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held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
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Present:

Chairman: Mr. KERNKAMP

Members:

Australia	Mr. PEACHEY
Belgium	Mr. RYCKMANS
Brazil	Mr. ROCQUE da MOTTA
Cuba	Mr. VALDES ROIG
Denmark	Mr. LANNUNG
Egypt	Mr. PHARAONY
France	Mr. FIGNON
India	Mr. PANT
Mexico	Mr. CALDERÓN PUIG
Netherlands	Mr. SPIITS
New Zealand	Mr. SCOTT
Pakistan	Mr. ZIAUD-DIN
Philippines	Mr. INGLES
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. SOLDATOV
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. MATHIESON
United States of America	Mr. GERIG

Representatives of specialised agencies:

International Labour Organisation	Mr. GAVIN
Food and Agriculture Organisation	Mr. PAWLEY
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	Mr. DESTOMBES
World Health Organisation	Mrs. JARVIS

Secretariat:

Mr. Benson	Representative of the Secretary-General
Mr. van Deusekom	Secretariat
Mr. Cottrell	Secretariat
Mr. Ernst	Secretary to the Special Committee

1. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND DEVELOPMENT IN NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES;
SECRETARY-GENERAL'S ANALYSES OF INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED BY ILO
AND FAO (item 4 of the agenda) (continued):

(a) Major economic problems and general aspects of economic development
(A/AC.35/L.32, A/AC.35/L.32/Add.1) (continued)

Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) said that his delegation had listened with interest to the opening speeches of representatives of Administering Authorities and non-administering Powers and referred particularly to the strong emphasis placed by the Indian representative on the human factor in the development of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Incidentally, he could not agree with the figure of some 300 millions indicated by that representative as being the total population of Non-Self-Governing Territories, which, in his view, was more likely to be in the region of half that number.

As to the valuable and comprehensive material supplied by the Secretariat and the specialised agencies, he would merely suggest that a further effort be made to avoid repetition. He was the better able to appreciate the value of that material as a result of visits which he had paid not only to Greenland, for which Denmark was responsible, but also to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and British Central and East Africa, and which had enabled him to realize how much more difficult and complex were the various problems than they appeared from a distance.

Many shortcomings were still noticeable in all Non-Self-Governing Territories, but the days of subjugation and cynical exploitation were over, and, as was emphasized in the documents before the Committee and in the speeches of representatives of the Administering Authorities, the old colonial system was to an increasing degree giving way to a new conception. In fact, the information that had been made available bore witness to the sacrifices and efforts being made by metropolitan countries to assist and develop the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

By way of supplement to the information supplied on Greenland, he stated that that country's economy was determined by its arctic climate and physical features. Only a narrow coastal strip some 3,000 kilometres in length was inhabited, the remainder of the country being permanently under ice. The total population was about 22,000 and was scattered over approximately 200 settlements, some of which

had less than 50 inhabitants. In considering the economy of Greenland, it had to be remembered that the country was by nature not only a poor one but also one which was only able to provide the means of human existence by a narrow margin.

Following the settlement of Scandinavians in the southern parts of the country during the Middle Ages and their subsequent replacement by the Eskimos, the Danish-Norwegian monarchy had sent missionaries to Greenland in 1721; and in 1773 the Danish State had taken over the country's trade in order to protect the interests of the inhabitants. For more than 100 years it had been the policy of the Danish Government to see that all State revenues and profits accruing from the Territory were used for the exclusive benefit of its inhabitants. That policy had been consolidated in the Greenland Act of 1925. Again, members would recall from the information transmitted during the previous two years that a committee composed of Greenlanders and Danes had been working out far-reaching plans for the economic, social, political and educational advancement of the inhabitants. One outcome had been that the Danish Government had made considerable grants to Greenland in an effort to achieve, so far as was possible, the same level of development as was to be found in the mother-country. Capital subsidies had been devoted to the erection of new and better hospitals, schools, child welfare centres, dwellings, research stations, and to providing the inhabitants with the equipment they required to develop their industries. It was estimated that over a period of five years that expenditure would amount, in terms of purchasing power, to the equivalent of roughly 1,000 United States dollars per head of population, or 5,000 - 6,000 dollars for an average family. That was a far greater sum than Greenland's own economy could ever furnish. The extent of the expenditure contemplated would be appreciated when it was considered that, had the same been done for the inhabitants of Denmark, the cost would have been in the region of 4,000 million dollars over a similar period - an amount which, in fact, exceeded the annual value of Danish production. In the year covered by the information transmitted by the Danish Government and in the year ending April 1951, capital expenditure in Greenland had amounted to approximately 20 million kroner per annum, or approximately 4 million dollars, in terms of purchasing power. In addition, working expenditure in Greenland had shown an annual deficit of almost

the same amount; that deficit had, of course, been met by the mother-country. It would be clear to all that a corresponding burden of capital expenditure and working deficit in Denmark itself could not be borne. In fact, Denmark with its modest resources could only assist Greenland in that way because of the latter territory's small population.

Previous reports had contained full information on the Danish Government's plans for the political development of Greenland. The Government held that the improvement of economic, social and educational conditions was a requisite for the political evolution of the inhabitants and that the two forms of development must go hand in hand. The first step towards self-government had been taken as early as 1857, less than ten years after Denmark had obtained its own free constitution. Since then, other legislation had broadened the scope of local government, and in 1950 a National Council for Greenland, elected by universal suffrage, had been established by law. To remove any misunderstanding that might have been created by the information laid before the Committee, he stressed the fact that the franchise in Greenland was as universal and democratic as in Denmark; all who had reached the requisite age had the right to vote, the only exceptions being those obtaining in all democratic countries, e.g. certain categories of criminals and the mentally defective. Under the same law all bills applying exclusively to Greenland and all administrative regulations of particular importance to the Territory had to be submitted to the Greenland Council for consideration and report before being tabled in the Danish Parliament. Thus, to all intents and purposes no law or regulation could, in practice, be adopted without the consent of the people of the Territory.

