial Relations Ordinance. Of these, five are between indigenous workers and their employers, including the stevedoring awards, while the remaining three are between non-indigenous workers and their employers.

The Department of Labour has recently conducted "Management and Productivity" conferences dealing with such subjects as industrial relations, morals and supervision, personnel management and organization and methods, as many employers are beginning to recognize the changes taking place in the employment field and are not only willing to co-operate, but anxious to do so. It can be said with confidence that the employment situation in the Territory is currently in a health state, with both employers and employees "getting together" on their problems and displaying responsible and co-operative attitudes. The advisory role of the Department of Labour is recognized and appreciated, and will no doubt lead to an even greater measure of success in future collective bargaining between workers and employers.

The Administration has prepared plans to harness the vast hydroelectric potential of the Territory. The Electricity Commission, which is responsible for the production and transmission of electricity throughout the Territory, is now finalizing plans for the unlimited supply of power from the Ramu River.

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The scheme is strategically located in the middle of New Guinea and ideally sited for reticulation of power to the major centres of Lae, Madang, Goroka and Mount Hagen. It is estimated that the final cost will be in the vicinity of £8.5 million.

A further investigation is at present being carried out on the Wasangai River in New Britain with the object of locating a similar source of hydro power to meet the increasing development of that district.

As this Council was advised last year, the World Bank, following a request from the Australian Government, undertook an economic survey of Papua and New Guinea. Its Mission, consisting of experts in economics, agriculture, education, industry, public health, transportation and civil engineering, spent four months from June last year in intensive, on-the-spot investigations. It is understood that its report is now complete and will shortly be submitted to the Australian Government.

The Department of Public Health continues to provide free medical, hospital and dental care for the indigenous people of New Guinea.

There are now seventy Administration hospitals in the Trust Territory, including base hospitals located at all District headquarters. Five of these are fully equipped modern general hospitals, each costing of the order of £1 million to establish. Lae General Hospital, the latest of these, was opened by the Minister for Territories in April. Construction of the sixth new general hospital is in progress in Goroka. In addition to the services of general practitioners at all these hospitals, specialist attention is available at Lae, Rabaul and Port Moresby, to which patients are evacuated by air, free of charge, from any part of the Territory when specialist treatment is necessary. Smaller hospitals are located at all sub-district headquarters and at most of the larger patrol posts.

The Administrator, in co-operation with local government councils, maintains four health centres which have all expanded their activities during the past twelve months.

At the village level the number of aid posts, staffed by trained indigenous personnel, has increased by forty-four, during the period under review, to a total of 1,076. Infant and maternal welfare clinics are now established in 482 centres, 469 of them being located in rural areas and serving a population of nearly 300,000.

Mission organizations continue to play an important part in bringing health services to the people of New Guinea. They now run sixty-eight hospitals, 196 aid-posts or medical centres, two hansenide colonies, one tuberculosis-hansenide hospital and ninety-three welfare clinics -- all heavily subsidized by the Administration. Health expenditure in the Territory for the year was almost £3 million.

The campaign for the eradication of malaria is progressing well. Work has been extended to seven of the nine districts of New Guinea, encompassing 28,574 square miles of territory and extending protection to a population of 314,523. Surveys have now been completed in the remaining two districts and the campaign will shortly be extended to these areas. In one area with a previously high incidence of malaria, recent checks showed positive infection in only 3 per cent of the children.

Marked progress has been made in medical training and, in 1963, nineteen nurses graduated from the Rabaul Nursing School, while ninety Aid Post Orderlies completed their courses of training at the Lae, Goroka, Mount Hagen and Wewak Schools. Thirteen Dental Assistants graduated during the year, one being the first female Dental Assistant in the Territory.

A new wing of the Papuan Medical College, which caters for the higher medical training of students from all parts of Papua and New Guinea, was opened by the Minister for Territories in April of this year. The College can now accommodate 289 residential students.

A comprehensive description of the educational policy and progress achieved during the period under review may be found at Part VIII of the annual report.

