

UNITED NATIONS
TRUSTEESHIP
COUNCIL



PROVISIONAL

T/PV.1146
13 June 1961

ENGLISH

Twenty-seventh Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ELEVEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 13 June 1961, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

U TIN MAUNG

(Burma)

1. Examination of annual reports of the Administering Authorities
on the administration of Trust Territories: New Guinea [4d]
(continued)
2. Statement by the representative of the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics

Note:

The Official Record of this meeting, i.e. the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.1146 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

AGENDA ITEM 4d

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: NEW GUINEA (T/1561, 1567, 1569; T/L.1010; T/PET.8/16, 17; T/PET.8/L.6) (continued)

General debate (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dudley McCarthy, Special Representative for the Trust Territory of New Guinea under Australian administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): The Australian delegation has presented to the Trusteeship Council this year particularly abundant and specific documentation on New Guinea. The Special Representative, Mr. McCarthy, whom we are happy to have seen inaugurate with so much talent the new functions entrusted to him, has spared no effort in his statement and his replies to define the objectives of the Administering Authority and to express the very special complexity of the programmes before the Administration. This special character is symbolized on the map which is included with the annexes to the annual report, indicating the peaceful penetration of New Guinea. From year to year the dark patch on that map is becoming smaller, the dark patch which represents the zone which is beyond the control of the Administration and which is crossed only by patrols. However, this spot has not completely disappeared from the map; and there lies one of the paradoxes of the case of New Guinea.

The hazards of history have been such that the United Nations trusteeship system was put to the test in one of the most backward areas of the world. The inaccessibility, somewhat savage conditions in the interior of the country, as well as among the inhabitants, are well known to members of the Council. It is a commonplace, repeated each year, to say that part of the population is still living in the stone age in the middle of the twentieth century. In this respect, we have found to be of particular interest the backdrop sketched for us by the Special Representative in the first part of his long introductory statement. This description, so gripping in character, describes the daily life of Australian patrols, based on his own experience, and this has brought our discussions, sometimes theoretical, to a plane much closer to reality.

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

Of course, these realities change and Mr. McCarthy has frequently, as he himself has stressed, expressed himself in the past tense. Nevertheless, peaceful penetration is not yet completed and will not be before the end of 1963. There is no single recipe for the evolution of under-developed countries. Far from being dogmatic, such action must be adapted to the particular conditions -- geographical, climatic, humane -- of each such area.

Therefore, Australia has a special task to fulfil, different from those arising in other Territories under Trusteeship in the Pacific, in Africa or elsewhere. Before beginning administration, it was necessary to start from nothing, to explore and to pacify. Perhaps it might be regretted that this is not yet finished; this is so because it was not so much a question of conquering, but of discovering, of understanding, of convincing and of organizing -- in short, in the best sense of the word, of colonizing.

Actually, what Australia is being asked to do is to "colonize" as rapidly as possible, while extending effective control over the whole of the country, in order to "decolonize" subsequently, at an accelerated pace, as soon as the process of colonization has been completed. This is an ungrateful task, a difficult one, and a dispassionate one, which illustrates once more how wrong, historically and intellectually, and how unfair it is to identify colonialism with colonization, as is frequently done for propaganda purposes. This task of the patrols has struck us particularly. Perhaps one might stress -- but this is a point that has not escaped the attention of the Australian Government -- how useful it would be, in the part already under administration, where cadres have been established and indigenous elements trained to take up responsibilities, to associate such indigenous elements with the work of penetration by the patrols, because they would certainly be very useful in bringing under control those parts which are still outside the control of the Administration.

In any event, any observer would in good faith be obliged to note that 1960 was marked by an acceleration in political progress which, up to now, has been relatively slow in this Trust Territory. Reforms have been introduced and these are a forerunner of future reforms which were announced last April by the Commonwealth of Australia at Port Moresby. It does indeed happen in the political life of dependent countries that increased representativeness of institutions brings about an acceleration of political evolution. In New Guinea, the road has been opened during the year under review by amendments introduced in October to the law for Papua and New Guinea. The promulgation of these amendments had unfortunately been delayed from 1959 through the introduction of special procedures before the Australian Supreme Court, and it is therefore a source of satisfaction to the Council to know that thanks to this new legislation the Legislative Councils common to the Trust Territory and to neighbouring Papua have been profoundly transformed. Whereas these Councils formerly had a majority of official members, the official members are now in a minority and the number of indigenous inhabitants serving on them has increased from three to twelve, more than half of whom are elected by the population. This is a remarkable beginning towards a greater degree of representation and an evolution based on British law, which we are happy to see. The official members are gradually decreasing in number and will ultimately disappear, when their places will be taken by elected members.

There is another interesting indication of evolution, and that is the elimination of the Executive Council and its replacement by the Administrator's Council. The former Executive Council consisted entirely of officials responsible for assisting the Administrator in his task, and this of course amounted to a kind of privy council in the Trust Territory, the model for which was set by Charles X of France. The new Administrator's Council is thus an indication of further progress, even if a modest one, since the said Council has no more than two members elected by the Legislative Council, of whom at least one is indigenous. However, we think that the link that has thus been established between the legislative and the executive is a stage worthy of being noted towards the later constitution of a truly responsible government. This stage is all the more striking inasmuch as it is supported by a parallel reform of the electoral regime.

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

Up to now, the right to vote existed on a broad scale only at the level of the local Councils, which, it may be noted in passing, have increased in number this year by nine. However, suffrage has been extended by the creation of the new Legislative Council. There is an electoral system in two stages, with electors chosen according to the regions either by the local councils or by electoral groups. The film shown to the Council last week by the Australian delegation showed us the careful preparation, including campaign tours and pre-election stages at Port Moresby, which led to the success of these elections.

Naturally, it is not yet a question of universal suffrage. The unequal development of different sectors of the population, the fact that certain regions are not yet controlled by the Administration, all these things provide a provisional explanation of the situation. But the creation of an electoral register for all the indigenous inhabitants of those zones which are under the influence of the Administration will no doubt speed up the movement towards direct and universal suffrage. There are, as is confirmed by the explanations given by Mr. McCarthy, up-to-date census lists of the population. Would it not be possible, on this basis, to establish electoral lists of the indigenous inhabitants who would thus themselves become "enrolled electors"?

This reflection brings me to the problem of the single college. There again, it is certain that the lack of homogeneity of the population is a serious obstacle. We are pleased to note that the Australian Administration considers the present situation to be temporary. The Administrator declared at Port Moresby on 10 April last that a system of elections based on common electoral lists would be established as soon as possible.

For our part, we cannot too strongly insist on the value for political education of universal suffrage and single lists. We have seen it very often in similar cases; there are always obstacles to overcome, there are always traditions to fight against, but it is obvious that one cannot wait until the population is completely developed before introducing universal suffrage. Universal suffrage itself, once it is granted, causes an acceleration in political training which may be beneficial for the Territory involved.

Among other encouraging indications of recent political progress in the Territory, the Council will certainly note with interest the appearance of political organizations which correspond to the wishes expressed during previous sessions. The recent elections to the new Legislative Council gave rise to the creation of the "United Progress Party", which in the course of the electoral campaign was able to put forward both indigenous and non-indigenous candidates. The Australian Administration has thus been shown to be right in having always believed that such organizations should come into being spontaneously.

