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Chairman: Miss Angie BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 49

Question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi (A/C.4/L.697, A/C.4/L.698, A/C.4/L.699) (continued)

ASSASSINATION OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF BURUNDI

1. Mr. MVIE (Cameroun), speaking in explanation of his vote at the previous meeting, said that his delegation had voted in favour of the Belgian amendment calling for the insertion of a new preambular paragraph in draft resolution A/C.4/L.697^{1/} out of moral honesty. His delegation had been in favour of the draft resolution and had appealed to Belgium to facilitate the investigations to the best of its ability so that light should be shed on the assassination, which was deplored by every member of the Committee. The Committee had heard the Belgian representative give assurances that her country would co-operate fully in the matter; moreover, the Belgian representative had made several statements in the course of the discussion in which she had placed information before the Committee. It

should also be remembered that the third preambular paragraph referred to the accountability of the Administering Authority to the United Nations. His delegation had therefore thought that the text would be better balanced and more honest if it included a reference to the fact that the Belgian representative had submitted information. That did not mean that he was assessing the value of that information. He was surprised that the Belgian amendment had not been adopted.

2. He viewed with concern the tendency in the United Nations to disregard the truth. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly his own country had been the victim of similar manoeuvres. If the United Nations were to follow that road, he feared that one day, when it was too late, its Members would be lamenting its downfall.

3. He was glad to see that the draft report of the Fourth Committee (A/C.4/L.699) on the subject contained a reference to the fact that the representative of the Administering Authority had made statements in the course of the discussion.

4. Mr. MATTOS (Uruguay) said that he was grateful to the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/L.697 for the changes they had accepted. He had voted in favour of the final text because it was a correct statement of facts and did not prejudge the issue. The third preambular paragraph could not be taken to mean anything else but that the Administering Authority was juridically and administratively responsible to the United Nations. That had also been the view taken by the General Assembly in operative paragraph 3 of resolution 1605 (XV).

5. Mr. DIALLO (Mali), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the adoption of the draft resolution redounded to the credit of the Committee. It was with feelings of joy that he saluted the Committee's just and wise decision, through which light would be cast on the odious crime and all those who had been directly or indirectly responsible for it would be revealed.

6. At the previous meeting the Italian representative had not hesitated to attack the newly independent States; he had claimed that while they spoke of self-determination and justice they were opposed to giving the Belgian representative—whose country they had allegedly accused—the opportunity of defending himself. As a matter of fact, the Belgian representative had made a long statement at that meeting.

7. The Mali delegation was not biased but it could not separate the assassination of Prince Rwagasore from the exercise of the trusteeship in Burundi. It was understandable that certain delegations which were used to anti-democratic practices were ill at ease in the Committee when anti-colonial topics were under discussion. That did not mean, however, that the Committee would bow to their will.

^{1/} See A/C.4/SR.1177, para. 34.

8. The Belgian representative had claimed that the figure of 10,000 troops which the Mali delegation had referred to was a figment of its imagination. That figure had, however, been given in several publications, some of them appearing in Belgium, and had not been denied by the Belgian Government. If it was not correct he would be glad if the Belgian representative would provide the correct figure; he doubted very much, however, whether that information would be forthcoming. In Burundi alone, according to a statement made to the Press by the Belgian colonel in charge after he had obtained permission from the Belgian authorities at Usumbura to do so, there were 2,200 troops, allegedly to protect the settlers.

9. Mr. LORIDAN (Belgium), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the Mali representative's statement embodied a fundamental contradiction. He had begun by saying that Belgium had been "allegedly accused" but he had then gone on to repeat the poisonous insinuations and scandalous accusations against Belgium.

10. With reference to the newspaper reports concerning the presence of 10,000 Belgian troops in the Territory, he could say that if the Governments in the free countries were to deny every false statement made by the Press, they would indeed be busy.

11. As for the Mali representative's reference to the 2,200 troops in Burundi, he would merely ask the Mali representative whether the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi, which had been in that State ("pays"), had complained that there were too many Belgian troops in the State or that those troops had intervened in the elections or had been used for any purpose other than for the maintenance of law and order.

12. Sir Hugh FOOT (United Kingdom) said that he had been somewhat disturbed at the procedure which had been adopted at the previous meeting with regard to the vote on draft resolution A/C.4/L.697. The subject under consideration had been important and there had been adequate time for further discussion. The Committee had had full co-operation from the Administering Authority and its representative, who had supplied information on the latest developments with courtesy and promptness and had been as helpful as possible. While there had been evidence of general agreement on the proposal, a number of constructive suggestions had been put forward, among others by the representatives of Morocco and New Zealand. The Committee had, however, been told that all those matters had to be swept aside and that it should proceed to the vote. As a newcomer to the Committee, he wished to express his surprise at such steam-roller methods. He himself had been prevented from speaking on the draft resolution. Consequently, he had been unable to refer to the three questions which he had asked at the 1175th meeting. He was grateful to the representative of Ghana for the statement he had made at the 1177th meeting giving clear assurances on the points which he had raised. He also appreciated the fact that the amendments accepted by the sponsors had clarified the text.

