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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWELVE HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 4 June 1965, at 3 p.m.

President:

Mr. NAUDY

(France)

1. Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General [9] (continued)
2. Dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General [10]
3. Report of the Secretary-General on credentials [2]
4. Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands [4a] (continued)

Note:

The Official Record of this meeting, i.e. the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.1249 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

AGENDA ITEM 9

OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF TRUST TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (T/1637) (continued)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Council will now continue examination of the report of the Secretary-General on offers of study and training facilities to inhabitants of Trust Territories by Member States of the United Nations, as found in document T/1637. Members will recall that at yesterday afternoon's meeting we were unable to conclude our consideration of this item of our agenda. Is there any delegation that wishes to make any comments on document T/1637?

Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): It is beyond doubt that one of the most vital needs in the Trust Territories today is education. The Administering Authorities themselves have freely attested to this fact, yet they have created a paradox by their consistent refusal to accept scholarship offers from Member States. I pointed out yesterday the untenable excuse, which is that they are in a position to facilitate all educational opportunities for the inhabitants of their Territories and that it is consequently unnecessary to accept scholarships from States Members of the United Nations. My delegation is unaware of any State that is so self-sufficient that it does not stand to gain from educational experience acquired in other States. During my recent trip to New Guinea I heard the inhabitants ask constantly whether it was at all possible to study in countries other than Australia. There is a yearning on the part of these people to expand their horizons, to get a broader perspective of education in general and life in particular. Yet the Administering Authority seems bent on limiting these horizons and perspectives. I hasten to admit that there are New Guineans and Nauruans studying in Australia, and I am sure that these lucky ones are most grateful. The fact remains, however, that there are only a limited number that have so far been given this opportunity, and the reasons for this I should not like to discuss at this juncture.

UNESCO has published in its handbook for 1964-1966 information pertaining to the various offers; yet the people are still denied the chance to utilize these offers, especially at this crucial stage of their development. I am convinced that it would be to the betterment of these people if they were freed of the apparent restrictions imposed on them with regard to study abroad, and I humbly request the Administering Authority to reconsider its position.

We in Africa are indebted to all countries that have opened their universities to us. We know that without this kind assistance our pace of development would have been considerably less. We want the same things for our brothers in Papua and New Guinea. We want every opportunity for advancement to be scrupulously seized and every avenue considered that will lead to this advancement. We even want the Administering Authorities to facilitate travel expenses where they are not provided for and to give every opportunity to the inhabitants of their Territories for obtaining education abroad. We were happy to be informed yesterday by the representative of the United States that the people of the Pacific Islands have finally been permitted to accept scholarships granted under the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. We welcome this new endeavour on the part of the Government of the United States.

We look forward to the day when all States will regard education as so important an ingredient in human upliftment that consideration of this factor will go beyond ideological differences and people will be free to study and work together for the advancement of mankind.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): Before continuing our meeting, I should like to announce that, among the distinguished personalities present at today's meeting of the Council, is Mr. Bingham who, as representatives are aware, was the head of the United States delegation to the Council and has served as its President. Mr. Bingham is now a member of the Congress of the United States, and I think that I shall be speaking on behalf of the Council as a whole in extending to him a cordial welcome and assuring him of our pleasure in having him with us today.

Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America): I should like to thank the representative of Liberia for the clarification which he has given of his statement last evening. As you know, Mr. President, I asked for the floor at that time, but it was decided that we should adjourn and meet again today. I felt then that I should clarify our position because he had said that the Administering Authorities were afraid of allowing their students to study abroad. I do appreciate, however, that he has taken into consideration what I said yesterday and has clarified the stand of his delegation.

However, I should like to clarify this point a little further for the representative of Liberia. He said that he was glad that we had finally permitted our students to accept scholarships under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. I wish to assure him that they have made use of such scholarships over a period of many years. There have been usually about three every year over a long period of time. Therefore, he will be glad to know that it is not just a recent decision or a recent activity on their part.

I should also like to say to the representative of Liberia -- and I hope that he will appreciate and accept it -- that there is no refusal on the part of the United States Government or the Administering Authority of the Trust Territory to permit students and even to assist them to accept scholarships offered by Member States, which is the basic item under discussion. This is not our policy. We support the programme. I cited yesterday the example of one young man who had obtained an application and had studied it, but had

gone off on another programme to another foreign country. So I would assure the representative of Liberia once more that we are not opposed to this programme and that students continue to have an opportunity to see whether these scholarships are useful to them.

I should like to add that, because the second language of the people of Micronesia is English, they usually prefer a scholarship which is offered in English.

Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation wishes to make a few comments in connexion with the remarks which we have heard from the delegations of Australia and the United States in respect of the statement made yesterday by our delegation on the question now being considered by the Trusteeship Council.

The representative of Australia was good enough to suggest that the Soviet delegation should not draw rash conclusions as to the situation with regard to scholarships offered to inhabitants of the Trust Territories of New Guinea and Nauru. The delegation of Australia knows that the Soviet delegation has always shown plenty of patience when there was any prospect of hearing something new, something that might possibly alter the position of the Soviet delegation on a particular point. However, many years' experience in the work of the Trusteeship Council have taught us a lesson, namely, that it is difficult to expect any substantial changes in matters which are of real importance, such as the question of offering the inhabitants of the Trust Territories the opportunity of obtaining an education under the United Nations scholarship programme. I can assure the representative of Australia that if, in what the Council is to hear with regard to the situation in the two Trust Territories under Australian administration, something new is presented which will indicate a genuine and substantial change, the Soviet delegation will be glad to correct its opinion. It will be glad to welcome any such change. But I must confess in advance that, if anything, the Soviet delegation has a feeling of pessimism.

The representative of Australia went on to say that the Administering Authority has certain specific responsibilities for the Trust Territories and that the Administering Authority is best qualified to know whether the inhabitants of those Trust Territories ought to acquire knowledge and education in New Guinea, Australia, or anywhere else.

I do not wish to recall the history of similar statements made in respect of the inhabitants of Trust Territories located in other parts of the world. I think that in this case, as in the case of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the principle is correct according to which it is those peoples themselves who must decide all important questions, aside from such comparatively less important matters as the question whether they ought or ought not to accept scholarships under the United Nations programme.

With regard to the statement of the representative of Australia to the effect that his country, in any capacity, including that of Administering Authority, has no control over the minds of people, I shall ascribe that statement to the modesty of the representative of Australia.

The representative of the United States made a very important statement yesterday. If I understood him correctly, the purport of his remarks was that the United States supports the programme of scholarships of the United Nations.

(Mr. Fotin, USSR)

The Soviet delegation would like to believe this statement made by the United States delegation, but in this case, as often happens with our United States colleagues, there is a difference between words and deeds. For example, if the United States supports the scholarship programme of the United Nations, then why did its delegation at the thirty-first session of the Trusteeship Council vote against an amendment submitted by the Soviet Union on this question to the draft recommendation of the Trusteeship Council concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands? That amendment was contained in paragraph 13 of document T/L.1083. The United States delegation was the only delegation that voted against that amendment. I shall read out that amendment so that the members of the Council will understand clearly what it is about. Paragraph 13 of that document reads as follows:

"Insert the following after the first sentence of the present paragraph 16" -- this was in regard to the draft conclusions and recommendations of the Council on the Pacific Islands:

"The Council notes the request contained in resolution No. 34-1964 of 10 February 1964 of the Mariana Islands District Legislature that Micronesians should be granted scholarships and fellowships under the United Nations programme for inhabitants of Trust Territories."

That was the text of the amendment submitted by the Soviet Union at the thirty-first session of the Trusteeship Council. Three delegations voted for this amendment, one delegation, the United States, voted against it, and four delegations abstained.

The next paragraph of the same text read as follows:

"14. Add the following new sub-paragraph to the present paragraph 16:

"(vi) Use should be made of the opportunities for education and vocational training offered to inhabitants of the Trust Territory under the United Nations scholarship programme."

One delegation voted in favour of that amendment, four delegations voted against; one delegation -- I think it was France -- abstained; the delegation of Liberia was not present during the vote. I do not think that there is any need to indicate which delegations voted against this Soviet amendment.

(Mr. Fotin, USSR)

Under these conditions, when we hear similar statements made by the representative of the United States, we do not just rush in and take them at their face value since there are facts that indicate that such statements do not correspond either to the realities or to the real position of the United States on this question.