It was interesting to note that the leader of the Greenlanders, in his opening speech to the National Council of Greenland which had convened only a few days previously, had expressed the desire for the representation of Greenland in the Danish Parliament. He (Mr. Lannung) was sure that such representation would be welcomed in Denmark and would be accorded in due time, when among other things, it had become possible to make the appropriate amendments in the Danish constitution.

Mr. VALDES ROIG (Cuba) did not consider it necessary to dwell at length on the interest taken by his Government in the Special Committee's work, Cuba having been one of the countries which had proposed its establishment. He was however glad to point out that once it had started work, the Special Committee had not disappointed the hopes placed in it, but had achieved praiseworthy results.

He had listened with keen interest to the statements made by the representatives of the Administering Authorities who, during the general discussion, had described the aims pursued by their respective countries in the enormous and difficult task of promoting the economic development of the territories under their care. The United Kingdom representative had stated that his Government's primary aim was to organize the economy of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in such a way as to guide them towards independence. The representative of India had quite rightly emphasized the humanitarian aspect of that task. The United States representative had stressed the importance which his Government attached to the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the fields of agriculture, health and education. Finally, the French representative, depicting the efforts made by the mother-country in the territories of the French Union, had stated, among other things, that the progress achieved towards economic development had been made possible by subsidies from metropolitan France and by private investment.

The Cuban delegation appreciated all those efforts, each of which dealt with a particular aspect of the problem of the development of the various Non-Self-Governing Territories. It wished particularly to press for intensified efforts in the field of nutrition, for it was a well-known fact that one-third of the world's population was undernourished and that such undernourishment obtained particularly in the under-developed countries. Very serious consideration should also be given to the question of education and training, and efforts should be made to develop not only elementary but also secondary and higher education. The Administering Authorities should, furthermore, promote the policy of sending the most talented native students abroad to complete their education.

He wished to inform the Special Committee that the Government of Cuba strongly condemned any discrimination on grounds of race or creed in the

Non-Self-Governing Territories. That was of course a very delicate question which called for close attention on the part of the responsible Governments.

In conclusion, he congratulated the Secretariat on the excellent and exhaustive documents which it had prepared for the Special Committee, and which greatly facilitated its task.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that the presence of the Belgian delegation at the Committee's meeting demonstrated the Belgian Government's sincere desire to co-operate in the Committee's work, even though, on legal grounds, it still maintained that in setting up the Special Committee and defining its functions the General Assembly had exceeded the limits of its competence under the Charter.

Belgium naturally shared the concern which the States Members of the United Nations had rightly shown for the welfare of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but Belgium went further and extended that concern to all peoples who were not masters of their fate, whether they dwelt within the frontiers of the metropolitan country or in territories separated from that country by the sea. Belgium was second to none in recognizing the duty of human fellowship which bade the peoples of economically advanced countries hold out a helping hand to their less fortunate brethren, and more than most she was conscious of her responsibilities towards those peoples who were under her care, because she felt that her national honour required her to accomplish that civilising mission.

At a previous meeting the Soviet Union representative had said that, as admitted by Administering Authorities themselves, most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were extremely under-developed and even backward, on the one hand, in the political sense - which question being beyond the scope of the Special Committee's work, he (Mr. Ryckmans) did not propose to consider - and, on the other hand, regarding economic development, social progress, education etc. The Soviet Union representative had claimed, in that connexion, that the Administering Authorities had not supplied the Secretary-General with information giving a picture of the true situation, and in support of his contention had considered it necessary to bring forward figures taken from the original documents and had mentioned his sources. He (Mr. Ryckmans) would not contest the accuracy of those

figures, since they had been supplied by the Belgian Government itself, and he was therefore quite prepared to admit that most colonies constituted under-developed areas and that there existed in the Belgian Congo tribes with a low cultural standard and living in very rudimentary economic conditions. Belgium was not responsible for the situation she had found in Africa. She was responsible for the work she had done there over the last 40 years, and the work she was proposing to do there in the future. He did not agree with the Soviet Union representative's conclusion that the backward state of the colonies was due to the failure of the Administering Authorities to fulfil their mission and to their indifference to the fate of their peoples. Other speakers had not been guilty of the same error of judgment. They had taken the special circumstances of each Non-Self-Governing Territory into account and had viewed the progress made in the light of the obstacles that had had to be overcome. The Brazilian representative had rightly urged that progressive measures should not be held up without adequate reason, and the representatives of the Philippines and Egypt that development programmes should be guided not by a spirit of exploitation, but by the interests of the peoples. He was entirely of their opinion, for no one could deny the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories the right to be governed in their own interests until they were capable of governing themselves. That was the criterion by which the acts and programmes of colonial Powers could rightly be judged. There were two infallible guides for the application of that criterion, firstly, the report by the group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General to study measures for the economic development of under-developed countries (E/1986) and, secondly, the report of the Technical Assistance Board (E/2054). The former document contained entirely impartial advice to peoples desirous of improving their economic condition and the second, requests for technical assistance addressed to United Nations organs by sovereign countries which were the best judges of their own interest. Did Belgium accept for the Congo the measures which the experts advised for under-developed countries? And did Belgium afford to her colony the assistance which under-developed sovereign countries were seeking for themselves? Those were the questions which the members of the Committee should ask themselves if they wanted to arrive at an objective conclusion.

It was hardly necessary to point out that barely 70 years previously the economic development of central Africa had been nil, and the way of life of the population extremely primitive. Capital had been non-existent and productivity so low as to be hardly sufficient to sustain life. The country had had no prospect of progress. The indigenous population had not only lacked the knowledge and the tools which would have enabled them to improve their output, but they had had no desire for improvement in their ignorance of the very idea of progress. That had been the starting point of Belgium's work in Central Africa. What was the position to-day? It should, in the first place, be remembered that since the foundation of the independent State of the Congo, the Berlin Conference had established complete economic equality between Belgium and the other Powers in respect of that State. The trade and capital of the metropolitan country enjoyed no privileges or favours, nor did its products receive any preferential treatment.