13. With reference to the Belgian amendment, he had not been in agreement with the full wording but had felt that a reference to the fact that arrests had been made should have been included. He had been prevented by the closure of the debate from expressing his views. He would like to place on record that his delegation

felt that there had been no need to prevent further free discussion on a matter of such importance.

14. He agreed with the United States representative's statement at the previous meeting that the matter was of sufficient importance to justify all the members of the Commission taking part in the inquiry.

15. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that, the motion for the closure of the debate having been made under rule 118 of the rules of procedure, the Chair had had no alternative but to proceed in the way she had done.

16. Sir Hugh FOOT (United Kingdom) said that he would like to make it perfectly clear that it had not been his intention to criticize the Chair and that he respected all its decisions. His criticism had been addressed to the members of the Committee, although he was aware that they had been entitled to cut short the discussion.

17. Mr. SANTISO GALVEZ (Guatemala), speaking in explanation of his vote, said that he had voted in favour of the Belgian amendment because he had felt that the Committee could not fail to take into account all the factors involved and because the amendment had been purely factual. His delegation had also voted in favour of the final text of the third preambular paragraph because the doubts which he had entertained in common with other delegations, such as those of Colombia and Mexico, had been resolved. His delegation had voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole because it had felt that the United Nations should take part in the investigation in order to elucidate the facts of the murder, which all the members of the Committee vigorously condemned.

18. Mr. FOURNIER (Spain) said that he had voted in favour of the Belgian amendment because he had considered it necessary to show, by a vote, confidence in and respect for the Belgian judicial institutions in the Territory. His delegation did not consider that the Committee could cast any doubt upon the Administering Authority's procedures for administering justice. His delegation had voted in favour of the third preambular paragraph because it had been made very clear that the Administering Authority's accountability derived solely from the Trusteeship Agreement. The amendment submitted orally by the representative of Mali calling for the addition of the words "in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement" had improved the text in that respect and his delegation had therefore been able to vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole.

19. Mr. DE OBALDIA (Panama) said that his delegation had voted in favour of the draft resolution, taking into special account the changes made in the third preambular paragraph.

20. Mr. BAHIZI (Congo, Leopoldville) said that he had voted against the Belgian amendment because, had it been accepted, it would have weakened the mandate entrusted to the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi to inquire into the circumstances of the death of the Prime Minister of Burundi. The Commission should carry out its tasks with calm and impartiality and without any preconceived ideas. It had never been the intention of his delegation to cast doubts on the accountability of the Administering Authority for events in the Trust Territory.

21. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) regretted having to speak again, but feared that some of his delegation's earlier

explanations, especially concerning its motion for the closure of the debate, had not been fully understood. He wished to reassure those representatives who regarded the motion as an attempt to impose a decision on the Committee by a majority vote that Guinea's intention had been to secure the widest possible co-operation in the Committee with a view to reaching a prompt decision on an urgent matter. In view of the turn that the discussion had taken at the previous meeting, he had felt that the closure of the debate was essential for that purpose. Moreover, that course had not prevented delegations from expressing their views and it should be noted that despite—or probably because of—the closure of the debate a unanimous decision had been reached. It had thus been possible to present the General Assembly with a draft resolution that would enable it to act with all the speed called for by the serious situation, whereas if the debate had not been closed the discussion might have continued for several more meetings. He had therefore been considerably surprised at the remarks made by the United Kingdom representative, especially as Guinea had done no more than ask for the application of one of the rules of procedure. As he had explained earlier, Guinea had been anxious to prevent any attempt to rob the text of the draft resolution of all positive content. He could not agree with the Italian representative's suggestion that there had been anything undemocratic in his delegation's action, which had not prevented a unanimous vote.

22. Mr. THEODOLI (Italy) said that he wished to explain the remarks that he had made at the previous meeting when opposing the motion for closure of the debate. The unanimous approval of the draft resolution did not alter the fact that several delegations had been prevented from expressing their views on the matter; that was all the more surprising in that the Committee had had plenty of time at its disposal to continue the discussion of that important question. His delegation had been in favour of the draft resolution, as it had shown by its vote. Nevertheless, it would have liked the Committee to have a chance to discuss the Belgian amendment, of which the spirit, if not the letter, had been in keeping with the ideas held by many delegations.