I have one last observation to make. If I am not mistaken -- and the representative of the United States can correct me if I am, and I very willingly will take note of what he says -- to my knowledge in the universities in the United States there are special programmes for the purpose of encouraging students in American institutions of higher learning to make trips for educational purposes to the countries of Europe and Asia and, most recently now, to the countries of Africa. Under these conditions, I think I can legitimately state that what is good for American students should not be forbidden for the inhabitants of Trust Territories.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): If there are no further comments, may I suggest that the Council take note of the report of the Secretary-General contained in document T/1637 and that it call the attention of the Administering Authorities to the comments made by the members of the Council during the discussion of this report.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 10

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM IN TRUST TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (T/1634 and Corr.1 (F))

Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Secretary-General's report on the question of dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories has been presented to the thirty-second session of the Trusteeship Council in document T/1634, dated 18 May 1965. The Soviet delegation wishes to make the following comments in connexion with this report.

On reading the report of the Secretary-General, as well as the information presented by the Administering Authorities for the consideration of the thirty-second session of the Trusteeship Council, one first of all immediately becomes conscious of the fact that the situation regarding the dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories reflects a general lag and a general falling short in the Trusteeship Council of the requirements of the times, from the new conditions that have been created in the United Nations and outside of it after the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and people. This declaration thus far has not yet become, as far as the Administering Authorities are concerned, the guiding document which should be followed in seeking ways and means for bringing the Trust Territories to self-determination and independence. The Soviet delegation considers that if firm and resolute measures are adopted in this regard the colonial Powers will of course not hurry and be hasty, as experience has shown. This is also applicable to the question of the dissemination of information on the United Nations. The Declaration has not yet become that basic document which the Administering Authorities and the corresponding organs of the United Nations ought to place in the very forefront of all of their activities in the field of information on the United Nations.

This is the duty of the Administering Authorities and of the information organs of the United Nations in the first instance, because the activities connected with the Declaration on the granting of independence and those which flow from that Declaration, in particular those with which the Special Committee of Twenty-Four is concerned, have become the core of the work of the Organization in the entire area of colonialism and related subjects.

Secondly, in the last two decisions of the United Nations General Assembly dealing with the question of the dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories, a special place was given to the question of the dissemination of the Declaration on the granting of independence and on the explanation of its principles. Thus, in operative paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 1607 (XV), the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General:

"to ensure the immediate and mass publication and the widest possible circulation and dissemination, in all the Trust Territories through all media of mass communication of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples."

Operative paragraph 8 of that resolution requested:

"that the information referred to in the present resolution should be disseminated in the principal local languages as well as in the language of the Administering Authority."

In General Assembly resolution 1644 (XVI), the General Assembly took note of the report of the Secretary-General on the dissemination in the Trust Territories through all media of mass communication of information on the United Nations and on the International Trusteeship System, and likewise gave priority to activity related to "the dissemination in the Trust Territories through all media of mass communication, in the principal local languages as well as in the language of the Administering Authority, of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples".

Unfortunately, we must note that the spirit of these General Assembly resolutions has not yet been translated into practice in the Trust Territories themselves. This fact is reflected in the report of the Secretary-General presented to the thirty-second session of the Trusteeship Council. Although

reference is made in paragraph 3 of the report to the fact that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was among the United Nations publications that were distributed in Trust Territories, an analysis of the content of some of the material mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General shows that activity in this field is still very far from meeting the requirements set down in the decisions of the General Assembly.

The impression is created that now, as in the past, everything is being done in order to pass over in silence the Declaration and the resolutions and recommendations of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. Foremost among these are the provisions which apply to Trust Territories which the Special Committee of Twenty-Four considered at its sessions in 1964.

It is no accident, therefore, that in the Trusteeship Council the representatives of the United States and the special representatives did not find any room in their introductory statements to mention the Declaration on the granting of independence of 14 December 1960. Nor was there any room to mention the recommendations of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. When they were practically forced to refer to these documents, they then spoke of them through their teeth.

I should now like to proceed to the publications mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General. It is stated on page 4 that certain material is sent for publication to the Micronesian Reporter, which is published by the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This is presented in the report as a fact. It will be seen that some degree of co-operation is expected on the part of the editors of the magazine as well as on the part of the Administering Authority, which publishes it. However, an examination of the magazine, especially Nos. 5, 6 and 7 of volume XII, for the five-month period from July to November 1964, shows that the magazine literally does not have a word in it on the practical activities of the United Nations, especially in the field of decolonization. Of course, there is not a word about the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples or on the activities of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. This is so even though the Special Committee considered the situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands at the end of October and the beginning of November 1964.

We note further in the report that the message of the President of the Trusteeship Council was disseminated among the inhabitants of the Trust Territory in connexion with the observance of United Nations Day. The Micronesian Reporter, on page 17 of its No. 7 issue, confirms that this message was read out by the Deputy Regional Administration of Palau in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the brief official ceremony devoted to the United Nations. But the Trusteeship Council should be interested not only in the reading out of the message but also in its content. However, the message of the President of the Security Council for 1964 referred to the political and economic development of Trust Territories, to the work of the Trusteeship Council and to the trusteeship system. But there was not one word on the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, a document which the Soviet delegation and, we believe, many other delegations of United Nations Members, consider to be one of the highest accomplishments of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

The Soviet delegation has not had the opportunity of making a more thorough analysis of the report of the Secretary-General because, in spite of the numerous reminders -- I should like to point out that these reminders were made at three previous sessions of the Trusteeship Council -- no measures have been taken thus far to make available to the members of the Trusteeship Council any copies of the basic documents that are enumerated in the reports of the Secretary-General on this subject.

(Mr. Fotin, USSR)

We should also indicate that even that material which is sent by the Secretariat of the United Nations to the Trust Territories is not always able to reach the populations of the Pacific Islands, New Guinea and Nauru, nor does it reach them on time, as is known from on-the-spot information.

The question of dissemination of information on the United Nations has even been made the subject of a special resolution, No. 40-1964, of 10 February 1964, adopted by the Regional Legislative Council of the Mariana Islands, which was handed to the Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in 1964. I am referring to document T/1620/Add.1, page 11.

In the resolution there is a request made to the Trusteeship Council to take steps to accelerate the dissemination, throughout the entire Territory, of information on the United Nations. We can only regret that the Council, some of whose members apparently are not interested in the will of the people of the Trust Territory, overlooked, at its thirty-first session, the above-mentioned resolution of the Regional Legislative Council of the Mariana Islands.

The Soviet delegation considers that the question of informing the populations of Trust Territories on the activities of the United Nations in so important an area as decolonization is an important matter which, if properly handled, can act as a counter-weight to the attempts of the colonial Powers to prevent the peoples of the Trust Territories from becoming fully conscious of their own right to self-determination and independence, human dignity and social progress.

The Soviet delegation wishes to insist that an end be put to the improper method of dissemination of information on the United Nations, especially with respect to the dissemination of information on the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. In the view of the Soviet delegation, the Council must require from the Information Centre of the United Nations in New Guinea that it place as the cornerstone of all its activity in that area the dissemination of information on resolution 1514 (XV), as well as explanations of the principles contained therein.

(Mr. Fotin, USSR)

It is necessary to bring to the attention of the Secretary-General the wishes of the Council, and even the wishes of some delegations in the Council, on this subject so that the Secretary-General might take the necessary steps; and the Administering Powers, in the opinion of the Soviet delegation, should comply with the Council's requirements to abide by all the decisions to which the Soviet delegation has referred in the present statement.

Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America): I wish to assure the Council that the United States has made considerable efforts to assure dissemination of information regarding the United Nations and the Trusteeship system. We believe that we should continue these efforts, and we will constantly endeavour to improve them. We are, of course, willing to discuss with the Secretary-General any other steps which might be feasible to increase the availability in the Trust Territory of relevant information about the United Nations.

I believe that the document which is the subject of our agenda item, T/1634, paragraphs 12-16 -- which I will not have to put into the record, since they are all here -- go into great detail on the efforts of the High Commissioner to distribute various materials about the United Nations. It is here for all of us to read.

In addition, I would like to report that, in particular, the Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1964, was distributed to all members of the Council of Micronesia and to all District Congress officers. As you know, there are six District Congresses.

With respect to the Marianas District Legislature, its members were informed that the information they sought was available in elementary and local high schools, in the municipal offices, and in the other Administration offices. I trust they were satisfied by that.

The representative of the Soviet Union makes a great deal of the question of resolution 1514 (XV), the resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; and I am glad he did, because I have put into the record here a number of times before, and am glad to do so again, that we, with the assistance of the Office of Public Information

(Mr. Dickinson, United States)

of the United Nations, had some 15,000 copies of that Declaration translated into seven major local languages; it also was translated into two secondary languages and distributed widely throughout the Territory. That is approximately 15,000 copies of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, on which he lays so much stress.

We also distributed approximately 15,000 additional copies in English. This is a total of 30,000 copies. I think the figure was around 33,000, but for the moment let us say approximately 30,000. Since there are somewhat fewer than 90,000 people in the Territory, that means one copy was distributed for every three people -- men, women and children. It was distributed in schools, in Administration offices; it was distributed even in markets. I suppose we could have sent out 90,000 copies, but I submit that one copy for every three people is quite sufficient and, perhaps, unparalleled elsewhere in the world.