Finally, there is the problem of the administrative union, which has been so much discussed. The Trust Territory has in fact no administration of its own separate from that of neighbouring Papua. Let us say at once that we consider, in the light of experience gained in this field by the Council, that there can be several forms of administrative union, some beneficial and some not. In the present state of development of the two regions which are thus united, we consider that the union is beneficial, that it avoids unnecessary duplication, the more so since the avowed aim of the Administering Power is a common future based on self-determination. What is important is to be assured that the population of the Trust Territory will have a sufficiently early opportunity to make their choice in full knowledge of the facts, so that the structure of the administrative union will not be a means of putting pressure on the inhabitants and will not prejudice their free decision.

I do not intend to detain the Council long on the problems found in other fields in New Guinea. The supplementary report of the Australian delegation and the detailed explanations given here by the Special Representative have given my delegation sufficient information on these points.

New Guinea shows us once more, if that were necessary, that under-development is not linked with colonization. In this particular case one might even say exactly the contrary. New Guinea, left to itself, would no doubt continue to vegetate for decades in the Stone Age. If it has any hope of evolution and development, it is to Australia and the Trusteeship System to which it is indebted.

We note with satisfaction a notable evolution of the economy from a subsistence economy to a cash economy. In this respect the substantial increase in the indigenous production of coffee and cocoa is a happy augury. We know

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

furthermore that the financial assistance of the Administering Power has not been reduced. Indeed, the contrary is true, since during 1959 to 1960 that assistance constituted more than half the total receipts of the Territory.

In the social field we note the promulgation of the new Labour Code and the creation of a specialized department, in addition to the continuation of efforts in the medical and health fields, indicated by the opening of the large and expensive hospital at Madang.

In the field of education, although there is as yet no higher education open to the indigenous inhabitants for the time being -- such a system of education would not, in any case, be able to find a sufficient supply of entrants from a secondary education which is not yet fully developed -- a programme has been set on foot to expand primary education and relieve the shortage of teachers. The interest and devotion brought to their task by the local teachers have been fully demonstrated by one of them, Mr. Jubilee, whom we have been very pleased to greet for the first time in this Council.

It only remains to express our hearty thanks to the Australian delegation, to Mr. Hood, to the Special Representative, Mr. McCarthy, and to Mr. Jubilee for the contribution they have made to our work, and this expression of thanks is by no means a purely formal one.

Mr. RIFAI (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, in compliance with your wish, I shall speak at this stage although I think I was fourth on the list.

In the course of a decade and a half this Council has seen the fulfilment of its work in several territories which a while ago were held in trust. Today it looks with great expectations toward the accomplishment of the same sacred mission in the remaining Trust Territories. The experience of the past has not simply inspired confidence in the future, it has at the same time dispelled certain false conceptions regarding the attainment of our goals. There was a time when some of us thought that the evolutionary processes toward the objectives of the Charter were necessarily of long duration. Before independence could be attained, a rather undefined economic, educational and social level of advancement had to be realized. According to that way of thinking, it was often difficult to see clearly into the future or to speak of the future in any definite terms. The imperatives of history, however, induced a welcome change in that way of thinking, and I believe that in our day the contingency of political liberation on economic or social progress is no longer a sacrosanct precept from which no deviation is permissible. For we have all witnessed with wonder and admiration how the newly-won freedom gave impetus to economic and social development in those nations which have recently merged into independent existence. Thus the relative retardation of certain countries in the economic or social field proved no hindrance to their exercise of sovereignty; rather progress in those fields gathered momentum as a result.

It was, I am sure, with this heartening experience in mind that the General Assembly adopted its historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories rejected the erstwhile defended theory of making the attainment of independence conditional on economic and social advancement. Our duty today in examining conditions in every Trust Territory is thus to keep this directive foremost in our minds. We should ask ourselves not how soon a Trust Territory can develop its economic potential or social institutions to merit freedom but how soon we can create the necessary political conditions for the exercise of national sovereignty by the people concerned.

(Mr. Rifai, United Arab Republic)

Every other development will follow in the wake of independence, particularly in this era when the interdependence of nations as recognized in all international institutions has placed technical and financial assistance in a new framework not necessarily conditioned by political influence or any form of domination by the strong over the weak. It is with this basic thought in mind that my delegation intends to offer its observations on the general advancement of the Trust Territory of New Guinea towards the objective of the Trusteeship System. This year we were fortunate in drawing upon very detailed and indeed very enlightening supplementary information.

I wish to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Special Representative, Mr. Dudley McCarthy, for his most interesting exposé of New Guinea's evolution over the years and for the frankness he has evinced in answering questions put to him. In our view, five important points emerged from that exposé which deserve our earnest and most serious consideration.

First, we were happy to note that control over all areas in New Guinea will be completed by the end of 1963. As the Council is well aware, this question has been the subject of many recommendations in the past. We were certainly not unmindful of the great hazards and difficulties involved in bringing unknown areas under Government control. We felt nevertheless that rapid achievements in this field depended primarily on the availability of patrols and that patrols could be found if funds became available and training was provided. There is no doubt also that in order to consolidate Government authority over new areas a concomitant development in the means of communication was called for and this in turn demanded more funds. Whatever the difficulties may be, or the efforts needed to accomplish this important task, one cannot overlook the fact that it is primordial to any development in the Territory. Consequently, we feel constrained to urge once more that the Administering Authority should spare no effort in order to achieve the objective of governmental control over all New Guinea by the target date as even earlier.

A second point which emerged in the statement of the Special Representative in a much clearer form this year is the determined effort of the Administering Authority to promote a common destiny for Papua and New Guinea. In view of the contiguity of the two Territories, the similarities between their people and their recent historical association arising from their administrative union, we welcome this policy.

(Mr. Rifai, United Arab Republic)

In the past this Council had expressed legitimate concern about the effects of administrative unions on Trust Territories. It was feared that these administrative arrangements would impede the speedy progress of such territories towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System. However, once these fears were allayed and the facts of geography and history proved the advantages of a common future, it then became our duty to support an even closer association between the two Territories and also an integrated and well-planned development. In this connexion, it seems to us pertinent to enquire, as the representative of India did a few days ago, whether the Administering Authority is ready to extend the Trusteeship System to Papua and thus have one Trust Territory bearing one name. There is much to recommend such a step to the Administering Authority whose sincere desire to see both Territories emerge as a united and sovereign nation we do not doubt for a moment.

I come now to the third point to which the Special Representative devoted much time and supplied ample detail. I refer to the reforms of the Legislative Council which might well mark the beginning of a rapid and healthy evolution towards independence. In the political field this Trust Territory has always seemed to us to be moving very slowly, at a pace which even its special circumstances did not justify. That was the reason for the Council's recommendation during its twenty-sixth session which expressed its:

"appreciation (regarding) the progress achieved thus far in the economic, social and political advancement of the Territory" but considered that "a great deal yet remains to be accomplished ... that the rate of progress in all these fields, and more especially in the political field,"-- I stress this point -- "needs to be accelerated" (Report of the Trusteeship Council, A/4404, page 129, para. 5).