The system of land tenure benefited the indigenous population. The lands they occupied were inalienable and they could occupy public land freely and without charge. There was no individual ownership of the soil as between the occupiers themselves, but, as against this, the occupation of the land and its cultivation carried with them the right to dispose fully of the whole produce of the occupiers' labour. There was no problem of rural indebtedness, money loans to natives being prohibited, with the exception of those made at low interest rates by the Public Agricultural Credit Fund whose operations were subject to close supervision.

As to the industrialization of the country, the population of which was sparsely scattered and where labour was in short supply, he agreed with the experts that only through progress in agriculture could the necessary labour be released for industry, and that industrialization therefore depended on the progress of agriculture. Although, as the experts also stated, the improvement in agricultural yields through the use of improved technical methods might amount to about 50 per cent in twenty years' time, it should not be forgotten that the methods employed in advanced countries could not be taken over lock, stock and barrel but would have to be adapted to conditions in the country where they were to be applied. It was for that reason that the experts quite rightly asked for an increase in the number of research stations in under-developed territories. That was, in fact,

what Belgium had done. The National Institute for Agricultural Research in the Congo had a staff of 180 research workers available in Africa, and its annual income amounted to 250 million Belgian francs, or 5 per cent of the colony's total budget. That, he believed, was a result not attained anywhere else.

Once the appropriate technical methods had been evolved, the problem of their dissemination arose. No effective results could of course be expected unless farmers had at least a minimum of education and training. Hence the experts were quite right in saying that a complete system of training must be established at all levels and that a radical transformation in the mentality of the population of under-developed countries was required.

He wished, in that connexion, to draw attention to a difficulty peculiar to Africa territories, that was, the deep-seated prejudice of the indigenous populations against work on the land. Something very different from the mere dissemination of new methods was therefore required: agricultural workers had to be made to realize the value of their work, and that could only be done if they were assured of a fair economic return. That was what Belgium had attempted to effect through what was called "the peasantry policy". That policy was based on several concepts, the first being that the traditional rural economy was incapable of bearing its share of the burden of a civilized State. The second was that the traditional agricultural methods which entailed the utilisation of the soil to the point of complete exhaustion inevitably led to the loss of its fertility and the irreparable destruction of forest resources. They necessitated the periodical removal of villages, thereby preventing any lasting improvement in town planning and in the social field. The rural population had therefore to be stabilised. Lastly, a peasant class must be created which was satisfied with its lot and attached to the land. Such a class was necessary for the well-being of the wage-earning proletariat, since it was from the peasants that industrial labour had to be recruited. Surprise had been expressed at the fact that labourers' wages had not undergone a greater increase in the Belgian Congo despite the labour shortage. The reason was that the peasant class was prepared to take up any kind of work that offered it the chance of even a slight improvement in its standard of living. It was in fact the material advantages attaching to industrial employment that constituted so great an attraction for the natives of the jungle. They were

attracted by the housing and medical care guaranteed by their employer, and by the abundant rations; money wages were of purely secondary importance. After an experimental period under the aegis of the National Institute for Agricultural Research in the Congo a policy had been evolved for the installation of native farms: thirty thousand farms had been occupied by the end of 1949, 41,600 in 1950, and it was proposed to provide 16,800 more in 1951.

Apart from the staff of research workers of the National Institute for Agricultural Research in the Congo, the Agricultural Department had 564 European employees and funds amounting to 718 million Belgian francs.

Turning to the question of the formation of the Territory's national capital, he recalled that the experts recommended the institution in the first place of savings associations and said that the Savings Bank of the Belgian Congo, set up with the technical assistance of the Savings Bank of Belgium, had been operating since 1951 and during its first two working months had received deposits amounting to 460 million Belgian francs.

The experts also recommended an efficient taxation system and pointed out the risks involved if foreign companies were allowed to make excessive profits, the greater part of which were transferred abroad. It was therefore important to observe that Belgian companies in the Congo had distributed 1,700 million francs in dividends in 1949, their capital and reserves amounting to over 18,000 millions: 1,500 millions had been re-invested and 2 thousand millions had been paid to the Exchequer. Table 61 of the Review of Economic Conditions in Africa (E/1910/Add.1/Rev.1) showed estimated dividends and profits transferred abroad as a percentage of total exports, the figure for the Belgian Congo being 7.5 per cent, while that for South Africa, an independent State, was 10 per cent and that for Liberia, also an independent State, 53 per cent. He also mentioned the substantial export duties on mineral products exported by European undertakings, and stated that the security holdings of the Belgian Congo, estimated in March 1951 at 8,000 million francs, i.e. 160 million dollars, consisted in the main of securities which the Exchequer had collected free of charge in return for the grant of mining concessions. In the draft budget for 1952 the yield from capital and revenue had been estimated at 428 million Belgian francs.

Regarding double taxation, he pointed out that companies with registered offices

in Belgium paid taxes in that country on their profits, four-fifths of the amount being refunded to the Colonial Treasury.

Capital formation, through the utilisation of unexploited resources, upon which the experts had laid particular emphasis, constituted an important aspect of the peasantry policy adopted in the Belgian Congo, whereby the indigenous population were encouraged to invest their labour in permanent plantations, mainly palm groves and rubber trees. That campaign, started some fifteen years ago, had already yielded noteworthy results, in particular, the bringing under cultivation of 71,000 hectares of palm-trees, 19,000 hectares of rubber plants, and over 5,000 hectares of coffee. The ten-year plan provided for an extension of that programme. In pursuing that policy of restoring the peasantry to a consciousness of the dignity of labour, Belgium had complied with the wish expressed by the representative of India who, in a noteworthy speech, had pleaded that the peoples of Africa should be inspired with a new creative spirit.

Dealing with the question of industrialization, he recalled that the experts had in mind a realistic programme that might be summarized as follows: buy nothing from abroad that could be produced at home with the use of fewer resources, produce nothing at home that could be obtained with fewer resources abroad in return for exports of domestic products. Belgium had accepted that formula and was applying it in practice; she was promoting the industrialization of the Congo by various measures such as granting exemption from import duties or reducing the amount of duty payable on products considered necessary to industry. The information supplied showed the considerable progress recently made in that field. Belgium could not accept the criticism of the Soviet Union representative, who seemed to consider that all exports of raw materials were contrary to the interests of the indigenous population, and found fault with Belgium for not having established heavy industries in the Congo. What would become of world trade if all producers of raw materials aspired to do their own processing? The special mission of certain countries, according to their soil and climate, must be the major consideration. For instance, the Belgian Congo could supply tropical products such as palm oil, which were needed by the rest of the world, and had every interest in developing that crop well beyond local processing capacity.