In 1964, the Visiting Mission that went to the Territory had the following to say in paragraph 65 of its report, and I would like to quote it:

"The Administration has done a good job of disseminating general information about the United Nations. In most schools and public offices United Nations posters and other information material was in evidence. The flag of the United Nations flew prominently from public buildings in all districts. There could be no doubt that by and large the people were aware of the United Nations."

The Report goes on to say that we could have done more in transmitting relevant United Nations documents concerning deliberations of the Trusteeship Council.

We accept this criticism; we will try to do more in this respect, and we believe we are doing more.

If there is any doubt about the dissemination of information about the United Nations, I would like also to quote from paragraph 8 of the Visiting Mission's Report:

"Throughout the Territory, the Mission encountered warm and sympathetic interest in its work and in that of the United Nations. Children sang songs about the United Nations; banners of welcome were spread; everywhere, by Micronesians and by United States officials, the United Nations was given every respect as a body which had in mind only the interest and well-being

(Mr. Dickinson, United States)

of the people of the Territory. It was seldom indeed that in discussing the problems of the Territory either Micronesians or United States officials refrained from sharing with the Mission their ideas and criticisms."

I would submit to this Council that we have made an outstanding effort in respect of the dissemination of information about the United Nations -- and particularly information about the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Of course, there is room for improvement. We shall constantly strive to provide even more information to the people of the Territory through all media.

Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): I do not intend to make a long statement on this subject -- if only because the items on the Australian Territories are not yet before the Council, and I believe that it would be better to place the relevant facts and figures and information regarding trends and developments before this Council in the context of those agenda items.

My delegation believes that the observations that have been made this afternoon by the representative of the Soviet Union are not in general soundly based on the United Nations document before the Council or in accordance with the information provided in that document.

I shall take as an example only one passage of that document. In all justice I must say that the representative of the Soviet Union invited the Council's attention to that passage, but, as I understood it, he proceeded to distort the meaning of the very simple statement contained therein. This example relates to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. To support my observation that the Soviet representative's remarks were not soundly based on this document, I should like to quote the following words from the document:

"Among the publications widely distributed in the Territories during the year were: (i) The United Nations Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples ...". (T/1634, p. 2)

That is a categorical statement, made by the Secretariat on the basis of information available from all sources. Moreover, so far as Australia's largest Territory, New Guinea, is concerned, the statement is made on the basis of information available from the United Nations Information Centre established in Port Moresby by the United Nations at the request of this Council and as a result of the

generosity of the Australian Government and the Administration, which has given every assistance, including provision of the very premises in which that Information Centre carries out its activities, the vehicles that it requires, and so forth; all that is generously provided by the Administration of Papua and New Guinea so that the Information Centre may accomplish its tasks.

I turn now to the statement made by the Soviet representative to the effect that the colonial Powers -- and by that I suppose he means us -- are trying to hush up the activities of the Committee of Twenty-Four. I would draw his attention to the fact that in Papua and New Guinea and in Australia there are news media -- principally radios and newspapers -- which gather the news from all over the world. There is no way in which the Australian Administration in the Territory could hush up the activities of the Committee of Twenty-Four, even if it wanted to -- and why it would want to I cannot see, since Australia is a member, and a vocal member, of the Committee of Twenty-Four. The Committee of Twenty-Four meets in the Chamber adjoining this one; its meetings are public. There is an unfettered, untrammelled Press both in Australia and in New Guinea, which, as I have said, gathers news from all sources. It is in Australia's interest that the proceedings of the Committee of Twenty-Four should be widely published. I can assure the Soviet representative that I, personally, would be bitterly disappointed if my words of wisdom in the Committee of Twenty-Four were deliberately hushed up by the New Guinea Administration and did not appear in the Press there. I can assure him that they are not being hushed up.

I do not wish to join issue on matters of detail with the representative of the Soviet Union. I wished simply to make those observations and to state that we believe that the remarks made by the Soviet representative are not in accordance with the information contained in the document to which he addressed himself.

Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): I do not know whether there is any precedent for what I am about to request. However, in order to make a statement on the item under discussion, I should like the President to invite the Special Representative of the United States again to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Goding, Special Representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under United States administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): I should like to quote the following sentence from the report of the Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands:

"The Mission understands that a supervisor of Library Services for the Territory is shortly to be appointed and it recommends that this officer should be responsible for ensuring that relevant United Nations documents be distributed throughout the school system." (T/1620, para. 65)

I should like to ask the Special Representative whether that recommendation of the Visiting Mission has been implemented.

Mr. GODING (Special Representative): The answer is: yes. We have designated a Central Librarian, and he has been given that responsibility.

Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): I personally did not have the opportunity to visit the Pacific Islands, but a member of my delegation who did requested me to obtain this information and I am very happy to have received the answer.

The Council will soon have before it a copy of the 1965 Visiting Mission's Report to the Territories of New Guinea and Nauru. I do not intend at this juncture to furnish the Council with information it will soon receive. However, on behalf of my delegation and myself, I should like to say that my delegation is completely dissatisfied with the dissemination of information in the Trust Territory of New Guinea. As we promised, we are not going to furnish the Council with more information concerning this, but I strongly believe that the lack of sufficient information being disseminated in the Territory is the responsibility or should be the responsibility of the official assigned there by the United Nations who, we were given to understand, has now resigned; he was kind enough to wait until the Visiting Mission had completed its visit. But the apparent lack is so vivid within the Territory that the people do not even know what their responsibility is to the United Nations or what the United Nations responsibility is to them. I think it is a regrettable situation and I invite members of the Council to look at that pertinent section of the report of the Visiting Mission when it is formally presented.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): Are there any other comments on this item of the agenda?

Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Under my right of reply to, and by way of documentary on, what was stated by the representatives of the United States and Australia, the Soviet delegation would wish to say the following.

First, in speaking of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Soviet delegation had adduced facts and practically nothing else. The Soviet delegation had referred to official publications, to a magazine that is published by the Administering Authority in the Trust Territory, presumably for internal consumption in the Territory, to be read by the inhabitants of the Territory in order that they might get information from it, including information on the United Nations -- not only formal information but information which would contain a wealth of substance.

However, in spite of all our endeavours to find information on the practical activities of the United Nations which would be of a substantial character, we were unsuccessful. It is true that in the publication to which the Soviet delegation referred to, The Micronesian Reporter, there is reference to the United Nations; in some issues there is even a description of the way in which United Nations Day was celebrated in the various districts, but there is nothing at all there on the more important issues that are being examined by the United Nations.

In our opinion one can legitimately ask the question whether an organ of the Administration of the Trust Territory ought to omit and not publish some brief information on what is happening in the United Nations, on the events which concern them and the principles that are defended here by the various delegations in the various organs of the United Nations. It seems to me that such a state of affairs is strange to say the least.

The United States is not the only party in the relationship with the Trust Territories; there is also the United Nations, through the intermediary of which the populations of the Pacific Territories are under trusteeship.

Secondly, I am rather sorry that the representative of the United States had so abruptly stopped his quotation of paragraph 65 of the Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for 1964. Perhaps it is characteristic that when representatives of the United States come to a paragraph or a passage which they do not like, especially those parts which contain criticism of the way in which the United States is implementing its trusteeship over the Pacific Islands, and also contains certain proposals, apart from praise, they prefer to stop.

I should like to continue the quotation from the point where the representative of the United States stopped. Unfortunately, I do not have the Russian text with me and I shall read as best I can in English:

(Spoke in English)

"At the same time, relevant United Nations documents concerning the deliberations of the Trusteeship Council and the reports of visiting missions did not seem to reach a number of people to whom, in the view of the Mission," --

(continued in Russian)

I should like to point out here that this is "in the view of the Mission" and not only the delegation of the Soviet Union.--

(Spoke in English)

"... these documents would be useful. The Mission suggests that the Administration might request a greater number of documents from the United Nations in order to arrange a distribution throughout the Territory, including all district congresses and all secondary schools. The Mission understands that a supervisor of Library Services for the Territory is shortly to be appointed and it recommends that this officer should be responsible for ensuring that relevant United Nations documents be distributed throughout the school system. The Mission suggests that a United Nations fellowship..."

(continued in Russian)

When I read that I could not believe my eyes:

(Spoke in English)

"be awarded to a Micronesian Library Assistant to familiarize him with United Nations documentation. If the Mission's suggestions in section (h) above were followed up and school libraries were developed into community libraries, these would be ideal centres at which people could consult United Nations documents." (T/1620)

(continued in Russian)

In the view of the Soviet delegation this is a most interesting passage, written by the Visiting Mission of the Council which consisted of several members of the Council who had made a number of suggestions that deserve the most careful attention, analysis and implementation by the Administering Authority.