As of now, there are 175,884 children in Administration schools or schools recognized under the Education Ordinance in New Guinea. Expenditure on education by the Administration rose by about £1 million during the year.

Primary or elementary school children now work to a curriculum designed for Territory conditions and with text books especially written for education in Papua and New Guinea. Secondary and technical schools are mainly residential, as students are drawn from all parts of the Territory. This has the added advantage of assisting in the development of a national consciousness. It is proposed to develop technical education much more strongly in future years and planning for higher technical education is well in hand.

Special emphasis has been placed on teacher training. In addition to the recruitment of trained teachers in Australia and elsewhere, the Administration is training its own teachers, both in Australia and at teachers' colleges in the Territory at Lae, Goroka, Rabaul and Port Moresby.

As a result of recent emphasis being placed on adult education, classes in English for adults have been established in every district. Adult education is now being conducted by a number of Administration departments. All these adult activities are co-ordinated by an Adult Education Council.

As the Trusteeship Council was informed last year, a Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea was appointed in February 1963 to inquire (inter alia) into and report on the means for further developing tertiary education to meet the present and prospective needs of the Territory. The Commission has completed its inquiries and submitted a report to the Minister for Territories a short time ago. While details of the report are not yet available, it will be on the basis of this report that the Government will study all the aspects of the establishment of a university in the Territory.

A marked interest has been taken in the formation of women's clubs throughout the Territory, and there are now 186. Initially, special attention was paid to the advancement of women, but emphasis is now being laid more on the place of women in the community.

During the period under review, a Youth Work Organizer was appointed within the Department of Native Affairs, whose function is to co-ordinate youth activities and to guide and assist voluntary workers and organizations. Many of the major international youth organizations are now represented in the Territory, and there are 180 youth groups with some 7,000 members.

Through the Department of Information and Extension Services, great progress has been achieved in informing the people of current trends and needs. The Department, which operates two radio broadcasting stations at Rabaul and Wewak, works in close co-operation with the Australian Broadcasting Commission in producing programme material calculated to appeal to indigenous listeners. Most of the material is prepared in the Territory, and Papuans and New Guineans are being involved more and more in its production. Special attention is given to rural broadcasts and increasing time given to broadcasts to schools.

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The Administration has set up a training centre in Port Moresby where indigenous staff will be trained in the many facets of broadcasting, while the Australian Broadcasting Commission is sending selected New Guineans to Australia for specialized training in this field.

The work undertaken by this department in broadcasting to the people was of particular value during the recent elections. Special programmes were built around not only what might be called the mechanics of the elections -- how to enrol, how to nominate as a candidate and how to vote -- but also around political development generally.

Training of indigenous cadet journalists has recently started, and at present seven are in training.

During the past twelve months close co-operation has been maintained between the United Nations Information Centre and the Administration, while the Administration itself has also been most active in disseminating information about the United Nations.

Assistance to the Centre takes a number of forms. A senior and experienced officer of the Department of Education has been attached full time to the Centre for liaison purposes, while a New Guinean teacher was made available for employment on the Centre's staff. Offices for the Centre are provided free of cost; all internal postal, freight, telephone and telegram charges are borne by the Administration; and a car is provided free for the use of the Director and his staff.

Since its establishment the Centre has been most active under a particularly energetic and sincere Director, dedicated to the United Nations and working in close harmony with the Administration.

In line with other measures for the advancement of the Territory, it is encouraging to report that a significant stage has been reached in the development of the Territory Public Service.

There are now some 1,250 indigenous officers in the Public Service.