Another question considered by the experts was that of development programmes; they recommended under-developed countries to draw up such programmes with the assistance of foreign experts, where necessary. Ten-year programmes had been drawn up and published for the two Non-Self-Governing Territories under Belgian administration, namely the Belgian Congo and Ruanda Urundi. That for the Congo made provision for investments totalling a thousand million dollars, that was to say for an amount equal to the sum total of the loans advanced by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development over the last five years.

Concluding his general survey, he pointed out that the Congo, like other under-developed countries, had suffered at certain times from the gap between the prices of its exports and the cost of the manufactured goods it imported. That was a problem of international range which Belgium was powerless to solve. With regard to investments of foreign capital, which the under-developed countries required in order to derive the maximum benefit from technical assistance, he pointed out that the ten-year plan for the Congo provided for investments of 50,000 million Belgian francs from Congo savings, which were continually increasing, from Belgian savings and, finally, from loans, which could be obtained at favourable rates thanks to the guarantee of the metropolitan country. It appeared that the limit of the country's absorptive capacity would thus be reached.

Before concluding he wished to recall that, in a statement in the Economic and Social Council, Mr. Etienne Malik, the representative of Lebanon, had said that he found it anomalous that certain dependent territories should be better off economically and socially than certain States Members of the United Nations. He himself saw nothing anomalous in that situation, since it was precisely those territories which benefited from the most extensive technical assistance.

An examination of applications for technical assistance showed that in nearly all cases they were for forms of assistance which the Non-Self-Governing Territories in general, and the Belgian Congo in particular, had been receiving for many years past. Referring to certain applications for technical assistance for which the services of experts had been requested, he pointed out that the Belgian Congo already possessed such services together with many others, because it was a Non-Self-Governing Territory and the provision of such services was regarded by the

metropolitan country as part of the duties of sovereignty. It might be said that if the colonies were under-developed it was not through lack of technical assistance, but in spite of the technical assistance they had received on the most generous scale.

He assured the Egyptian representative, who had observed that recourse to international assistance would inspire confidence in the colonial peoples, that that confidence already existed in the case of the Belgian Congo, because Belgium had shown that it was justified. In the Council of Government and elsewhere, the elite of the indigenous population had been able to follow the preparation of programmes and had welcomed them with enthusiasm. But if Belgium had not gained the confidence of the indigenous population, he thought that in order to do so something more would be required than the United Nations technical assistance programme was able to offer. It was necessary to keep a sense of proportion; for it must not be forgotten that at the present time the United Nations and its specialized agencies had recruited 449 experts for the 1,500,000,000 people living in the under-developed areas of the world. Thus, in proportion to its population the Congo would be entitled to about 3 experts and a half, whereas Belgium had at present 4,500 officials in Africa, and no-one could deny that they were technical experts in the service of the country. The Food and Agriculture Organization had 158 experts, whereas the National Institute for Agricultural Research in the Congo had 180 experts working solely on research in Africa; in addition the agricultural services of the colony had 564 European agents, 350 of whom were agriculturists responsible for popular education. The World Health Organization had 70 experts for the whole world; the medical services of the Belgian Congo had an official and private staff of 1,118 Europeans. Such figures required no comment.

Finally, he wished to point out that in their general conclusions the United Nations experts had stated that some years must elapse before the flow of capital to the under-developed countries reached a satisfactory level. He thought he could say that an objective study of the information supplied by Belgium would show the Committee that in the Belgian Congo the necessary impetus had effectively been given.

Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) paid a tribute to the representatives and governments of the Administering Authorities for their interesting statements and reports. Whatever difference there might be either with regard to the interpretation of the provisions of the Charter relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories or with regard to the amount of information supplied, there was no doubt that the Administering Authorities had supplied sufficient information to enable the Committee to fulfil its function. Those authorities all agreed that the welfare of the inhabitants of such Territories was a primary objective. Their whole outlook was fortunately different from what it had been some twenty years and more ago, and he was sure that the inhabitants of such Territories would all one day attain their appropriate place in human society.

The yardstick for measuring progress in such Territories, with their distinctive and varying conditions, could not be the same for each and all of them, but the authorities concerned could be expected to administer the Territories for which they were responsible in the same spirit. It was regrettable that a complete picture could not be obtained since certain other countries possessing Non-Self-Governing Territories of considerable extent were not members of the Committee.

In the field of economic progress the degree of advancement in some Non-Self-Governing Territories was impressive, in others less so. It was, of course, difficult to generalise, since conditions varied so much from Territory to Territory. It was also appreciated that a considerable part of the economy of some metropolitan countries depended upon the resources of their Non-Self-Governing Territories. What was important, however, was that the Powers concerned should put back into those Territories what they had taken out of them. Efforts towards improving the health, education and standards of living of the native populations were indeed laudable, but an attempt had to be made to ascertain whether material comforts alone would bring them happiness. The question of human rights had always to be kept well in view, and indigenous populations who had made sufficient progress to enable them to run their own institutions and to govern themselves should be given such responsibility.

It was known that discrimination as to colour existed in some Territories, and it was the duty of the United Nations to see that such discrimination disappeared. Again, economic progress which resulted in the profits accruing to the rulers, while the lot of the indigenous population was merely to toil and sweat, could no longer be tolerated. As to the question of land ownership, it was recognized that conditions varied from one Territory to another but the land should, as far as possible, belong to the original inhabitants. The question of land reform, therefore, was one of major importance. True, the introduction of technical improvements in agriculture was a worthy aim, but it was still more important that the native landworker should be treated fairly and feel that he had an interest in the land he worked. In his delegation's view, the native populations should also have a full share in the mineral wealth of their Territories. In general, all schemes of economic development should be undertaken for the benefit of the local populations, and any attempt to serve the economy of the metropolitan Powers at the expense of the inhabitants of those territories was open to justifiable objection.