Lastly, in regard to the statement of the representative of Australia I do not think that, after hearing at this meeting of the Council the highly interesting statement of the representative of Liberia, there is any need to say much on that score. However, on behalf of my delegation, I should like to express the hope that that generosity of the Administering Authority towards the United Nations Information Centre, which the representative has spoken of so much, would not be harmful to the activities of the Centre and that the activities of the Centre would not be made dependent upon that generosity.

Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): I should have made this statement in reply to the representative of the Soviet Union before he engaged in his right of reply. I regret that I was out of the room at the time, but doubtless he will have any further opportunity he needs.

The representative of the Soviet Union in his larger statement made a small flick at the President of the Trusteeship Council for his message in that capacity on United Nations Day, 15 October last. As I understood it, he took me to task, in my capacity as President of the Trusteeship Council, for not referring directly in that message to resolution 1514 (XV). May I say that if I had referred to any specific documents in that message, I would of course have referred to a number of the documents that are relevant: Chapter XII of the Charter, resolution 1514 (XV), and also, perhaps, resolution 1541 (XV), which was passed at the same session of the General Assembly and has a similar authority but is a resolution which the representative of the Soviet Union ignores. Indeed, the representatives are very selective in the resolutions they cite. I could also note that, whereas in other organs of the United Nations great emphasis is placed on the words of the Charter and nothing but the words, in other forums other resolutions are asserted as having primacy over the Charter.

But this is not a matter in which I wish to engage in great controversy. For my part and for the part of my Government, we accept happily resolution 1514 (XV) resolution 1514 (XV), voted for it and have tried to apply it. I am only referring to this particular case.

May I say that I decided deliberately against referring by chapter or number to specific resolutions or Chapters of the Charter because such citations tend in fact to be meaningless to most people outside the halls of this Organization. We professionals are immediately familiar with 1541 (XV), 1514 (XV), Chapter XII, Chapter VII, and immediately the very mention of a number conjures up a complete document to us. This is not so to the people outside this room.

What I would suggest is that this particular message -- which was a rather innocuous message -- was, if I may say so, permeated by the spirit of Chapter XII and of resolution 1514 (XV). For instance, the small piece referring to Micronesia said:

"Through the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia ... the people of Micronesia will be able to get to grips with the essential question of what sort of people they wish to be and what sort of Micronesia they wish to create. They will be able to go on to mark out an ordered path towards the future political status which they alone can choose."

In other words, an insistence on their right of self-determination. And at the end the message said, on a more personal note:

"Coming as I do from a country in the Pacific, I feel an especial interest in the advance of the peoples of the three Pacific Trust Territories towards the day in the near future when they will stand as equals with the other peoples of the Pacific and join with them in their efforts to ensure peace and prosperity for everyone in that area."

-- which is a statement I would have thought to be in other words the essential principle of resolution 1514 (XV) or Chapter XII of the Charter.

May I also say that in its visit to Micronesia the Visiting Mission, usually with myself as Chairman, read out large pieces, sometimes the whole text, of 1514 (XV) and sometimes of 1541 (XV), and at public meeting after public meeting it evoked no sign of surprise or displeasure from any United States officials who happened to be present. We just took it as the natural course that we should read out 1514 (XV) and everybody else also seemed to take it so.

May I also in this connexion mention for consideration -- though 1514 (XV) is not the specific preserve of this Council -- the sheer difficulty sometimes which faces the interpreter in interpreting resolution 1514 (XV). Again, to us professionals, used to dealing with abstract concepts and big words, there seems nothing surprising about 1514 (XV); but I would ask members to stand up before a group of people in any colonial territory and watch the struggle of an interpreter to convey to the people some of the words in this rather imperfectly drafted resolution. The spirit certainly gets through, but it is no easy matter. It is relevant to some disputes in this matter to mention that in the Polynesian languages, which are very simple and undeveloped languages, like those of many other areas, the word "self-government" is translated as "standing alone"; the word "independence" is also translated as "standing alone". So we have the progress of people towards "standing alone" or "standing alone". In the light of this sort of thing, some of our debates appear sometimes rather academic.

My only purpose in intervening was to say that I consider that the spirit of resolution 1514 (XV) and of Chapter XII of the Charter was incorporated in this particular message and, I hope, in any other document or message that we may be concerned with.

Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): I just want to express my thanks to our colleague from Liberia for his courtesy in refraining from detailed debate with regard to the matter he just raised and sparing the details of debate that might develop around his statements, the expression of the views which he formed as a member of the Visiting Mission to New Guinea, until New Guinea itself comes under discussion and until the report of the Visiting Mission is before us. I can assure our colleague that my colleagues and I will be very happy to discuss in detail with him the views that he has just expressed, and we would be most interested, if he continues to maintain these views, to hear his further opinions on how the situation to which he refers might be improved.

Having said that, I would like to assure our colleague from the Soviet Union that there are no strings attached to the assistance which the Australian Government and the Administration of Papua and New Guinea have given to the United Nations Information Centre in Port Moresby -- no strings whatever. I think that is well-known. I cannot forbear to remark that if we had not assisted in this way the establishment of the Information Centre at Port Moresby, no doubt we would have been accused of hindering its work.

Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America): Following on my last intervention which, I think, was quite clear, the representative of the Soviet Union delivered a statement which -- I regret to say this but it is the only way to describe it -- contained a half truth. He stated that in reading paragraph 65 of the report of the 1964 Visiting Mission I read only part of it and left out the rest. That is quite true. I did read part of it, but I referred to the rest. I called attention to the resolution. I pointed out that the report then went on to criticize us for failure in certain respects to disseminate information as widely as they would have liked. I called this a criticism. I said that my delegation accepted this criticism and would strive to correct it. The representative of the Soviet Union implied that I had ignored this part of the report. I was the first in this session to call attention to it.

The representative of the Soviet Union made another statement which was not entirely true. He referred to the Micronesian Reporter. Since that is within the province of the Special Representative, I would appreciate it, Mr. President, if you would call on him for further comments on that subject.

Mr. GODING (Special Representative): I should like at least to have this opportunity to observe that although the particular issues of the Micronesian Reporter referred to by the representative of the Soviet Union may not have contained as much information or as many references to the United Nations or to the deliberations of this body as could have been wished, it is our practice annually to give very complete coverage to the deliberations of this Council, which is the body of the United Nations most concerned with our area. Only yesterday, I believe, we were in the process of sending material and data to appear in the next issue -- the May-June issue -- so that it would be on the press and available at the opening of the Congress of Micronesia and so that coverage of this session of the Trusteeship Council would be full and adequate and available to the members of the Congress of Micronesia at its session. It is our practice to cover as fully as we can items of interest, and particularly the work of this Council.

Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I am reluctant to take up the time of the Council with answers to answers. However, I am obliged to do so in order to clarify some of the matters that were touched upon, particularly in the statement of the representative of New Zealand. He accused the Soviet delegation of being selective in what it cites. He referred in particular to the Soviet delegation's having refrained from referring to resolution 1541 (XV), which was in fact documented at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, along with resolution 1514 (XV), which latter contains the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. But, unlike some other delegations, the Soviet delegation believes it essential to refer to those decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly in other organs of the United Nations concerned with the matter in hand.

Let us see whether resolution 1541 has any relevance. I have it before me, and it seems that I must be constantly apologizing for not having the Russian text of the relevant document before me. I have the English text of resolution 1541 (XV) and shall try to read it in English -- I apologize; on this occasion I have a Russian text, but, unfortunately, I have confused the Russian text with the English here. This resolution is entitled "Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 e of the Charter" -- and I should like to repeat "Article 73 e of the Charter".

What does Article 73 say? Chapter XI is entitled "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" and contains Article 73, which has a sub-paragraph e. But that Article, as well as the Chapter as a whole, is devoted to Non-Self-Governing Territories, not to Trust Territories. On the other hand -- and this is not to the liking of some members of the Council -- we frequently refer to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and I can assure the Council that we shall continue to do so. We do so now because the Declaration is fully relevant to the question which the Trusteeship Council is considering. In that Declaration, as the Council is aware, paragraph 5 contains a direct statement that in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other territories immediate steps shall be taken towards the immediate granting of independence. Furthermore, Trust Territories are placed first.

If anything should astonish the Trusteeship Council, it is that those countries which constitute one half of the membership of the present Council, namely, the Administering Authorities, for some reason, or for a specific reason, do not care to refer to that. Sometimes they have to be compelled to refer to that resolution; otherwise, they would never speak of it.

Secondly, the representative of New Zealand said that often there was no point in referring to numbers, names or documents to which we are accustomed here in the United Nations. The Soviet delegation would venture to disagree with such an opinion because, if we followed that method of working, we could go far afield and far away from the principles which should govern our proceedings.