In this context the reforms of the Legislative Council are welcome as an indication, as a sign but not so much as an accomplishment. For what has truly happened insofar as the people of the Territory are concerned does not go beyond a small increase in their representation in that body, and certainly the significant fact is that for the first time this representation is based on popular choice.

(Mr. Rifai, United Arab Republic)

We believe that this step in the political evolution of New Guinea symbolizes a very important change, because the background has now been laid for a more sustained effort in the political field which could speedily and realistically lead the Territory to its independence.

Having said this, I wish to add a few observations of a more specific nature. My delegation continues to believe that the representation of the religious missions in the Legislative Council has no justification. The reduction in the number of their representatives offers no satisfactory solution since the objection was raised against the principle, and so far we have heard no valid reasons to convince us of the utility or wisdom of such an arrangement.

Moreover, the Legislative Council, notwithstanding the recent change in its membership, continues to be heavily weighted in favour of the European element. We are unable to understand the reasons for its constitution along the present lines. If it is claimed that no qualified indigenous people exist to allow for an increase in the number of indigenous representatives, by election or nomination, then I wonder why it is felt necessary to keep this high percentage of European representation, no matter to what category they belong, officially or otherwise.

Our surprise is the greater in this connexion since the powers of the Legislative Council have apparently undergone no change. To put it in brief terms, we are constrained to conclude that the reconstitution of this Council, while enhancing, no doubt, indigenous representation, has made little contribution to the effective participation by the people in the conduct of their affairs. I say this with no intention of belittling the efforts which the Administering Authority has employed in this regard. I have indicated earlier that we consider these reforms a new sign, symbolizing, as it were, a new trend which is designed to lead the Territory speedily, in harmony with the requirements of our time, to its national sovereignty and independence.

It was encouraging to note that the "Australian Parliament, in enacting the constitutional reform which led to the changes in this Council, had it clearly in mind that there should be continuous political growth and progressive constitutional change". We trust that this change will reflect primarily the interest of the peoples concerned and the imperatives of our changing world.

(Mr. Rifai, United Arab Republic)

At this stage of its political evolution New Guinea calls for a concerted effort in all fields of its political life. Therefore, let the reforms on the Legislative Council level not deflect our attention from other fields, where so much remains to be done.

On the Local Government Council level the pace of development seems to be still moving slowly. The majority of the population continues to fall outside the areas covered by the established Councils. I can do no better in this connexion than reiterate the Trusteeship Council's recommendation at the twenty-sixth session, which urged the Administering Authority "to take energetic steps to establish councils in the rest of the Territory, to broaden the areas of their activity and to encourage them to exercise their powers to the fullest extent". I may add that there is a need for similar steps to increase indigenous representation on District Councils and Town Councils in order to promote the political advancement of the inhabitants of this Trust Territory at the local, regional and territorial levels simultaneously.

I feel that we should also stress the urgent need for the training of indigenous people for the public service. The Trusteeship Council has expressed its disappointment in the past regarding both the shortage of staff in the Trust Territory and the recruitment of indigenous civil servants. This year the Special Representative gave us the assurance of the Public Service Commissioner that "during the year under review there has been a constant expansion in organization and public service methods". The rate of growth, we were told, has been a rapid one. In the third part of the Special Representative's opening statement to this Council we find figures revealing an increase in the strength, also, of the public service. This increase, however, continues to fall short of the number of positions which remain to be filled. But this is not all. For us, the most important element in this situation is the need for indigenous civil servants and thus for an intensification of training programmes to qualify more indigenous people for all grades of the public service:

I was happy to note in the statement of the Special Representative that "in assessing the rate of progress as satisfactory there is, nevertheless, no ground for complacency", for we should not lose sight of the fact that the public service is the backbone of self-government. Consequently, the Administering Authority should, in our view, double its efforts -- even triple its efforts -- by having recourse to all possible resources of international assistance, if necessary, in order to foster development in this field.

(Mr. Rifai, United Arab Republic)

I come now to the fourth salient point in the statement of the Special Representative. In speaking of economic development in Papua and New Guinea, and particularly of the development of secondary industries in the Territory, the Special Representative observed "that the Government is aware that economic development does not lend itself to such spectacular advances and achievements as are perhaps possible in the social field and even in aspects of the political field. I do not wish to express an opinion with regard to this statement. Some may agree with it; some may question its validity. But, granted that economic development is necessarily slower than social or political development, I trust that it is not the intention of the Administering Authority to gear progress in the political field to that in the economic field; for if political development were to outstrip economic development at this stage, we should not feel unduly alarmed.

We are living in an era where the loudest voice is that of freedom; and experience has shown, as I said earlier, that in the wake of freedom rapid progress will ensue in all fields. To say this, however, is not to ignore the vital importance of rapid progress towards a healthy and strong economy for this Trust Territory. Essentially this economy is still based, as we know, on primary production, and apparently it will continue to rest within that framework for some time to come.

We are informed that cocoa, coffee and copra production has risen substantially during the past year and this is as a result of careful planning and co-operation between the Administration and the indigenous people. We are happy to note this fact, but we wonder whether in this connexion also the Administering Authority does not feel that it could intensify its efforts by drawing on the expert assistance, for example, of FAO. I offer this as a simple suggestion.

In connexion with coffee and cocoa production I wish again to stress the importance of establishing a stabilizing fund in order to help reduce the adverse effects of price fluctuations on the production of these crops. While the trend seems encouraging in this field of the Territory's economy, we believe, however, in so far as industrial development is concerned that the achievements are rather insignificant. By the mere definition which the Special Representative gave us the other day of what a factory is, one can reach the conclusion that the increase in the number of factories from eighty-one to ninety represents a very minor achievement indeed. This slow progress in the field of industrial development

(Mr. Rifai, United Arab Republic)

may be partly due, as we were told, to the fact that the Government is reluctant to step into this field and that private initiative is still handicapped by various limitations.

(Mr. Rafai, United Arab Republic)

We trust, nevertheless, that the Administering Authority will give this aspect of the Territory's development its most serious consideration. After the establishment of a new Department of Industry, we hope that this task will receive first priority.

Before I conclude my remarks on the economic field, I should like to say that we are not unmindful of the increasing economic activity in this Trust Territory; but we believe that there is still ample room for expansion, and for this aim the Administering Authority would be well advised to conduct a general and comprehensive economic survey of the resources of Papua and New Guinea. This could be done also with the assistance of the appropriate international specialized agencies.

I turn now to the social and educational fields, and I wish to be very brief in this connexion. With regard to the social field, I wish to make only one observation. The Administering Authority has been engaged in a campaign for the eradication of one of the most serious plights of the Trust Territory, namely malaria. This sickness continues to claim many lives and to weaken many able-bodied men and women in the Territory. Yet in spite of all this, apparently the need has not been felt so far to call on the assistance of WHO to assist in the campaign for the eradication of this sickness. One can hardly understand the reasons behind the reluctance of the Administering Authority to do so. We hope that this situation will soon be corrected and that WHO will offer its assistance both technically and financially to save the people of this Trust Territory from this scourge.