Having been impressed by the photographs provided by the United Kingdom delegation, and having experienced the value of a visit to a Non-Self-Governing Territory, he wondered whether arrangements - perhaps on the lines adopted in connexion with Trust Territories - might not usefully be made for members of the Special Committee to visit Non-Self-Governing Territories.

In advancing criticisms and suggestions with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories, he had been fully conscious of the difficult times through which the world was passing, and particularly of the many current shortages. Capital, of course, was necessary for economic development, and at a time when so much capital was being devoted to armaments, little could be spared for the development of backward Territories, particularly when the inhabitants of those Territories had no voice and no political rights. It was, therefore, for the Committee to see that their interests were not sacrificed for the benefit of their rulers.

Finally, as to the reports that in some Territories civil liberties were being suppressed, such a situation was to be deplored and the metropolitan countries responsible for it were, in the view of his delegation, violating the Charter of the United Nations to which they had subscribed. Those Powers should be aware of the march of time and adjust their policies accordingly.

Mr. CALDERÓN PUIG (Mexico) said that his country was anxious to participate in the work of the Special Committee in a constructive spirit; that being so, he felt it necessary to express his opinion with complete candour. Mexico's position in regard to the problem of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was well known, having been expressed time and again at numerous conferences. She had, in fact, always declared her opposition to the colonial system which, although an improvement on the old type of slavery, remained none the less a form of servitude. There was no longer any talk today of a "colony" but of a "Non-Self-Governing Territory", the administration of which was entrusted to a Power. That change in terminology had not markedly affected the essence of the problem.

The Mexican delegation considered that the Special Committee should apply, in its work, the fundamental principle of the United Nations: to promote the progressive development of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards independence. Obviously, the administration of those Territories should be conducted with a view, not to exploiting them but, on the contrary, to assisting them. The more backward a people, the greater the responsibility devolving on their guides along the road to progress. Such was the Mexican delegation's point of view with regard to the human aspect of the problem of administering the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was extremely satisfactory, and redounded to the credit of the Administering Authorities, that representatives of new States which had achieved their independence thanks to the understanding attitude displayed by

those Powers took their seats today at international assemblies. The Philippines, which had achieved sovereignty with the help of the United States, was a case in point. So were India and Pakistan, which the United Kingdom had guided towards self-government. These were examples which, he hoped, would be followed; they formally disproved the claims of those who had at one time maintained that certain peoples were incapable of self-government.

An examination of the information transmitted by the Secretariat on the subject of the Non-Self-Governing Territories showed that the primitive peoples of certain countries were living in a state of acute poverty, and that it was urgently necessary to work unremittingly to promote their economic development and the parallel development of education and the social services. His delegation took an optimistic view, being convinced of the genuineness of the efforts made by the Administering Authorities who were imbued with a sense of political realism, and realised that gradual improvements, undertaken co-operatively, would help to prevent violent changes provoked by discontent and revolt.

Formerly, the economic policy of the European Powers had tended to restrict the development of the colonies as much as possible, and in that connexion he cited the example of certain Latin American countries. In Mexico, for instance, wine and olive growing had been prohibited so as not to compete with production in the metropolitan country. To try to force the economies of dependent Territories to remain only as sources of raw materials and to deny them the possibility of industrialization, even on a small scale, would be as grave an error as to deny to these Territories the advantages of a healthy social, cultural and economic development of their peoples. It would be a dangerous mistake to ignore, in 1951, the just aspirations of these non-autonomous communities. He had been extremely gratified in that account to hear the Administering Authorities describe the efforts they were making in that direction; and he hoped that what they had to say in the following year would confirm the optimism felt by the Mexican delegation, which intended to participate loyally and enthusiastically in the joint undertaking.

Mr. GERIG (United States of America) said that his delegation welcomed criticism based on facts, but when criticism largely took the form of a distortion of facts, it had to be ignored altogether, or an attempt had to be made to correct matters.

The Soviet Union representative's criticism had been in no way constructive. That was not surprising, for when arguments were based on the premise that the economic systems which prevailed in the territories and in the metropolitan countries were wrong, it was easy to conclude that no part of them could be right, and consequently worthy of even faint praise. As a result of such an approach, the facts were distorted, and fragmentary statistical data, taken out of context, inevitably led to faulty conclusions.

If, therefore, he replied to one or two of the Soviet Union representative's points, it was only to prove that they were entirely misleading and to remove any impression that they were unanswerable.

The Soviet Union representative had alleged that in Puerto Rico, Hawaii and elsewhere there were no legislative and administrative organs. The fact was, however, that every one of the United States Non-Self-Governing Territories had a complete executive, legislative and judicial system based on law and affording the citizens of those Territories every civil right enjoyed by other American citizens. Moreover, these Territories received substantially the same aid from the United States Government as did other United States communities in the fields of health, social security, housing and agriculture. They also received such special aid when that was necessary.

The Soviet representative had also dealt with the question of wages and employment. The fact was that both Federal and territorial legislation protected the worker regarding both minimum wages and unemployment. Wages in Hawaii and Alaska were the highest in the world for comparable employment, and their inhabitants had absolutely equal rights and protection. Wages in Puerto Rico ranged upward from 30 cents an hour and were rapidly rising under both Federal and local minimum wage laws.

It had also been alleged at some length that monoculture had adverse effects in Puerto Rico and Hawaii. The Soviet representative would hardly deny that Marxist economics accepted the advantages of an economy based on the principle of division of labour and of comparative advantage. The fact was that any area of the world was likely to gain when it produced those commodities for which it was best suited. In Puerto Rico, an acre of land under sugar produced six or seven times as much in purchasing power for other commodities as when those commodities were produced locally. While it was true that Puerto Rico was dependent on the outside world for some of its essential imports, it could not be denied that interdependence was a condition which applied to practically all countries in the world. What was undesirable was the complete concentration of the economic activity of an area on the production and export of one or two primary products. Economic progress was being made in Puerto Rico, not by denying it the particular agricultural advantages of its soil and climate, but by extending activity to other fields so as to achieve a diversification of production.