On the one hand, the United States, as the Administering Authority, considers it unnecessary to include the word "independence" in the constitution of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. On the other hand, the representative of New Zealand considers that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples should not be mentioned in an address to the people of a Trust Territory on United Nations Day.

This attitude astonishes us, although it is quite easy to explain, and we understand the motives behind such a presentation of the case.

Thirdly, the representative of New Zealand stated that the Soviet delegation, in other organs of the United Nations, did not abide by the principles and Articles of the Charter. I do not think that references made in this fashion -- en passant, as it were -- are likely to help us in our work. I am sure that the Soviet delegation is prepared to discuss any question concerning other organs of the United Nations with the representative of New Zealand, as well as with any other representative, in the appropriate forum, or even outside these organs, in the corridors, or wherever these representatives wish to discuss the matter.

But to accuse a delegation in this gratuitous fashion of not doing something, or of doing something in the wrong way, implying that that delegation is not in a position to refute such arguments in detail and to defend its position here is, to say the least, not in keeping with the spirit that should prevail in the discussion of those questions that are before the Trusteeship Council.

Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): I apologize for suggesting that the Soviet delegation reached anything less than perfection. I think that there is a misunderstanding between us and that the point is not important enough to be worth my spending a great deal of time on it now. The matter, I think, will become clearer when the actual records appear. In the meantime, I would merely suggest that the difference between us is one between people who have a theoretical interest in decolonization and those who have a more practical concern.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): As there are no further comments on this item of our agenda, I would suggest that the Council take note of the report of the Secretary-General which appears in document T/1634 and that the comments made by members during the debate should be brought to the attention of the Administering Power.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 2

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON CREDENTIALS (T/1640)

Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In connexion with the report of the Secretary-General on Credentials presented to the Trusteeship Council, the delegation of the USSR wishes to mention the fact that in that report under the heading "China" there are some persons mentioned who have no right at all to represent China and who are usurping that right in the Trusteeship Council, as well as in other organs of the United Nations.

The Soviet delegation deems it to be its duty to state that it does not recognize the credentials of the above-mentioned persons and that it wishes to stress that the only lawful representatives of China in United Nations organs can be the representatives appointed by the Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

The Soviet delegation has no further comments on the report of the Secretary-General on the Credentials of the members of the Council. If the report is put to the vote, it will vote for its approval with the reservation that it has just made.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): As President of the Trusteeship Council I call on the representative of the Republic of China.

Mr. KIANG (China): I merely wish to state to the Council that the Government which my delegation is honoured to represent here in this Council is the freely and legitimately constituted Government of China which alone can rightfully speak for the Chinese people in world affairs.

It is indeed a strange irony, I would say, that while the Soviets have spoken violently against and even declared the Chinese communists unfit within the confines of their communist orbit, today the Soviets should use upside-down language to offer comfort to their same comrades who have insulted and continue to insult and denounce the Soviets and the Kremlin leaders in the worst possible fashion.

May I add that it is far from my intention to deny any people the inalienable right to ridicule itself according to the dictates of its folly, if it so desires.

Mr. GASCHIGNARD (France) (interpretation from French): I should like to point out that, in the opinion of the Government of France, the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only one empowered to represent China in this Council.

Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America): The United States regrets that the representative of the Soviet Union sees fit to interrupt the work of this body. The positions of our Governments on this question have been enunciated clearly and frequently in the political organs of the United Nations. Repetition of these positions here serves no purpose other than to interrupt our proceedings.

Since the Soviet delegation has now raised the issue, however, my Government wishes to emphasize that the Government of the Republic of China and only the Government of the Republic of China is entitled to representation in this and other United Nations bodies. This position accords with that taken by the General Assembly on 21 October 1963 when, by a vote of 57 against, 41 in favour, with 12 abstentions, it rejected a draft resolution to replace the representatives of the Republic of China with Chinese communists in all organs of the United Nations.

Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The longer we sit at the thirty-second session of the Trusteeship Council, the longer we become convinced that in the eyes of the United States delegation there are apparently two categories of delegations and two categories of countries represented in this Council. On the one hand, there is the United States which permits itself to speak on any question that its representatives fancy; they can speak on any item of the agenda. On the other hand, there are delegations which, before they speak on any item of the agenda, must ask permission of the United States to interrupt the discussion, as the representative of the United States put it.

I should like to state that the Soviet delegation was, to say the least, surprised to hear the statement we just heard from the representative of the United States. There are different items on our agenda; the Soviet delegation has an opinion on all of them. As a sovereign Member of the United Nations which enjoys equal rights with all other Members, and as a member of this Council, the Soviet Union has every right to speak on this subject without asking the United States whether this should or should not be done. I hope that this will be the last time that the representative of the United States tries to dictate to other delegations what they should and what they should not do.

My second comment is that the Trusteeship Council, in spite of the efforts of some Powers to convert it into a non-political organ, is a political organ and has been such an organ and will remain such an organ until the time that the peoples of the three Trust Territories have achieved the goal of Trusteeship as proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): If I hear no further comments, I shall propose that the records mention the fact that the Trusteeship Council has approved the report of the Secretary-General on credentials and has taken note of the comments made by the members of the Council.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4 (a)

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS (T/1633, 1638; T/L.1089; T/PET.10/L.8 and T/PET.10/L.9 and Corr.1) (continued)

General Debate

Mr. HOPE (United Kingdom): My delegation has not put any questions to the United States representative concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for three reasons: firstly, because we thought it more appropriate that the representatives who visited the Territory last year should have the first opportunity, they being, in our view, the best informed and the best qualified so to do; secondly, because, as we anticipated, the representatives of China, Liberia and New Zealand covered the ground pretty fully; and thirdly, because we understood that the President was anxious to proceed with the general debate, which I propose now to begin.

I have listened with considerable interest to what has gone on in the Council in the last few days, and with equal interest I have read the various reports which have been put before us. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands consists of over 2,000 islands covering over 700 square miles. Ninety-six islands are inhabited by over 88,000 people, and the size of these islands, their population and the distance between them vary greatly. Nine major languages and numerous dialects are spoken in the Territory. In general, the islands are not very favourably endowed with natural resources, it seems, and the whole group is isolated in the Pacific Ocean, far from the main world centres of trade and commerce. The

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islands have not, so far, formed either one entity or one nation. These facts are well known to this Council, but I thought it worth mentioning them briefly if only again to place the various problems before the Council in connexion with these islands in their true perspective. The achievements -- or the shortcomings, if any -- of the Administering Authority and of the peoples themselves in a territory of this kind must be measured to a very large extent against the natural difficulties and the obstacles to be overcome.

We have, for our consideration, the seventeenth annual report on the Administration of the Trust Territory and the statement of the Special Representative to this Council, and I propose in my statement to attempt to relate these to the recommendations made by this Council at its thirty-first session last year. In this Council, and in the Trust Territory itself, particular emphasis is given, and rightly so, to political developments, especially to those concerning the central legislature and pointing the way to self-government. The admirable report of the last Visiting Mission to the Territory in 1964 stated, quite rightly, that "accelerated political development is not merely necessary for its own sake. It is in fact the key to all other development." I am sure we here would all accept that opinion and that the people of Micronesia would agree with us. But they would also, I hope, agree that progress in the creation of political institutions alone is not enough. It is also necessary to develop a sound economy and to provide such important social services as educational and health facilities in parallel.

As the representative of Liberia said today in another context, it is perhaps in the educational field that the greatest responsibility of all devolves upon the Administering Authority. Education is needed to understand the purposes of elected, consultative and legislative bodies and to take part in the procedures of democracy. Education, be it technical or academic, is necessary, too, for full participation in government, administration, industry and commerce. In the field of education, Mr. Goding, the Special Representative, has told us in a nutshell what has been achieved in the last year. In the opinion of my delegation, these perhaps somewhat dry figures represent a very healthy situation in this field. It is eminently satisfactory that the Territory enjoys compulsory and free education for all and that lowering of the compulsory age of six years, as recommended by the

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the Trusteeship Council last year, is under consideration. It is also noteworthy that the Education Department has more than doubled the number of American teachers in elementary schools during the last year, and has substantially increased the number of teachers in high schools, the number of schools in the Territory and the number of children attending them.

It was particularly satisfying to note the increase in the number of students enjoying higher education outside the Territory from 161 to 196 in the year under review. Doubtless, the Administration and the Congress of Micronesia will give due attention to the question already raised here about establishing institutions of higher education in the Territory itself. The report of the Administering Authority also shows that full attention is being paid to adult education by the appointment of an Adult Education Supervisor to the Administration's Headquarters' staff and by the plan to nominate an Adult Education Officer in each District.

I have quoted these facts and figures only to show that my delegation is conscious of the considerable progress being made in this most important aspect of life in the Territory, and that the recommendations of this Council are being heeded.