In the field of education the picture is far from being encouraging. Suffice it to say that up to this day the majority of children in the Territory have no opportunity to receive elementary education; the number of those who are getting secondary education seems to be declining rather than increasing; so many years of tutelage have not yet produced anyone with higher education. I am sure that the Administering Authority is cognizant of the urgent need to step up efforts in this field. I trust that neither treasure nor difficulties of teacher recruitment in Australia, for example, will act as impediments to progress in this field.

There remains one last point to which I should like to address myself. The Special Representative told us in his opening statement that the Administering Authority is "not only willing to set target dates in many fields of administrative effort but since the last meeting of the Council has carried out comprehensive and detailed studies to enable such target dates to be set in the closest relation to all of the existing and foreseeable realities of the New Guinea situation". Due to the financial implications involved, however, which have to come before the Australian Parliament, the Special Representative was unable to give this Council any detailed information on this point.

We welcome this new position of the Administering Authority, for we see in it a vindication of a position which we adopted and recommended earlier and which at the outset was considered unrealistic by some administering Powers. But in looking forward to the information which, for budgetary reasons, was denied to us at this session, we wish to express the hope that in setting these target dates the Administering Authority will be guided by the central theme of our time, which has been endorsed by the General Assembly of our Organization in its Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which solemnly "proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

Before I conclude, I wish again to express our deep appreciation of the excellent manner in which Mr. McCarthy, the Special Representative, has supplemented our information which was provided in this year's report on conditions in the Trust Territory of New Guinea. I wish also to say how happy my delegation was to see Mr. Jubilee included in the Australian delegation to this session of the Trusteeship Council.

Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation wishes on this occasion to express its gratitude to Mr. McCarthy, the Special Representative, who has assisted us with his great knowledge of New Guinea and its problems. We have also viewed with satisfaction the presence of Mr. Jubilee, of one of the islands of the Territory.

I should like to deal first with the question of the integration and incorporation of the native people of the Territory and their political unification. This task has not yet been completed. The Special Representative has mentioned 1963 as the date for its achievement. This date is the first step towards the fulfilment of the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council.

The Administering Authority has once again mentioned the negative factors which they face in their civilizing task, factors such as geographical difficulties, the lack of common interest, the mutual hostility among the tribes, the confusion of languages and so forth. All these factors would seem to confirm the fragmentation of the peoples in New Guinea. I feel that we have reached a time when it would be reasonable to measure the difficulties and the means used by the Administering Authority.

Are these difficulties really unsurmountable? Every civilizing mission requires political ability and resources as well. We are persuaded that it is time for these difficulties to be overcome.

We note with satisfaction that for the first time elected officials now have a role in the local councils. This is a first step in the political development of the Territory, and we hope that this participation will progressively increase. It is urgent that the Administering Authority should begin to select, educate and train native officers. The Special Representative reported to the Council that there are students in Australia. We believe that these students might indeed be selected and educated so as to prepare them for certain administrative posts.

In the economic field we believe that it is not advantageous or advisable to support exclusively a policy which would favour private enterprise alone. Owing to the under-developed status of the people, such private initiative or enterprise probably does not exist. Any transitional society requires assistance from the Administering Authority in the initial stages of its development. We therefore believe that it is necessary to support co-operatives which could undertake various agricultural and even manufacturing tasks.

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

This type of economic activity would, without excluding private enterprise, create political cohesion. It would be advisable for the Administering Authority to follow a more flexible policy in order to increase exports and decrease imports.

In our opinion, the new principles for land tenure which have been announced are not very clear. At its twenty-sixth session the Trusteeship Council was informed that, as the result of a detailed study of the customary systems of land tenure among the indigenous people and the problems involved in the reform of those systems, various general principles had been provisionally established which would serve as a basis for the policy to be applied in the future. After so many years of inactivity, an urgent solution to the problem must be found by the establishment of a uniform system of land tenure. In connexion with this same problem, the Trusteeship Council is of course interested in having a very clear idea of the extent of the Administration's power as regards the acquisition of land and the Administration's rights as regards the acquisition of native land.

In the educational field, the Trusteeship Council said last year that the number of students receiving secondary education was completely insufficient to meet the great needs. Education is a fundamental need, and that need must be met if the Territory is to make real progress in any field. The recommendation made by the Council last year, which appears in the resolutions adopted by it, remains valid this year, in our opinion.

The health services provided by the Administering Authority, with native personnel and Australian doctors, are in our opinion satisfactory. There are only two problems in this field that have not yet been solved. A wider programme against malnutrition is needed, and there must be, following the advice given by the WHO, a campaign to eradicate malaria.

Those were the brief comments which my delegation wished to make in connexion with the annual report and the explanations given by the Special Representative on this Trust Territory.

Mr. RASGOTRA (India): In his opening statement the other day, the Special Representative, Mr. McCarthy, quoted the Administrator as follows:

"My advisers have expressed readiness to set target dates for the performance of the various practical tasks they have undertaken in social, economic and educational advancement. The stages in the progress of political advancement will be set by the response of the people themselves. Nevertheless my advisers have it in their own mind that, after experience of one full term of the newly constituted Council and after a second general election -- that is to say in perhaps five years from now -- this Council and the Australian Parliament might be asked to consider what the next step forward should be...". (T/PV.1138, page 16)

In hearing that statement by the Administrator, I was reminded of a speech concerning the setting up of a programme of the Territory's advancement with targets and dates which the Honourable Minister for Territories, Mr. Hasluck, is said to have made on 27 January 1958. At that time he stated:

"Nobody can predict with certainty the nature of the society which will finally develop.

"This is the final answer to the stupidity of those positive fools in the United Nations who are always talking of target dates for political advancement".

Obviously there has been a change of view and a change of policy in this matter, and that change is entirely welcome to us and to other delegations. We are glad that the Administering Authority has come to agree with us that the best means of ensuring advancement is planning it ahead and exercising all possible effort to realize those plans. We look forward to the actual enunciation of targets in all fields of the Territory's development, and we shall comment on them when they are intimated to us, which I hope will be at the next session of the Trusteeship Council, in 1962.

There is some seeming hesitancy on the part of the Administering Authority -- I hope my judgement in this matter is wrong -- to accept the necessity of setting up targets in the field of political advancement. The planning of stages is promised in the Administrator's statement in the social, economic and educational fields, but not in the political field. It cannot

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

possibly be that the tasks undertaken by the Administering Authority in the political field are any less urgent or practical than those in other fields. Or is it that the Administering Authority, in its own mind, has certain target dates in view but is hesitant to take us into its confidence about them because of the unduly long periods of time contemplated? In May 1960 the Administrator of New Guinea, Brigadier Cleland, in an address to the Hanuabada Native Local Government Council, is reported to have said that self-government could come within fifteen to thirty years. It is our submission that this time range of fifteen to thirty years, though interesting in itself, is utterly unrealistic. It is not unlikely that the course of nationalist development in New Guinea will parallel that of colonial territories in Africa and Asia, and the inevitable spurt of national aspirations for independence, after a certain point of political maturity is reached, must be anticipated and provided for in New Guinea.