Considering that he had sufficiently illustrated the essential falsity of the numerous charges laid by the Soviet Union representative, he deplored the time wasted in such unprofitable discussion, time which should have been devoted to a search for constructive solutions to basic problems, for which no-one was responsible, but which were due to the unequal distribution of human and natural resources and to the uneven rate of progress and development in the various parts of the world.

Mr. MATHIESON (United Kingdom) welcomed an opportunity to comment on the views expressed by certain members of the Committee. He would not refer to the statements made by representatives of the other Administering Authorities since his Government constantly exchanged views with those Governments.

He particularly appreciated the Indian representative's statement, which would provide a useful pointer for the Committee's work. He felt that his own statement had not fully reflected the extent to which the activities of the United Kingdom Government responded to the human factors involved and he hoped that later interventions by his delegation would in some measure remedy that omission.

The Philippines representative had raised several important points to which he (Mr. Mathieson) would refer during the detailed discussion on the various sub-items of item 4. He wished, however, to comment at the present stage on certain aspects of that statement. The representative of the Philippines had stressed the need for the existence of genuine fundamental objectives of economic policy and had also pointed to the desirability of developments in the economic pattern being matched by corresponding developments in the social pattern. He (Mr. Mathieson) believed that the Special Committee's discussions would prove a useful contribution towards establishing the nature of the objectives in view. In connexion with the point raised by the Philippines representative regarding the necessity of increased exports resulting in increased imports, he said that his Government had established a special machinery to ensure that such an increase in imports, including imports from the dollar area and other parts of the world, was effected. He wished also to call attention to the fact that the mechanism of marketing boards set up by the United Kingdom Government had been designed to meet the dual danger of slump or inflation to which the Philippines representative had referred.

The Philippines representative had welcomed the development of the cotton-ginning industry as an instance of diversification of the economy and had pointed to the desirability of the establishment of a local textile industry. He was happy to inform that representative that a textile industry was in fact developing in the territory of Uganda. The United Kingdom delegation would refer further to that aspect of industrial development at a later stage. The Philippines representative had also expressed the view that it was desirable that a large proportion of raw materials should be processed on the spot. In that connexion, it was to be noted that bauxite production and hydro-electric power in the Gold Coast had been welded into a local industry producing aluminium and supplying, as an additional resource, an irrigation system for the whole district. With respect to the establishment of a processing industry for cocoa, he explained that certain difficulties existed since the production of chocolate or drinking cocoa would require an air-conditioned factory which would constitute uneconomic capital expenditure,

Again, the Philippines representative had pointed to changes effected in the balance of the development plan for the Gold Coast as revised by the new Government, and had, in that connexion, quoted extracts from The Economist. It was, however, erroneous to believe that the revised development programme in the Gold Coast was in any way intended to divert the activities of the population from the land since, indeed, the plan fully recognized that cocoa constituted by far the principal source of wealth in that region. Attempts were being made to conquer the swollen-foot disease prevalent at the moment. The income from cocoa-growing would do much to help the extension of social services and primary education, which was a fundamental aim of the authorities of that area.

The statements of the Australian and Netherlands representatives had afforded a valuable reminder of the great diversity of the various Non-Self-Governing Territories, ranging from an industrial area like Singapore to a region as primitive as Papua. It was essential for such diversity to be fully recognized, although a general plan of economic progress could be laid down.

He found it difficult to reply with restraint to the statement made by the Soviet representative, particularly in view of the information recently received that a prominent colonial civil servant had been murdered by persons professing sympathies with the theories propagated by the Soviet Union. He could not but deplore the way in which the Soviet Union representative had referred to the various statistics supplied in the information transmitted, since he had evidently studied such figures closely in order to select those fragments of information which would prove discreditable to the Administering Authorities. In any case, judging by the volume of statistics which the Soviet Union representative had himself quoted, he had defeated his own assertion that the information supplied by the Administering Authorities under Article 73 e of the Charter was inadequate.

The Soviet Union representative had asserted that in Northern Rhodesia all possible measures were being taken to concentrate activity on the copper industry and that consequently the production of food had been considerably reduced, and in support of that assertion he had quoted figures for maize production in the years 1948 and 1949. In reply he (the United Kingdom representative) pointed out that

the years which the Soviet Union representative had cited had been a period of extreme drought in South and Central Africa. The dangerous repercussions of such a drought had been fully recognized by the Administering Authority which had made strenuous efforts to secure food supplies from outside sources other than Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, which had been similarly afflicted. The United Kingdom had, indeed, purchased food all over the world, including Argentina, on a dollar basis, and had transported those supplies to the territory by working the railway over capacity. As a result, famine had been averted.

The Soviet Union representative had also referred to British exports of certain quantities of cocoa, gold and timber from the Gold Coast in the period 1949 - 1950. Such a statement was, however, a misrepresentation of the situation, since exports from the Gold Coast were the responsibility of the African growers themselves; indeed, such exports constituted an important aspect of their development programme and should therefore not be termed as British exports.

The representative of the Soviet Union had referred, further, to an alleged deprivation of human rights under powers of arrest in Africa, by police officers and property-owners in Nyasaland in particular. He fully comprehended the concern showed by the Soviet Union representative since, in certain countries, arrest was of a very final nature. However, in the territories of Africa to which the Soviet Union representative had referred, the principle of habeas corpus was in force. A person arrested was put under restraint and brought before the magistrate at the first possible opportunity. If it were found that that person had not been properly charged, he was immediately set free. Such powers of arrest were similar to those which existed in almost every other national criminal code. As for the rights of property-owners, such rights applied equally to indigenous and to European property-owners, whatever the nature of the property. For instance, stealing growing crops was common in Nyasaland, and maize growers were consequently entitled to place under restraint persons showing intent to commit larceny. The prevention of crime was the only basis for such legislation, and the interpretation which the Soviet Union representative had placed on that legislation amounted merely to an attempt to distort the facts.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) observed that the attempts of the United States and the United Kingdom representatives to refute the statement he had made at the thirty-third meeting had been ineffectual.