In its last report to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council noted with satisfaction the energy and skill with which the Administration's programme for the improvement of public health was being carried out. The last Visiting Mission said that the improvement of public health services had priority second only to education in the Administration's plans and also commended the Administration for its achievements in this field. The information contained in the report of the Administering Authority for 1964 and in Mr. Goding's statement, showed a total expenditure of over \$1.5 million on public health, and the particularly encouraging progress in the programmes for immunization and for the training of Micronesian doctors and ancillary medical staff, suggests that this Council can continue to be satisfied with the progress being made in public health matters in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Full credit must be given for the almost complete immunization against the most prevalent diseases, including tuberculosis, which will surely have very positive results in the years to come.

I submit, however, that the Council will meanwhile remain concerned over the continued incidence of tuberculosis and over the epidemics of measles. The medical services in the Territory appear to be conducted with devotion, efficiency and imagination. Moreover, the people of Micronesia seem, from the reports, to be taking an ever-increasing part in the work of caring for their own health.

It is, I think, clearly recognized by members of this Council that economic development has a full and important part to play in the progress of a non-self-governing Territory towards self-determination. With a sound agriculture, including some cash-crops, satisfactory communications and marketing systems, some light industry and manufactures, a developing people can face the problems of nationhood. If the land holds minerals or forests, or the seas fish, if the situation or the scenery attracts tourists, then these also are bonus factors in the life of the people, providing work and wages for them, and probably foreign exchange for their imports. It is important, too, to develop a mixed or varied economy, not concentrating too heavily on one crop or one sphere of economic activity in case world crisis or other factors outside the control of the Territory turn against the product or the activity of that country.

All these factors are particularly applicable to a territory at the time when it begins to administer its own affairs. It is also important that the Administering Authority should prepare the economic future of the country by laying firm foundations rather than by going out for immediate results. By foundations I mean the communications infrastructure, the education of agronomists and other technicians, research and instruction in planting, harvesting and marketing techniques, the provision of seeds and breeding stock, training in reforestation and in fishing and fish preserving, the introduction of machinery and training in the skills to use it.

A study of the reports of the Administering Authority for the Pacific Trust Territory and of the Special Representative's statement to the Council shows that the United States Government is, in fact, developing the Territory in the manner which I have just outlined. My delegation was, for example, glad to note that, in accordance with this Council's recommendation at its thirty-first session, the Administering Authority has established machinery to prepare and execute a long-term plan for the economic development of Micronesia. I was

most interested to hear that the economic development consulting firm which the United States Government has commissioned to make this long-term programme will also be carrying their proposals into effect as they go along. To us, this is a most interesting idea, and my delegation will be happy to hear more about it. However, it does raise a certain number of questions in our minds. Some of them have been answered during our proceedings here. Perhaps the representative of the United States, or the Special Representative will revert to the matter.

It would seem important to my delegation that machinery should be set up for continuous examination of the firm's main plans before they are executed and that, in accordance with the recommendations of this Council at its thirty-first session, the representatives of the people of Micronesia should participate in this planning, and that there should be a development commission or board, with members of the Micronesian Congress associated with it, and similar bodies, if possible, at a district level. It will certainly be very important that whatever is proposed by the consulting firm should have Micronesian agreement and support, the more so as the plans are, it seems, to be put into operation as the survey proceeds.

I do not propose in this statement to examine in great detail the different aspects of the economy of the Trust Territory. This will be the function, I presume, of the consulting firm to which I have just referred; and this Council will doubtless consider in due course the general line of the plans proposed for the future.

My delegation is aware that, while some of the larger islands of Micronesia are apparently lush and generous in vegetation, the Territory as a whole is not particularly well endowed for agricultural development. The coconut tree seems to grow very easily, and there is a temptation to concentrate on this crop which at present yields good return on world markets. The Administration, however, is wise to encourage, as it does, the cultivation of other cash-crops, such as cocoa, rice, pepper and ramie, to promote cattle and poultry breeding, and to provide, as it appears to be doing, every inducement to the people of Micronesia to utilize the almost inexhaustible food resources of the seas around them. It is perhaps not surprising that the American Administration of this Trust Territory should be well ahead in the growth and expansion of credit unions, loan funds and co-operatives. In this respect the Administration has

gone a long way to implement the recommendation of the 1964 Visiting Mission, which described the Economic Development Loan Fund -- then with a capital of \$220,000, and now with one of \$668,000 -- as "one of the most promising avenues to the economic development of Micronesia". My delegation would only wish to endorse this and to exhort the United States Administration to continue to encourage Micronesian participation in economic development by means of loans and co-operative enterprises wherever feasible.

From the information available -- although on co-operatives this, I must say, is not very extensive -- my delegation has the impression that the Administration is implementing the suggestions of the 1964 Visiting Mission.

I said, earlier in my statement, that a good communications infrastructure is one of the essential requirements of a developing country. Communications are required not only to develop the economy, but also to facilitate the social and political advance of the people. A quick look at the map of the Territory shows immediately that the main lines of communication must be by sea and by air. The last Visiting Mission considered that:

"Communications, which means adequate shipping services more than anything else, are at the heart of economic development in Micronesia".

(T/1620, paragraph 163)

That Mission also commended the Administration for its efforts regarding sea transport and for the notable improvement that had been achieved in recent years.

My delegation also heard with satisfaction from the Special Representative at this session of the Trusteeship Council that the tonnage of cargo vessels available in the Territory has increased and that freight carried in ships to and within the Territory has doubled in the last two years. This, in itself, seems to be an indication of better standards of living for the people because, as the Special Representative himself explained to the Council in answer to a question put by the representative of the Soviet Union, the increased tempo of shipping reflects not only higher exports of cash-crops -- of copra and cocoa and the like -- but also more imports of building and consumer goods. Other aspects of social advance in the Territory -- for example, the growth of central political institutions and the strengthening of the unity of the area, the welding of many widely separated islands into a cohesive whole -- all these

objectives require rapid and regular transport service between the islands, which can be provided only by airplanes. This is important for the political future of the Territory; and for this reason my delegation welcomes the Special Representative's statement that the number of air passengers travelling through the Trust Territory has doubled in three years. It would be interesting to know what proportion of these travellers were Micronesians on business or duty connected with the economic or political advancement of Micronesia. However, it did appear from the Special Representative's statement that much remained to be done, and my delegation would suggest that regular air services between the principal islands would assist in accelerating both national unity and political advancement, in addition to providing other, more obvious, advantages.

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But when we come to roads, my delegation tends to believe, on the basis of the information available, that a greater effort could and should be made. The last Visiting Mission reported that most roads were in very poor shape. It was encouraging to hear that steps are being taken to establish a designated road system, with primary roads a responsibility of the Central Administration and secondary and municipal roads a responsibility of the Districts and Municipalities respectively. But ninety-six miles of road in three years appears, even in the difficult conditions of these small mountainous islands, a somewhat meagre achievement. My delegation feels sure that the United States, with its record of achievement in road-building comparable perhaps only to that of the Romans, will rise to this small challenge.

I have not attempted to exhaust all the interesting and important factors which occur to one in considering -- from afar, it is true, but with the benefit of the exhaustive reports before us, not the least being that of the 1964 Mission -- the preparations going on before our eyes to launch this far-flung and widely dispersed group of islands into the twentieth century. I have attempted only to show that many and varied activities in a people and a nation go to making national unity and political advancement and that the United States Government, as Administering Authority, and the Micronesian people themselves are taking steps in that direction. In the view of my delegation, those steps are being taken at approximately the right pace -- not so slow that the people are frustrated or retarded in their progress, and not so fast that the population of Micronesia risks being launched unprepared into this world of competition and conflict.

At this point I must pick up a word used by the representative of the Soviet Union in another context earlier this afternoon. He used the word "hasty", and, unless the interpretation into English was at fault, he appeared to me to use it in a pejorative sense, as if the matter he was discussing were something where the Administering Authority would certainly not be hasty -- in other words, would be too slow. Now the Soviet Government is skilled and cautious, and I would expect its representative to agree with me that hastiness is not often desirable, and seldom rewarding. Neither, of course, is sloth. Certainly we

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could not characterize the behaviour of the Soviet representative in this Council as being slothful. But never mind: I think that in this case the forward movement in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is right; it is neither hasty nor slothful.