It seems necessary, therefore, that at this stage the Administering Authority should, in the spirit of the General Assembly's Declaration concerning the independence of colonial peoples and territories, determine a realistic time-table for the rapid preparation of the Territory for its ultimate destiny, and fit the various stages of advancement that might be contemplated into that time-table.

We agree that the task in New Guinea is a difficult and complex human experiment and that the fragmented nature of the society and the exceedingly difficult geographical and other circumstances pose very special problems. But we do not put it beyond the capacity of a highly advanced country like Australia to overcome those difficulties, and to overcome them with requisite speed.

It is well to recall that by the end of the Second World War there was very little in New Guinea by way of economic, social or political advancement. The period of the mandate was comparatively a barren period. The achievements of the last ten or twelve years reflect great credit on the Administering Authority, and they also go to show that, given determination and resources, Australia is capable of much greater achievements in New Guinea in the next few years. We are encouraged by the evidence of a new and more dynamic approach to

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

the Territory's problems. It is in this general context that my delegation welcomes the information that the Special Representative has brought to us concerning the latest developments in the political field.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

We should like to commend the Administering Authority, first of all, for undertaking to bring all the unadministered areas, about 12,000 square miles, under effective administration by the end of 1963. We believe that this target is realistic and reflects a proper sense of urgency; we are confident that the Administering Authority will succeed in achieving it by the date that it has set itself.

Indeed, the most noteworthy development of the year is the reform of the New Guinea and Papua Legislative Council, and we welcome the information as to the reforms themselves and the intent and purpose underlying them. The reconstituted Legislative Council has twelve indigenous members, six elected and six appointed, the latter including one woman. Out of these twelve members, eight will be from the Trust Territory of New Guinea, as compared with three in the old Council. This and other aspects of the new legislature give us cause for satisfaction. We are satisfied that in the prevailing circumstances the Administration had to take recourse to the appointment of some indigenous members to the Council instead of having all of them elected to it, and that for the time being it was necessary to adopt the electoral college method of elections where these were possible. We consider that the introduction of universal adult suffrage at the time of the next legislative elections will be appropriate and will serve as the most effective means of imparting a political education to the people at all stages of advancement. We warmly welcome the statement of intentions that in due course there will be a common roll of electors, and we hope that such a common roll will be instituted by the time the next elections take place.

These reforms have taken a long time to come and, now that they are here as I said, we welcome them. But in their totality they cannot be regarded as much more than the very first step, and perhaps a preliminary step, though a significant one. We must, however, confess to our disappointment as to the scope and character of some aspects of these reforms: First and foremost, there is no indication of any change or expansion in the scope and functions of the Council. Secondly, the Administering Authority's reluctance to consider the election of members to the Council on a common roll system in less than five or six years is disappointing. Thirdly, we fail to understand why it should have been necessary to appoint non-native members to the Council; the intricacies of election procedures

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

"The proposals we now have under consideration are one further stage in a planned progress, and are the result of the success of the administration in applying Government policy for political advancement ... The main decision has been one of time-table. My own opinion" --
and I wish to draw the Council's special attention to this --

"was that we had progressed far enough to attempt reforms two or three years ago. However, I gave priority to other items of major legislation which, in the event, took longer than we expected to pass. That is not unusual in politics."

The fact that these reforms have been introduced, in the Administering Authority's own estimate, three years after their time does necessitate the hastening of the next lot of more radical and far-reaching reforms. We recognize the validity of the view of the Honourable Minister that the rate of change has to be geared to the rate of response of the indigenous people. The question, however, is whether, at any stage in the Territory's political history of the last ten or fifteen years, the response of the people has given cause for disappointment to the Administering Authority. It is our belief that that has not been the case. The people of New Guinea have responded most enthusiastically to the institution of Local Government Councils; they gave a good account of themselves in the old Legislative Council, and in Town and District Advisory Councils. From that arises our belief that the Administering Authority can now move faster than hitherto; we hope that it will so move.

The apparent hesitation on the part of the Administering Authority to accelerate the speed of political advancement arises, perhaps, from its anxiety -- and this is entirely praiseworthy -- to ensure that before the transfer of responsibilities and powers to the indigenous people, they should first be educated, politically and otherwise, to a point of perfection so that the flawless discharge of these responsibilities could be taken for granted. It might be true to say that if greater responsibilities are given to the local people, they will make more mistakes than the Australian administrators or members of the legislature do at the moment; but then there is no schooling like the one of practical experience, and mistakes are as necessary for the building up of a healthy democratic tradition as are germs for a healthy body. It is my submission, therefore, that this hesitation to transfer responsibilities to the people of New Guinea and Papua is, perhaps, in itself a mistake which should be rapidly rectified.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

In closing this part of my statement, may I, in passing, say that this system, whereby the Council meets four times a year for only four or five days each time, does detract from the merits of having a legislature. We hope that the new Legislative Council will meet for longer periods, and that its non-official membership, especially indigenous membership, will assume initiative in proposing legislation for the Territory.

There is also this anomaly of the Administering Authority insisting, on the one hand, that self-determination implies that the people of New Guinea will themselves, without interference from any quarter, decide their own future, while, on the other, the Administration's actions continue to tie, somewhat arbitrarily perhaps, the future of this Territory more and more irrevocably with that of a colony, namely Papua, over which the Administering Authority asserts to have sovereign rights. Article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement gives the Administering Authority the "liberty to bring the Territory into a customs, fiscal or administrative union or federation with other dependent territories under its jurisdiction or control, and to establish common services between the Territory and any or all of these Territories". Customs, fiscal or administrative unions are one thing, and a federation is quite another. Federation assumes the existence in the Territory of its own executive and legislative organs, which have, as yet, not been created. But no objection can be taken -- and we take no objection -- to the view that the Trust Territory and the Non-Self-Governing Territory should develop uniformly towards a common future; but if that is to be the case, the objectives laid down for the Trust Territory in Article 76 cannot be diluted or limited to those laid down for Non-Self-Governing Territories in Article 73 -- and that is the point I wish to stress. The basic objective for the latter is that of "a full measure of self-government", which, in the circumstances to which I have referred, must be liberally interpreted to mean "independence", the objective for the Trust Territory. The delegation of India cannot accept any nuances of interpretation of the phrase "self-government or independence" which contemplate something less than independence as the future of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. This is not to say that New Guinea should attain to independence in isolation either from Australia or from neighbouring Papua. In fact we have often given expression to our hope and our belief that Trust Territories should emerge to independence in the closest possible friendship with their former rulers.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

If the Administration's present policy of developing Papua and New Guinea uniformly is to be pursued, the United Nations should be enabled to consider the conditions prevailing in Papua and the pace of development there equally with those in New Guinea.

Besides, it should be borne in mind that any political federation of the Non-Self-Governing Territory and the Trust Territory must respect and satisfy the principles approved by the General Assembly last year defining the meaning and scope of the phrase "a full measure of self-government" and it must conform especially with the safeguards set out in Principles VIII and IX.

In our discussions of the affairs of the Trust Territory this year -- and this I mention incidentally in this connexion -- we have not had before us a report on the functioning of the administrative union between Papua and New Guinea. I would suggest, therefore, that the Council should instruct its Drafting Committee to give careful study to this matter and to prepare observations and recommendations concerning it for the Council's approval at the appropriate time.