The United States representative had reproached him with having distorted the facts, but in doing so, he had himself misquoted his (Mr. Soldatov's) words. It would have been better therefore if the United States representative had waited for the record of the meeting before replying. He could, moreover, have asked him, if necessary, for the exact text of his statement.

He therefore felt bound to repeat the precise words of the passage in his statement which had been attacked by the United States representative. After pointing out that, in the Non-Self-Governing Territories administered by Belgium, France and the United Kingdom in Africa, the tribal system prevented any political, economic and social progress and that the policy of the Administering authorities was aimed at maintaining that tribal system, he had added: "As in the African territories, so in Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands and Samoa under United States administration, the indigenous populations enjoyed no political rights and their legislative, executive and judicial organs and the organs of local government were not based on democratic principles." When a text is quoted, it should be quoted in full.

It was a well-known fact that in Alaska, in Puerto Rico and in Hawaii there were no legislative, executive and judicial organs based on democratic principles. He considered that he had clearly shown the refutations of the United States representative to be unfounded.

Moreover, the particulars which he (the Soviet Union representative) had given concerning the situation in the territories administered by the United States were confirmed in official publications. For instance, a booklet on Puerto Rico which had been sent to him after he had made his statement and which he had carefully studied, contained information which confirmed all that he had said, even concerning the state of education in that Territory. He had noted that in 1946, 28.3 per cent of the indigenous population was illiterate, and that in 1948 and 1949, 105,000 children of 6 to 12 years of age did not attend school. The booklet in question stated that during the last few years only one-half of the

population of school age (5 to 17 years) attended school and that 70 per cent of the pupils were attending classes for only half a day owing to the shortage of equipment and to the lack of teachers.

He emphasized that all the facts he had mentioned were true, as were the conclusions he had drawn from them.

With regard to the remarks made by the United Kingdom representative, he noted that they were extremely vague. Like his United States colleague, the United Kingdom representative would have been well advised to wait for the record of the meeting before refuting the statements of the Soviet Union representative.

With regard to Northern Rhodesia, he would have to repeat the exact words of his statement: "Gold, silver, copper and other metals were also being exported from Northern Rhodesia in increasing quantities. Meanwhile the United Kingdom Government failed to ensure that the population had enough food. Yields of foodstuffs in the Territories had fallen off sharply instead of increasing. In 1948-1949, the maize harvest had fallen by 50 per cent by comparison with the preceding year, while the wheat harvest had been six times lower." Such were the facts and the United Kingdom representative had only confirmed them in his last statement.

Furthermore, the United Kingdom representative had attempted to cast doubt on the accuracy of the Soviet Union representative's statements concerning respect for human rights and for the political rights of the indigenous populations, as well as those concerning arbitrary arrest. As a matter of fact, he had been unable to deny the existence of the legislative provisions that were actually in force in the Territory; he had confined himself to moralizing and to justifying the necessity of that legislation by citing some preposterous examples. Actually, the law allowed the arbitrary arrest of natives by the police, land-owners, their servants or agents. He (Mr. Soldatov) knew this to be a fact since he had witnessed it on the spot, but the facts he had cited were based on official documents, not on personal statements.

Mr. INGLES (Philippines) wished to emphasize the fact that his delegation did not regard industrialization in the Non-Self-Governing Territories

as a universal panacea and that it had not intended to suggest that industrialisation should take place everywhere at all costs or that it should replace agriculture. His delegation had had in mind industrialization whenever and wherever feasible in the light of the material resources and of the stage of development of the various Territories.

His reference to The Economist at a previous meeting had been made in order to call attention to the shift of emphasis which had been introduced by the African-controlled Government of the Gold Coast in the development programme of that Territory. That shift had been from diversification within a limited agricultural economy to wider diversification in order to establish secondary industries suited to the Territory. He was sure that, contrary to what had been suggested, the people of the Gold Coast would have no cause to regret such a step. His delegation had merely wished to refer to the facts regarding the economic development programme in the Gold Coast and not to the motives imputed to the planners, rightly or wrongly, by that article.

Commenting on the problem of capital required for economic development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories to which various speakers had referred in the course of the debate, he said that his delegation believed that guarantees for private capital were not lacking in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and that indeed the metropolitan countries would be concerned in establishing such guarantees. However, he emphasized the fact that the time was past when private capital could expect to reap enormous profits. In the past, such territories had been regarded as a source of wealth for private capital which had taken those profits out of the territory itself to the metropolitan country. However, the time had come when only reasonable profits could be expected and when part of the profits should be put back into the territory itself. Private investors should therefore now be in a position to invest capital at less risk, although lower profits would be forthcoming. With regard to public capital in the nature of government funds as loans or grants to assist economic development, he believed that such contributions were justified by the special ties linking the Administering Authorities with the Non-Self-Governing Territories, which were, on the one hand, the special responsibilities incurred by the Administering authorities, and,

on the other, the services rendered by those Territories to the metropolitan countries, not only during the war but also more recently in assisting to cover the dollar deficits of those metropolitan countries.

Reference had been made during the debate to the mobilisation of domestic capital. He wished to stress the great poverty existing in the majority of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It seemed to him in consequence that to advocate the mobilisation of domestic capital was, in some measure, to indulge in wishful thinking. It was obvious that in Territories where food and clothing were insufficient, practically no domestic savings existed. He recalled that when the question had been raised at the thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, the consensus of opinion had been that the mobilization of domestic capital would prove inadequate to finance the economic development of under-developed countries and that external financial assistance was necessary.

2. PROGRAMME OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN noted that the general statements had been completed, as well as the replies thereto. At its next meeting, the Committee would, therefore, consider the various sub-items of item 4 in detail.

Mr. BENSON (Representative of the Secretary-General) believed it might be of use to the Committee if he reviewed the various documents on the sub-items of item 4.

He recalled that, at its first session, the Special Committee had, in deciding that particular attention should be paid to economic conditions, stressed the rural aspects of development programmes. Those aspects had been particularly emphasised by the representatives of Australia and of Brazil, although they had agreed with other representatives, including those of the United States and the Philippines, that the Committee's discussions should cover the entire range of economic development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Nevertheless, the discussions

in the Special Committee of its first session, as well as the actual conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, had made it inevitable that the documents on item 4 (b) should cover a very wide range of problems.