I come now to the specific institutions which will form the basis of Micronesia's future. First, let it be said that my country, having itself long since and in other parts of the world put into practice the principles of self-determination and encouraged its dependent territories to proceed to self-government or independence in accordance with the wishes of their peoples, and having taken the necessary steps to ensure that the institutions for the expression of these popular wishes are created, must here applaud and welcome the efforts of the Administering Authority and of the Micronesian people themselves to evolve such representative institutions. The representative of the United States, in answer to questions from the representative of the Soviet Union, told us that the Micronesians will themselves, and in their own good time, decide how and when they will proceed to the next stage of their political development. It is my understanding that one of the purposes -- in fact, perhaps the main purpose -- of establishing the two elected Houses of Legislature, known as the Congress of Micronesia, is to enable the voice of the people to be heard not only on matters now requiring legislation but also on the future form and status of the Territory and on the rate and stages of progress towards self-determination. Indeed, this is made clear in the United States Department of the Interior Order No. 2882, the Legislative Authority for the Congress of Micronesia, which begins with the following words:

"WHEREAS, pursuant to the Trusteeship Agreement between the United States and the Security Council of the United Nations, the United States has undertaken to promote self-government in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands".

It is clear that the establishment of this legislative body does not of itself constitute an exercise in self-determination, but it is a major step on the road to that goal, which is the principal end and purpose of the Trusteeship System.

(Mr. Hope, United Kingdom)

My delegation would like to extend its congratulations and good wishes to those Micronesians who have been elected by their people to represent them in the House of Delegates and the General Assembly and to wish them success in their first meeting, which is to take place very soon. In my delegation's view, the Administering Authority and the Micronesians, who together prepared the ordinance setting up the Congress of Micronesia, were wise to define the powers of the Legislature in the way they did. At first sight, perhaps, section 3 of the Order may look a little bleak -- and from what I have heard, it has even sounded a little bleak to at least one delegation at this table. There may be an impression that greater attention has been given to the exceptions than to the rule; that may be the explanation. But this, I think, like many first impressions, is false. The limitations are very precise and explicit and comparatively few, as the Special Representative explained to us here. The power and authority of the Legislature can, on the other hand, be great precisely because its extent is undefined and because it -- to quote from section 3 of the Order -- "shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation". This provision lays a foundation on which the Micronesian representatives can build as they proceed and learn and become accustomed to democratic and parliamentary procedures. I am sure that they were wise to accept this very broad description of their powers and not to attempt at this stage some more precise but more limited formulation.

My delegation well understands that certain reserve and veto powers must rest with the High Commissioner at the present stage. Similar procedures were used in other dependent territories at similar stages in their development. It is not of much use to state that the existence of reserve or veto powers shows the dependence of the people of the Territory on the administering Power. That surely is clear from the outset. So long as the administering Power is responsible for the Territory, it must retain such ultimate authority. The Trusteeship Council can, however, express the hope that such powers will be exercised rarely. Indeed, if there is a good understanding between the Administration and the people, as there seems to be in Micronesia, the necessity to invoke such powers should arise infrequently. It is, of course, also understood that such powers will gradually shrink by being transferred to the representatives of the people themselves.

To some of us here the regular session of the Legislature of thirty days per year appears, at first sight, to be rather short. But I can readily understand that, in view of the existence of District Legislatures, in view of the fact that in the beginning the amount of legislation required may be limited, and in view of other problems such as distance and travel, this period is what the representatives themselves wanted. I believe, however, that they will within a comparatively short time find that they need more frequent meetings, and I trust that they will not hesitate to seek amendment of the Order establishing their Congress for this purpose, when that becomes necessary.

Some doubts have been raised about the necessity in this particular Territory for two Houses of the Legislature. I know that the question was discussed in detail by the Council of Micronesia. The 1964 Visiting Mission also set out the arguments for and against bicameralism in its report. The Trusteeship Council made no recommendation on this point last year, and I do not think we need to do so this year either, especially as the Order establishing the Congress of Micronesia provides, in section 22, for consideration whether the Congress shall remain constituted as it is or be converted into a unicameral body. However, it does occur to me that the Congress might be able to examine this question before five years, and I assume that the Order could be amended accordingly if there were a desire to do that.

I was glad to hear that the Congress of Micronesia will carry out the proposals of the last Visiting Mission and of the Trusteeship Council to set up select committees to enquire into and to report on matters of policy and administration. My Government would have been glad to hear more about this from a member of the United States delegation here. Such committees could perform very useful functions, particularly in initiating study of further political and constitutional developments in the Territory.

There are, I think, in every language, sayings to the effect that he, or more often she, who holds the family purse strings rules the home. The same must apply to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands at its present stage. That is why so much emphasis has been placed on the power of the Congress of Micronesia in budgetary matters. In this connexion my delegation was much encouraged by the replies of the Special Representative to questions about Section 5 of the Order establishing the Congress of Micronesia. The Trusteeship Council will doubtless follow subsequent events in this matter with special interest and will expect the Administering Authority not only to consult the elected Representatives fully on the budget, but gradually to delegate authority to the Congress. Furthermore, the Council will, I assume, welcome the Special Representative's statement that methods are being studied, through modifications to the taxation procedure for example, to provide budgetary resources which will accrue increasingly to the Micronesians themselves and not be subject in any way to decision by the Administering Authority as to their use. Thus we look forward to the gradual substitution of Micronesian hands for American ones on the purse strings of the main budget -- although ultimate decision must rest with the representatives of the people who subscribe the funds -- and an ever-fattening Micronesian purse whose strings are already in Micronesian hands.

In conclusion, may I say now, since I had no opportunity to do it earlier, how pleased my delegation was to see here with the United States delegation Mr. Olter, an elected member of the Congress of Micronesia, and to hear his interesting statement, as well as three other Representatives of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. I trust that they will all feel and realize that their interests, their welfare, their economic and political future are the continuing concern of this Council.

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

Mr. FOTIN (Union Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I do not think it will cause any surprise to members of the Trusteeship Council that they do not see an item on our agenda entitled "Conduct of members at meetings of the Trusteeship Council".

The Soviet representative was very surprised at the references made to the manner in which he conducted himself at meetings of the Trusteeship Council. This question is not on the agenda for discussion by any delegation, including the delegation of the United Kingdom.

I should like to say to the representative of the United Kingdom -- someone new to the Trusteeship Council -- that if we were to speak to the substance of his statement, although it was the same as the statements of his individual predecessors, and although they did represent a more conservative Government in the Trusteeship Council, the one difference was that they did not consider it necessary to include in their statements the question of the conduct of the individual members of the Trusteeship Council.

Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): A study of the processes involved in what history may come to regard as the abiding achievement of our time -- the swift political emergence of formerly dependent peoples -- reveals that one of the great watersheds is the establishment of a national legislature, freely elected and armed with at least a minimum of powers. The step is decisive and irreversible. Henceforth, there is a voice which must be taken as authentic, whose judgments must be taken as authoritative and whose tone merits careful measuring. In a Trust Territory this development represents a vital element in that exercise of self-determination which is the chief objective of the system.

This watershed has been reached in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Late last year the United States Secretary of the Interior signed an Executive Order providing for the establishment of a legislature in which all the peoples of this scattering of islands will be represented by a spokesman responsible to them. Very properly, the provisions of the Order are substantially based upon

the desires of the people of Micronesia as they were made known through the old Council of Micronesia. As the Special Representative pointed out in his opening statement, changes can be effected easily and quickly by Secretarial Order, and already changes are being prepared. This recognition by the Administering Authority that the body shortly to be convened may wish progressively to develop its form and its powers, and the specific provision made for this eventuality, can only be applauded by members of this Council.

The Visiting Mission of this Council which went to Micronesia last year made some considered suggestions as to possible lines of development for the new Congress. A number of points raised, including the proposal that the Congress be accorded the right to select its own legislative counsel, have been incorporated in the new Order.

But the Mission went beyond procedural questions in examining the implications of the decision to set up a national legislative body. The Mission felt, as members are aware, that it was through the legislature, through the inauguration of the Congress of Micronesia, that the swiftest way of securing an effective Micronesian participation in the process of government would be achieved. Two measures in particular were recommended for ensuring this effective participation: provision for the establishment of select committees of the Congress with appropriate investigatory powers and for the granting of an effective authority to the Congress in financial matters. The setting up of a Congressional committee system is implicit in Section 17 of the Secretarial Order; that the Administering Authority will welcome such a development has been confirmed by the Special Representative in the course of our deliberations here. The opportunity is thus open to the members of the new Congress, if they have the desire to make political progress, to use this institution of committees in order to develop specialized knowledge in particular fields of administrative activity, to map out the course of Territorial development, to mould that development according to the will of the Micronesian people, to shape the society they want to live in.

In short, the key nature of the functions and powers of the congressional-committee system cannot be over-emphasized at this stage of Micronesia's development. The committees can provide the organic link between an executive still responsible to the United States Government and a legislature responsible to the people of the Territory.