The abolition of the old Executive Council and the creation in its place of the Administrator's Council, which would consist of the Administrator, three official members and the Legislative Council, together with three non-official members of whom at least two would be elected members are steps in the right direction. It might have been better however to have at least three or more elected members rather than only two as is the case now. We also understand that the only indigenous member of the Administrator's Council will be a Papuan and not a New Guinean. We hope that the Administrator will be given discretion to reconstitute his Council so as to include at least one more indigenous representative from the Trust Territory in his Council.

We are gratified to note an increase of nine in the number of Local Government Councils during the period under review, thus bringing the total to twenty-seven Councils representing a population of slightly over 200,000. It is encouraging to note that there is an increasing number of women nominating for elections to Councils and an increasing number of women voters finding places on the Council rolls. We hope that they will take an increasingly active part in local and territorial affairs, and that more and more of them will join the ranks of members of local and central legislative bodies.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

My delegation also notes with satisfaction, the establishment of a new Department of Labour and a Department of Trade and Industry in the Territory's Government. We hope that indigenous representatives will be increasingly associated with the work of these departments, vital as they are to the Territory's social and economic needs.

Some limited advances seem to have been made in the reorganization and expansion of the public services. The total number of New Guineans in the public services is rather small and they do not as yet have access to positions of responsibility and power. We hope that vastly expanded measures of in-service training for indigenous officers will lead to their rapid accession in large numbers to the highest grades in the Territory's public services.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

The distinguished Special Representative made a very painstaking effort to present to the Council the primitive nature of the circumstances the Administering Authority has to contend with in implementing its programmes of social, educational and economic advancement of the Trust Territory's people. The difficulties resulting from these circumstances are very real and considerable, and render the task of the Administering Authority an especially complex one. That basic fact must never be lost sight of in making an evaluation of the Administering Authority's achievements in all these functional fields which are both considerable and commendable. On the other hand, I cannot help giving expression to the feeling that the Territory's Administration is perhaps too much occupied with or inhibited by some of the negative aspects of the life and social organization in New Guinea. It may well be that, from the point of view of modern values and what has come to be known as modern civilization, life and the pattern of social organization in New Guinea are primitive in character. But civilization cannot be regarded as consisting in the adoption of western manners and attitudes, or in the wearing of trousers instead of lavalavas, or in eating one's meals with knives and forks instead of with one's hands. Nor can the use of bows and arrows or axes of stone by a people be taken to mean that they are primitive or uncivilized. If wars must be -- and the western civilization has not yet developed the wisdom or devised the means to end wars -- then they had, perhaps, better be fought with bows and arrows rather than with nuclear and thermo-nuclear war-heads. Many a great civilization of the past relied for their conquests and spread on weapons of stone and on bows and arrows. The ancient Greeks, I believe, wore few or no clothes, and certainly not trousers, but even today would we regard them any the less civilized for that? The concept of the state in those times hardly reached beyond the moated walls of the village or the city; and isolated city states, were, oftener than one might imagine, at war with one another -- a circumstance not unsimilar to the circumstances of New Guinea of yesterday.

The Special Representative reminded us the other day that the people of New Guinea, or at any rate those not yet under the influence and control of the Administration, have no religion, no common belief, and that they practise magic and sorcery, and that their only worship is the worship of the dead. No

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

civilization of the world has been able to rid itself completely of the fear and mystery of death: and religion in the sense practised by us of this day and age was unknown to some of the greatest civilizations of past millenia.

In saying all this I have, perhaps, stretched my point. But I hope I may be pardoned if for no other reason that this that I share this weakness with, though perhaps in greater measure than, my distinguished friend, the Special Representative. But it should be clearly understood than in saying all this I make no plea for primitivism, for the sustenance of ignorance or for buttressing the barriers of isolation. If that were so our criticism here would not be, as it often is, that in this or that field too little is done or too long a time taken in doing it. Our plea is that there should be less preoccupation with the negative aspects of what exists or does not exist, and that the more positive aspects of the situation should receive more dynamic encouragement. The human heart, the human mind and human aspirations are the same all over the world even though in isolated areas like New Guinea, civilizations that might have at one time flourished, decline, decay and lapse into less impressive states for want of the protein impact of new and rejuvenating ideas. A passage in the Administering Authority's annual report made a special impression on me, and I should like to read it out to the Council:

"The wide use of geometric pattern in decorative art suggest an early association with a highly developed culture. Though much of the art of the indigenous people is for decorative purposes" -- and that perhaps is the best definition of art -- "a great deal of it is associated with every day existence. The making and decorating of water and cooking pots has become a specialized occupation in some areas. Similarly the making and geometric patterning of baskets is a highly skilled art in the Bougainville area. The making of decorative wall matting for houses, and sleeping and floor mats has reached a high level of development in many parts of New Guinea. Wood carving is widely practised. Fine examples of mask and shield carving as well as the highly decorative tambaran houses can be found in the Sepik area." (T/1561, p.132)

These good people of New Guinea, then, are not lacking in those aspects of civilization which lent colour to life and make it more meaningful. Even more important is the fact that not only are they not indifferent, but seem anxious

(Mr. Pasgotra, India)

to learn the new ways of life, be they for good or for ill. To teach them these new ways is the great task that humanity has appropriately entrusted to Australia, a country of great pioneering people. The circumstances in which this task is being negotiated are not altogether negative. The capacity and willingness of the Administering Authority to contribute the requisite effort and the readiness and demonstrated ability of the New Guineans to receive and respond to its impact are positive assets of crucial importance. It is therefore that we urge that, in addition to all the admirable work that is being done to promote education, health and economic prosperity in the Territory, ever increasing emphasis should now be placed on the adoption of immediate, intensive measures for the political education of the Territory's indigenous people.

I should like to place on record my delegation's appreciation of the very considerable advances made in the eradication of disease in the Territory. We take note with satisfaction of the construction of new hospitals and of the expansions in other health services and facilities. There is evidence in the report to show that hospitals in the Territory are well run and that the services and advice needed by the people are freely provided to them. We appreciate that while malaria, tuberculosis, dysentery, pneumonia are not uncommon, vigorous measures are in hand to combat them. It should also be noted that while the superior personnel in health services is more or less exclusively Australian, there are significant numbers of New Guineans in junior posts such as Nursing Sisters, Dispensers, Health Aids and Orderlies etc: it is our hope that the Administering Authority will give urgent attention to the need for training New Guineans in higher professional skills in the medical field.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

I drew attention the other day to one instance of racial discrimination in the Turst Territory as well as in the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Papua: the prohibition, so far as the indigenous people are concerned, of seeing films in cinema halls frequented by non-indigenous inhabitants. No doubt, there are other instances of the kind and attention is often focussed on them by the Press not only of New Guinea but also of Australia. One observer states the problem in the following words:

"The main cinemas in Port Moresby and Lae exclude Papuans, and some stores serve them only at separate service hatches. A notice on Port Moresby's main beach, declaring it to be a 'European Swimming Area', was still there quite recently despite persistent protests. Administratively even the most advanced Papuans are still a race apart, living under the jurisdiction of a special 'Native Affairs Department' and a special code of 'Native Regulations.' Though in theory there is provision for residential integration, building covenants in fact ensure that Papuan and European householders are residentially segregated in the towns. At one milk bar in Port Moresby the management provides glasses for European customers but insists that Papuans may drink only soft drinks straight from the bottle, through a straw."