As a consequence of the increasing availability of educated school leavers, resulting from the expansion of education services over the post-war period, the Australian Government announced in September 1962 that a reconstruction of the Territory Public Service was being planned as a response to the growing capacity of

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the native people to share in the administration of the Territory. The reconstruction of the service is aimed at providing increasing opportunities for indigenous public servants and for the day when the service will be predominantly an indigenous one. A new Public Service Ordinance to give effect to this reconstruction was passed at the final session of the Legislative Council in November 1963. This provides for an integrated public service constituted of both overseas and indigenous officers. It provides opportunities, by way of preferential appointment, promotion and appeals, for Papuans and New Guineans to advance to positions of responsibility at a rate commensurate with their increasing capacity and efficiency. To improve the efficiency and qualifications of local officers, the Administration has established an Administrative College, designed to widen the educational background of selected officers, provide courses in clerical and administrative techniques and arrange for conferences and/or seminars on administrative matters. This College -- a development from the Public Service Institute -- was formally opened in November of last year, beginning its operations in interim accommodation pending the early construction of a permanent complex of buildings at Port Moresby estimated to cost about £A 750,000.

In line with these developments, the situation of overseas officers in the Public Service has been under review. As a matter of policy, the offer of permanent appointments for new expatriate officers has been discontinued except where it is clear that the applicant can be provided with a service life which will take him through to the normal age of retirement. The majority of overseas officers are now engaged only for fixed terms of service. This change in recruitment policy for expatriate officers does not imply that the need for expatriate skills is expected to reduce. On the contrary, the Australian Government has stated and reiterated its firm resolve to continue to give to this Territory the help of Australia in the public service, as elsewhere, so long as the people need such help. The adoption of this policy limits the problem which might have arisen in the future from displacing permanently appointed expatriate officers to provide for the advancement of qualified Papuans and New Guineans, and is positive evidence of the Government's determination to bring the Territory Public Service, as with other Territory institutions, to a stage where it will be both predominantly indigenous and able to maintain the standards of efficiency and service necessary to the self-governing country of the future.

The first stage of the Police College, established in 1961 to train Papuan and New Guinean members of the Police Force to commissioned rank, was completed this year at a cost of £135,000. At present a total of 27 indigenous officer cadets is enrolled at the College.

A further important reorganizational change which has been under consideration by the Administration for some time concerns the future of the Department of Native Affairs.

Having considered the report of a special committee which exhaustively investigated the functions of this department, the Australian Government has accepted a recommendation to establish a new Department of District Administration. This Department will take over the functions and staff of the Department of Native Affairs, and also the District Administration branch of the Department of the Administrator, which includes the staff of District Commissioners.

The new Department will be directly responsible to the Administrator for the co-ordination of administration within the fifteen Administrative districts of the Territory. Among its many responsibilities will be the promotion of political awareness among local communities and their participation in both central and local political institutions. To ensure that district administration will be effectively integrated in the determination of policy and developmental planning, the Director is to become a full member of the Central Policy and Planning Committee.

The need to review the functions and organization of the Department of Native Affairs was prompted by the rapid changes taking place in the nature of the tasks required of the Administration.

It was apparent from the review that the work previously undertaken by the Department of Native Affairs had become increasingly the functions of a corps of central administration. It also highlighted the administrative difficulties in a split chain of command in the field and resolved the problem by establishing a single direct line of responsibility from the Administrator down to the Patrol Officer in his remote outpost.

In the foregoing remarks I have spoken of balanced development in the New Guinea Territory -- the progress being made in all fields of endeavour. In trying to cover the many significant attainments I have perhaps dwelt over-long on certain aspects and been apt to drift from point to point on others. For this I beg your indulgence, but so much has been accomplished in the Territory during the period now under review that, with so much to tell, my dilemma has been one of what I am forced to leave out rather than what I should include.

In outlining this development I submit it is a clear indication of Australia's determination to fulfil its obligations and the undertakings given this Council, to bring the people of the Trust Territory of New Guinea progressively to a state of self-government and independence by a sound and practical approach to its problems.

In conclusion, this Council is aware that information on developments in New Guinea is set out in great detail in the Annual Report. Supplementary detail to bring that information up to date is set out in Part II of this opening statement which, to save time and for the convenience of members, will simply be circulated.

The PRESIDENT: The questioning of the Special Representative will begin at our next meeting, which will take place on Friday at 3 p.m.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.