Document A/AC.35/L.33 was intended as an introduction to the problems of the rural economy and as a link between the general paper on economic objectives and the detailed papers on various aspects of rural development. It attempted to review the main characteristics of the agricultural economy according to the chief regions, and emphasis had been placed on the diversification of agriculture, with regard to both export crops and crops for local consumption.

He then called attention to the group of papers concerning particular forms of the production of animal and vegetable resources. Documents A/AC.35/L.38 and A/AC.35/L.41 had been prepared by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and largely provided data on various crops grown in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Document A/AC.35/L.37, also prepared by FAO, was a more detailed paper concerning forestry policy, and he wished to call particular attention to the observations contained in the conclusions.

In reply to the remarks made by the Danish representative regarding duplication of documents, he said that, since the problems were of a complex and overlapping nature, it had been necessary to provide a connecting link between the various documents. The general plan was one of interlinking studies, in which there was no duplication but much compression.

Document A/AC.35/L.34, prepared by the Secretariat, dealt with trends in fisheries development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. By agreement with FAO, the Secretariat had, in that paper, paid particular attention to those developments which were intended to create local fishing industries in order to remedy deficiencies in food consumption. FAO itself had undertaken to provide data on commercial fisheries figuring largely in the export trade. The information available had suggested to the Secretariat that one of the most interesting developments in some of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was that of fish farming which had been described as a development towards the creation

of a new industry through measures taken to combine modern science with the skill of the traditional fish farmer and, in that connexion, reference had been made to comparable information from independent countries.

The next group of papers was concerned with the economic and social aspect of the organization of agricultural production through the development of marketing and the provision of agricultural credit. In the field of credit, the importance of the problem could be gauged by the fact that regarding Puerto Rico, where credit facilities had been developed on a scale well in advance of those of other similar Territories, the statement had been made by the Commissioner of Agriculture and Commerce of that Territory that improved farm practices, the use of better tools and the intensification of agricultural production would depend to a considerable extent on extended credit facilities. The Secretariat document on that subject (A/AC.35/L.48) also supplied data on the growth of co-operative societies and supplemented the report prepared by the International Labour Office (A/AC.35/L.49) on problems relating to the establishment of co-operative movements.

He wished finally to refer to document A/AC.35/L.50 which was concerned with general aspects of land distribution. He called particular attention to the preliminary note of that document which referred to the three types of studies of land in under-developed countries on which the Secretariat was engaged following decisions taken by the General Assembly at its fifth session. With a view to avoiding duplication and to covering those aspects of land problems which were of greatest interest to the Committee, the Secretariat document had been primarily directed to the consideration of land distribution by the indigenous and non-indigenous groups and between peasants and States, as well as to the major questions of principle arising in connexion with land tenure. Full use, however, had been made of the document on agrarian structures prepared for the Economic and Social Council (E/2003) as well as of the very detailed memoranda prepared for the Trusteeship Council by the Governments of France and the United Kingdom. From those sources, the conclusion had seemed inevitable that, owing to the economic revolution which was taking place, changes

were drastically required in land utilisation. However, with regard to indigenous philosophies on the holding of land, there was a basic sense of social responsibility which should be retained.

The Committee would wish to bear in mind when considering all those questions that, at its thirteenth session, the Economic and Social Council had adopted a resolution on land reform in relation to the economic development of under-developed countries, contained in document E/2124, which would be discussed by the General Assembly. That resolution focused attention, not only on land reform in a limited sense, but also on the development of agricultural credit, co-operative organizations, agricultural extension services, rural industries and training programmes. The Special Committee would doubtless wish to take into account the comprehensive inquiry and the existing resolution relating to land and agricultural development resulting from the work of the Economic and Social Council.

It would have been noted that the studies prepared for the Special Committee on social conditions devoted considerable attention to the problems of rural communities, notably in respect of the expansion of rural health services and rural welfare organization. A third document had been prepared on settlement policies which he hoped would be distributed shortly.

As he had stated at a previous meeting, difficult problems of selection had arisen in the preparation of the documents before the Committee by the Secretary-General or by the specialized agencies. The actual information transmitted by the Administering Members had been brought to the European Office of the United Nations. Should there be omissions of vital points in the Secretariat papers, it might sometimes happen that such information had in fact been supplied, but that it had not been thought to contribute points of essential importance. On the other hand, as had been stated by the United Kingdom representative, there might be many other points on which knowledge was as yet inadequate. Such a situation was a reflection of the complexity of varying conditions. As had been indicated by the representative of Belgium, the information for each territory was available in cases where a representative wished to learn the exact nature of the information transmitted.

The Belgian representative had given valuable indications on the provision of credit for indigenous agricultural purposes. The Belgian Congo Public Agricultural Credit Fund had been mentioned in document A/AG.35/L.48; however, reference had not been made in that document to the point of principle in that connexion to which the Belgian representative had referred earlier in the meeting. That was an instance of the value of the present discussion in order to obtain supplementary information. Similarly, the availability of international capital had not been included in the information given. However, in future, the revised Standard Form would request information of that character.

He wished, in conclusion, to emphasize the fact that the Secretariat was endeavouring to work out a system for using the information transmitted to its greatest value.

The CHAIRMAN noted that, with regard to the Committee's programme of future work, there was general agreement that it would be desirable to appoint a sub-committee with broad terms of reference to prepare a report reflecting the opinion in the Special Committee on economic conditions and development in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Such a procedure would be in accordance with that adopted at the first session with regard to the question of education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

He accordingly suggested that the Special Committee should appoint such a sub-committee following the completion of the discussion on sub-item 4 (b). In that way, the sub-committee's report could be prepared for consideration by the Special Committee at the conclusion of the discussion on all the various sub-items of item 4.

Mr. PANT (India), supported by Mr. MATHIESON (United Kingdom), suggested that it would be preferable for sub-item (f), General Programmes of Industrial Development, to be considered immediately after sub-item (b), on rural economy, since those sub-items were inter-dependent in many respects. He also suggested that the sub-committee should be appointed following completion of the discussion on sub-item (f).

It was so agreed.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.