I do not wish to elaborate further on these details because we believe that the Australian Administration is itself opposed to racial discrimination. And though the annual report mentions this matter only casually, we take the assurance of the Special Representative that this whole question is under very close scrutiny and that remedial measures are in the offing. We hope to hear more about them at the Council's next session.

I gave a very great deal of detailed attention to all the various aspects of educational and economic activity in the Territory last year, and it is not my intention to repeat here what I then said. In his statements to the Council, the Special Representative has referred frequently to several of the suggestions made by us in previous years, especially last year, and we have reason to think that these suggestions are under examination with a view to their adoption as early as possible. It is also our understanding that new and vastly expanded plans of educational and economic advancement are under preparation and that the Council will be apprised of their details next year. I intend, therefore, merely to make a few general observations in these two fields with a view to explaining our point of view with respect to certain matters of basic importance.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

To take education first: the report states that "the control and direction of secular education in the Territory are the responsibility of the Administration." Further, it describes as one of the broad objectives of educational policy "the voluntary acceptance of Christianity by the indigenous people in the absence of any indigenous body of religious faith founded on indigenous teaching or ritual." The fact is that the Administration's direction and control of secular education is restricted to some 200 schools with an enrolment of 15,000 pupils. The emphasis in 2,616 Mission schools with 115,000 pupils is on religious instruction from the first grade upwards. There is, therefore, too little of secular education available in the first place; and secondly, in the prevailing circumstances the "acceptance of Christianity by the indigenous people" can hardly be regarded as altogether voluntary. It is hard for an international Organization like this to be called upon in this manner to comment on or to give approval to a system of education which puts a premium on denominational instruction. It is our considered view that education must primarily be the responsibility of the Administration; that the aim of education should be to bring awakening and enlightenment and to impart techniques to the people who should be free to choose whatever religion they will when they feel competent to exercise the choice. The Territory's Administration must therefore assume an increasingly expanded role in undertaking to disseminate education in the Territory and a recommendation to that effect is on the record of the Trusteeship Council.

We note the new measures that the Administering Authority has taken for the recruitment of teachers, for their training and for the consolidation of existing Mission schools. There is a continuing need to increase the scope and frequency of governmental inspection of Mission schools and of bringing the great majority of these schools to the requisite standards. May I, in passing, say that it seems to us that the standards maintained in Government schools are excellent. The need for manifold improvements and a great expansion in the facilities of secondary education cannot be overemphasized. A new high school has been opened in the Territory and we hope that several more of such schools will be developed in the next two or three years. At present, secondary education is much too selective and that is unsatisfactory. In this field of education rather than in any other a great concentration of effort, funds and attention is immediately needed.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

We noted with deep dismay the other day from an answer given by the Special Representative to one of my questions that there is as yet not a single indigenous graduate or undergraduate from New Guinea. Even the smallest of Trust Territories with no more than 76,000 inhabitants, namely the Pacific Islands, which I had the privilege of visiting earlier this year, offers a refreshing contrast to this situation in New Guinea in this regard. We hope that extremely urgent attention will now be paid to the creation of an educated elite, and I use this expression advisedly, in the Territory. Education at the university level should also take into account the inevitable necessity of making intensive political education available to suitable people who will in due course, be able to assume the burdens of administration in positions of high responsibility.

Quite apart from the difficulties that the multiplicity of numerous languages and dialects in the Territory poses in other fields of development, it seems to us that to a great degree even educational policy is obsessed with an undue preoccupation with this situation. Education in English, which alone may answer the needs, rather than in Pidgin, Kotte, Motu or a vernacular is too little developed. Lately research has tended to show that perhaps all these 500 or 600 "languages" so-called are mere dialectical variations of three or four language families. The more relevant factor, however, is that none of these can serve as a suitable medium of instruction at any stage of schooling: for, none has an extensive vocabulary, or a script of its own.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

In none of these languages is there any literature for a student to fall back upon after attaining literacy to keep from lapsing into illiteracy. We therefore feel that, in order to make for uniformity in the standards of instruction all over the Territory and to enable elementary education to serve as a proper basis for the profitable pursuit of secondary and higher education, all such instructions should be in one language, and that language should be English.

In the economic field we note with satisfaction the considerable expansion in production and the increase in revenues. The increase in the minimum wage, though meagre, is welcome. The expansions in industry are less noticeable, but the establishment of a new Department of Industries is evidence of a new and more dynamic approach, and we hope that this will bring about quick results.

The sugar industry, if I may be allowed to return to my pet theme, offers, in our view, definite possibilities which, we are told, are being explored. In the estimation of several Australian sources the potential of sugar production in New Guinea is so great that a sugar industry of a suitable production capacity may be expected to compete successfully with the Queensland sugar industry. In all the circumstances taken together, this area of future economic activity seems particularly suited for a joint enterprise by the Government of the Territory and its people.

Fisheries have a potential, and efforts will no doubt be made and concentrated in exploiting it. In brief, a great deal more needs to be done to expand the Territory's export to Australia and other countries of the world, and to restrict imports so as to save foreign exchange and capital for the import of more essential capital goods.

I drew attention to the fact that where New Guinea products can compete with Australian products there has been opposition in some parts of Australia to importation from New Guinea. Tariff Board inquiries have led to the imposition of quotas on certain commodities, and we understand that traffic between New Guinea and Australia pays exceptionally high freight rates. The relaxation of these restrictions will, in our view, encourage greater exports from the Territory to Australia, and an increase in earnings in this way will create the necessary incentives for increasing production.

The Council has been informed that special attention is now being given to the development of surface transport -- that is to say, roads -- in the Trust Territory. We hope to hear more about a programme in this field next year. In a Territory like New Guinea almost the entire future economic development is dependent on the building of all-weather roads which will bring the produce from various parts of the country down to the ports.

There is an apparent need for considerable expansions in the agricultural extension services also. It seems doubtful to us whether the effort of the Administering Authority in this and in other fields of development in New Guinea are of a scale commensurate with the problems of New Guinea. Large schemes of agricultural improvement, educational expansion and improvement, resettlement, development of water and mineral resources and the establishment of light industries and improvements in communications all demand public investment on a scale far above the present level.

Most of Australia's present annual contribution -- and we commend them for the contribution they make -- to the revenues of Papua and New Guinea, even though it now approaches £14 million, is swallowed up in current expenses and is widely -- perhaps too widely -- distributed. If the tempo of development is to be stepped up, a far larger contribution will be necessary, at least for the next few years, when local resources may reach a more adequate level of development and the Territory can provide a higher proportion of its own investment needs.

Until now emphasis has mainly been on attracting private Australian investment, whether for the establishment of industry or for the extension of agriculture. We would suggest that the Administration should now, in partnership with the indigenous people, enter into both of these fields. In the field of primary production a local farmer or peasant is not likely, on his own, to be able to raise production much above the present level. Though he receives advice from the Administration as regards new techniques and methods, he has little or no capital to invest in the acquisition of machinery; and facilities for obtaining loans are greatly limited. The development of agricultural and other producers' co-operatives should, therefore, be given special attention; and it might be useful to set up a department for the promotion of such activity.