Students of constitutional history, to say nothing of those involved in the day-to-day processes of government, will be aware of the significance which attaches to the control of the pursestrings. The Special Representative was good enough, in the course of answering questions, to expand upon the role which the Congress of Micronesia will play in drawing up the Territory's budget. After hearing his explanations and then inspecting the bald and perhaps rather authoritarian terms of the Secretarial Order, one's conclusion must be that the latter does not do full justice to the intentions of the Administering Authority. The cold phraseology of the Order envisages the High Commissioner submitting what is called a preliminary budget plan to the Congress for its review and recommendations. The High Commissioner will adopt the recommendations he deems appropriate and send on to the Secretary of the Interior those recommendations he has not adopted. But this, it seems, is a skeletal description of the constant process of cross-fertilization of ideas and the healthy contest of wills between official and legislator which the High Commissioner has told us is in fact likely to take place. At the district level there are already the beginnings of a practice whereby the administrators share with the legislatures the process of budget formation, and the High Commissioner has indicated that this practice might well be developed further. Then the Congress will be provided with a detailed budget document. Its committee on financial matters will not merely review it but will make a close and meticulous examination of its contents and will call in officials to justify the particular sections of the budget. The full Congress would subsequently convey its considered conclusions to the High Commissioner. The process is not, I gather, a short, once-a-year process. It is expected that the inter-sessional committee on financial matters will continue to work with the Administration. The High Commissioner has said that all reasonable requests for changes in the budget will be incorporated. This undertaking is to be

welcomed. Perhaps in the near future it will prove possible to go the extra mile by incorporating all proposals reconfirmed by the Congress into the budget to be sent to Washington; the Trust Territory, the Administration and the Legislature would then speak to Washington with a single and growingly authoritative voice.

In any event, we have been heartened and reassured by the obviously genuine interest of the High Commissioner in consulting fully with the Congressmen at all stages of budget preparation. Such an intent is of almost as much value in this situation as a legal obligation to do so. As the experience of the Congress grows and its evolution progresses, it will doubtless acquire those binding powers which are the hallmark of the mature legislative body. That the campaigns and elections have already acted as a stimulus to political development in Micronesia has been attested to by both the Special Representative and Congressman Olter. Now the energies and drive released must be harnessed and used to the betterment of the people of Micronesia: the challenge is both to Congressman and to administrator.

In view of the magnitude of the problems facing the Congress, the 1964 Mission suggested that more time might be required for sessions. A case exists, and might be examined further in the Territory, for incorporating in the Executive Order a provision, similar to that in the charter of the Truk District Legislature, by which special sessions may be called, or a regular session lengthened, upon petition of one-third of the membership. It is essential to the self-respect of any legislature that it should have the power to determine its own procedure. This and other problems -- many of which have been outlined in the report of the Visiting Mission -- will doubtless engage the attention of the new Congress as, in association with their legislative counsel and political adviser, they mark out the further lines of constitutional development.

If the building-up of the legislature offers the swiftest means of ensuring effective Micronesian participation in Territorial government, the means by which this participation will be fully achieved is through "Micronization" of the executive. This is a slower process, dependent as it is upon the availability

of sufficient people with the necessary training and skills. It has nevertheless been pleasing to learn from the Special Representative of the elevation of numbers of Micronesians to fairly senior positions in the Administration and to hear that the pace of this process will quicken from now on as the educational reforms produce their ever-increasing fruit. We shall watch with interest the placing of well-trained Micronesians, at least one of whom will shortly have, as Mr. Goëing stated, an educational background which will qualify him for almost any senior administrative position now occupied by United States staff. A basic requirement at this stage of the process of turning over both the legislature and the executive to the Micronesians, when to some degree there seem to be inadequate numbers of people available for the responsibilities to be carried, is to take the gamble of moving apparently undertrained people into high positions. Administrative ability and the capacity for taking considered decisions are not necessarily products of long or close acquaintance with bureaucratic procedures, nor does it seem essential to confine the search for Micronesian replacements to the administrators, that is, the purely bureaucratic section of the government ranks.

The final steps taken in setting up a truly national legislature have been the most significant development of the past twelve months. But steps towards securing the administrative and economic underpinning of Micronesia are also noteworthy. It is in the rapidly accelerating programme for overcoming the backlog of construction work and providing the social and educational facilities to which the Administration is committed that an aspect of the American genius shows most clearly. I need quote in illustration only two of the statistics which rolled so easily off the High Commissioner's tongue in his opening statement: that during the past year, 250 new elementary classrooms were placed in use; and that between 1962 and this next school year the enrolment of public-highschool students will have multiplied seventeen times. Whatever may be one's views on the lost opportunities of the past, no fairminded person can now doubt either the sincerity or the will of the Administering Authority to make up for lost time in these fields.

The most obvious physical contribution to bringing about a sense of Micronesian unity in the face of the geographical difficulties is to facilitate movement between and within individual islands. That the Administration appreciates this is evidenced by the advances made in communications. By next summer the six districts will be linked by land-based aircraft for the first time; shipping services are similarly becoming more frequent and have greater carrying capacity. As a corollary to airfield development, road-links between them and the local administrative centres are being improved. These developments were all priorities of an unquestionably high order. As these inter-island and associated services have reached a degree of comprehensiveness, however, consideration might be given to accelerating the work on a secondary roading network aimed at linking up villages, providing access to power and water supplies and export centres, and opening up the hinterland of the larger islands for agricultural development. I note that secondary roads are to be designated the basic responsibility of the district administration. In view of the proven significance of roading in underdeveloped agricultural economies for stimulating production, it might be suggested that, over the initial years at least of laying down a more complex secondary roading system, supplementary financial support from the central Administration would be justified.

It is both trite and realistic to observe that fuller participation by the Micronesians themselves in the processes of government, rising public expenditure, and the great improvements being worked in education and welfare services will not automatically raise national production or put more money into the pocket of the individual. But they will raise both expectations and aspirations, which must not be disappointed. The shadow that lies over the great achievements of the past few years is the fact that production in Micronesia has increased relatively little. Last year's Visiting Mission placed emphasis upon measures to stimulate agricultural production, still the basis of the Micronesian economy and likely to remain so, and upon the diversification of the economy. To give direction to these efforts, it advocated formulation of an over-all economic development plan, and the Special Representative has announced plans towards achieving this by obtaining the services of an economic-development consulting firm.

So long as the firm employed has men experienced in meeting the problems of an under-developed agricultural economy with meagre natural resources -- and Mr. Goding assures us that the firm has operated in this sort of area before -- the engaging of a private firm to undertake this work can be regarded as an imaginative step. Such a concern, working with the Administration but not of it, will possess a marked degree of independence and could thereby inject numbers of fresh ideas and plans into the common pool.

If I have a reservation it is merely that the problem of meeting the absolute necessity to involve the people of Micronesia themselves in the planning process -- through their elected representatives or through development boards -- may be compounded by turning over economic development work to a private concern. To ensure that the economic development operations unit does not operate in a vacuum, tending to produce academic reports bearing a tenuous relationship to the desires and needs of the islands, it might be suggested, first, that the existing economic development machinery in the Administration work closely with the new unit and, secondly, that the Legislatures, national and local, and perhaps separate development boards, be closely associated at all stages with the production and implementation of development plans.

It is no coincidence that I have returned to my primary theme in the course of discussing social and economic advance; in these fields pre-eminently it is primarily upon achieving intimate involvement of the Micronesian people in every stage of both planning and implementing national policy that the degree of success, and the pace, of development depends. An Administration can do only a limited number of things to a Territory. It can build roads and schools and hospitals; this infrastructure is now being constructed with an entirely laudable speed in Micronesia. And it can provide advice and technical assistance; this too is being done. But it cannot inject into the bloodstream of the Micronesian people the interest and the initiative and the drive on which the success of paper plans is dependent. The things that really matter cannot be achieved by doing things to a territory or to a people; they can only be done by the people of the territory. The achievement of that degree of pride, self-sufficiency and self-respect which will enable Micronesians to determine their future from, as the Visiting Mission's report puts it, "alternatives that are real and with self-knowledge that is thorough" will depend upon the efforts of the Micronesians themselves.

It is no surprise that economic progress has stood relatively still. Political and economic progress go hand in hand, and political progress has now started. The Administering Authority, by setting up a national legislature, arming it with certain powers and providing the means of progressive evolution of the body and its powers, has thrown down the glove to the congressmen shortly to convene. It is now up to the thirty-three legislators, supported by their constituents, to seize with both hands the opportunity thus offered to play a full part in developing and running their country and, eventually, in taking the final decisions upon the international status of the Trust Territory.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Council will meet on Monday, 7 June, at 3 p.m. At that time the Council will have before it the question of the situation in New Guinea. The agenda will, therefore, include the submission of the report of the Visiting Mission and the opening statement of the Administering Authority. Thereafter, we shall continue the general debate on the situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. I would ask representatives to be kind enough to be prepared to speak in that debate.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.