The other day I raised the question of land alienation in the Council. To what I said then I should like to add that we appreciate that the Administering Authority's policy in this matter has undergone a change, and there is little doubt that it is anxious to safeguard the present and future needs and interests of the people of the Territory in this matter. We hope, therefore, that land alienation and the leasing thereof to Australians and other non-indigenous people will cease completely before long.

Far-reaching reforms in the system of land tenure are needed, and it is equally necessary that these should be implemented without delay. This is a field in which the Administering Authority might usefully seek the advice and assistance of the specialized agency concerned. The Territory's circumstances, in our view, call for a system of co-operative ownership and exploitation of land by the indigenous people. That is the only way in which they may be expected -- and that, too, with Government assistance -- to compete with the small group of highly organized and prosperous non-indigenous settlers.

Potentially, New Guinea is a rich country; and once its resources are brought to an adequate level of development, it should be possible for it to meet its own needs, though it will take some time to reach that level. In the meantime, every possible source of revenue must be fully exploited.

In this general context the removal of import restrictions and a reduction in, or abolition of, import duties seem unfortunate to us. The introduction of the income tax, in itself a welcome measure, does not appear to be intended to bring in additional revenue. The continuation of personal tax on all able-bodied New Guineans over a certain age remains subject to the objections which have been voiced in this Council in previous years. We expect that the Council's unanimous recommendation of last year concerning the elimination of this tax will soon be implemented by the Administering Authority.

The rates of the new income tax are, in our view, low and should soon undergo and upward revision. It seems unfair that while a New Guinean with an annual income, let us say, of £50 or £75 has to pay a personal tax of £2 per annum in addition to local government council taxes, a non-indigenous resident of the Territory with an annual income of £300 pays only a little over £3 by way of income tax under the existing provisions. We hope this situation will be modified shortly.

(Mrs. Rasgotra, India)

In conclusion, let me say once again how well my delegation recognizes the difficulties which the administration faces in New Guinea. Much has already been done in overcoming these difficulties; but much more yet remains to be done in the short time remaining. Basically the approach of the Administering Authority is sound, and there are many successes to its credit; but a much more expanded effort is now called for, and we are confident that this effort will be forthcoming.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the Council's attention to the suggestion made a few moments ago by the representative of India to the effect that the sole remaining administrative union, namely that between New Guinea and Papua, should be the subject of attention of the Drafting Committee on New Guinea. Thus there would be no need for a separate report from the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions. If this suggestion is adopted, the Council might decide here and now to disband the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): We fully support the proposal that the question of administrative unions be considered directly by the Trusteeship Council and, if it is necessary in individual instances, by the Drafting Committees. We consider that the time has definitely come to disband the Committee on Administrative Unions. It may have played an important role in the past, but now all questions connected with administrative unions should be considered directly by the Trusteeship Council.

Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand): My delegation is in favour of having the question of the administrative union between Papua and New Guinea considered by the Drafting Committee on New Guinea, not because we consider that the administrative union needs any special attention but because this happens to be the last, loveliest and loneliest administrative union that the Council has before it. Therefore, it seems rather unnecessary to go to all the trouble to convene the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions to deal with one administrative union. It is for this reason that I am in favour of the suggestion made by the representative of India.

Mr. ACLY (United States of America): As Chairman of the Committee in question, the Committee on Administrative Unions, I should like to associate my delegation with the views expressed by the representatives of India, New Zealand and the Soviet Union, but I wish to point out that the reasoning of my delegation corresponds to that expressed by the representative of New Zealand.

Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (interpretation from Spanish): As a member of the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions, I should like to say that we strongly support the suggestion made by the representative of India.

Mr. RIFAI (United Arab Republic): Apparently silence no longer means agreement, and for that reason I should like to state for the record that my delegation is in agreement with the suggestion made by the representative of India.

The PRESIDENT: Since there are no objections, I take it that the Council agrees to disband the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I should like, on behalf of the Council, to thank the Chairman and the members of the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions for the work they have undertaken in presenting reports to us.

Mr. de CAMARET (France) (interpretation from French): Could we not take the same decision with respect to the Committee on Rural Economic Development in Trust Territories?

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Since we have started talking about various committees, perhaps the President might deem it appropriate to consider the suggestion just made by the representative of France. We believe that there is a large number of superfluous auxiliary organs of the Trusteeship Council which have outlived their usefulness and that we could do some housecleaning in this field at this meeting

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

and at subsequent meetings. If we could disband two superfluous committees at this meeting, it would be a good beginning and there would be less for us to do at subsequent meetings. We therefore support the suggestion made by the representative of France to disband the Committee on Rural Economic Development in Trust Territories and to have the questions with which that Committee has been dealing examined directly by the Trusteeship Council. All the necessary conditions exist for undertaking this action.

Mr. RASGOTRA (India): I hesitate to say anything because the Council seems to be in a rather destructive frame of mind at the moment. I think we should be content at this stage with taking a decision with respect to the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions, because that decision will have a relevance to the work of the Drafting Committee which I presume will be appointed shortly. I believe that the retention or abolition of the Committee on Rural Economic Development in Trust Territories should be taken up separately at a later stage so that we can discuss all the various aspects involved. I believe that the Committee could be disbanded, but I would suggest that we leave the decision to a later date.

The PRESIDENT: I would like to give some thought to the suggestion made by the representative of France, and perhaps other members would also like to examine the records to see whether the Committee should be abolished. I entirely agree with the representative of India that the Council should consider this matter at a later stage along with other related matters.

I understand that the closing statement of the Administering Authority will be given at our meeting on Thursday afternoon, 15 June.

STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I wish to say a few words concerning the verbatim record of the Trusteeship Council's 1145th meeting, which took place yesterday, 12 June 1961.

There is an error in the English verbatim record of the statement by the Soviet Union representative on the subject of the report of the Secretariat on credentials of representatives in the Trusteeship Council. For some reason, the English verbatim record shows the Soviet Union representative as having referred to the "report of the Secretary-General on the credentials ...". For well-known and fully understandable reasons, the Soviet Union representative could not have said such a thing. The Soviet Union does not recognize Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General, and we therefore consider that the United Nations now has no Secretary-General.

I have before me the Russian text of our statement on this subject. This text has been checked with the sound recording and it reflects very accurately what was said by the Soviet Union representative. I should like to read out the text so that the Secretariat may make the necessary corrections in the official records of the Trusteeship Council. What we said on this subject was the following:

"In connexion with the consideration of the report of the Secretariat on the credentials of representatives in the Trusteeship Council (T/1570), the Soviet Union delegation deems it essential to point out that in this report, under the heading 'China', reference is made to persons who have absolutely no right to represent China ...".

That is the exact text of our statement, and we request that the necessary measures be taken to include it in the records of the Trusteeship Council, since we attribute an importance of principle to this matter.

The PRESIDENT: The Secretariat will make the necessary corrections in the statement made yesterday by the Soviet Union representative.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.