23. The action of the majority which had imposed the motion for closure after having expressed their own views freely and in the greatest possible detail, had therefore been unnecessary and deplorable.

24. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) wished to make it clear that his motion had not been intended to prevent any discussion of the Belgian amendment, which seemed to have been submitted somewhat informally. In any case all members had had an opportunity to vote on that amendment and to explain their votes.

25. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) said that his delegation had duly noted the assurances given by the representative of Guinea. Nevertheless, the action taken at the previous meeting had left an unfortunate impression on a number of delegations who had only wished to help the sponsors to arrive at a text that would be acceptable and useful to the rest of the Committee. It was a pity that intensity of feelings had prevented the delegation principally concerned from expressing its views. A simple statement of the facts by the Belgian delegation would have been extremely helpful to the Committee as a whole. Such a lack of moderation was not conducive to co-operation at a time

when the Committee needed calm discussions in order to reach a fair decision, free from majority pressures.

26. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) explained that his delegation had opposed the motion to close the debate, considering that members who wished to speak on the draft resolution had a right to do so. It had, however, supported the French proposal for a fifteen-minute recess, which had seemed helpful in view of the tense atmosphere that had developed.

27. With regard to the draft resolution, he hardly felt that any explanation of vote was called for in view of the unanimous decision that had been achieved. It had appeared absolutely necessary for as thorough and extensive an investigation as possible to be conducted by the Commission, so that the General Assembly could have a complete picture of the circumstances that had led to the death of the Prime Minister of Burundi. Paraguay had voted in favour of the Belgian amendment, which had seemed to be intended purely as a statement of fact and which had appeared necessary in that it related to the responsibilities of the Administering Authority in the matter. He understood that in view of the serious nature of the crime that had been committed, it would be investigated by the full Commission.

28. Mr. HOUAISS (Brazil), Rapporteur, introducing the Committee's draft report on the assassination of the Prime Minister of Burundi (A/C.4/L.699), explained that he had prepared it as succinctly as possible in the very short time available. The report was self-explanatory and he begged the indulgence of the Committee for any omissions or errors that he might have committed inadvertently. He thanked the Secretariat for its assistance in preparing the document.

29. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) feared that the phrasing of paragraph 2 of the draft report might be construed to imply that a decision of the General Assembly and the General Committee had been ignored when the item had been introduced into the Committee's proceedings at its 1172nd meeting. He suggested an amendment which would make it clear that the item had been introduced by a decision of the Committee.

30. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) expressed agreement with the point raised by the representative of Liberia and took the opportunity to congratulate the Rapporteur on his diligence in presenting the report so promptly.

31. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan) suggested that the two sentences of paragraph 2 might be joined by the word "after", which would replace the words "at this meeting".

32. Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand) suggested that paragraph 2 should be amended to read "The Committee had decided, at its 1156th meeting, on 2 October 1961, to take up the items before it in the order in which they were allocated in the letter of the President of the General Assembly to the Chairman (A/C.4/497), and this item, when the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi had submitted its report to the General Assembly. The Committee decided to consider this item in part, however, at its 1172nd meeting, on 16 October 1961, as a matter of great urgency, after the representative of Mali, etc. . . .".

It was so decided.

The draft report (A/C.4/L.699), as amended, was adopted unanimously.

AGENDA ITEMS 39, 42, 43 AND 44

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4754 and Add.1, A/4755, A/4756 and Add.1, A/4757, A/4758 and Add.1, A/4759, A/4785) (continued):

(a) Information on social conditions (A/4760, A/4785);

(b) Information on other conditions (A/4785)

Dissemination of information on the United Nations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/4863) (continued)

Participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies: report of the Secretary-General (A/4852) (continued)

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/4862 and Add.1) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

33. Sir Hugh FOOT (United Kingdom) said that he was pleased to announce that the Chief Minister of Uganda had been able to come to New York and attend the meeting of the Fourth Committee. He requested permission for Mr. Kiwanuka to speak as a member of the United Kingdom delegation.

34. The CHAIRMAN welcomed the Chief Minister of Uganda on behalf of the Committee and invited him to speak. She expressed appreciation of the United Kingdom's act of compliance with General Assembly resolution 1466 (XIV).

35. Mr. KIWANUKA (United Kingdom) said that he did not intend to make a formal statement but merely to extend the greetings of his people to the nations represented in the Committee. He would have an opportunity to make a statement the following year, when Uganda became an independent State as a result of the decision of the conference that had just been held in London. He would no doubt appear then before the Committee in a new capacity and Uganda would make formal application for membership of the United Nations. That would be the appropriate time to discuss the various problems confronting Uganda. In the meantime, he wished the Fourth Committee every success in its deliberations.

36. The CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Kiwanuka for his words. It gave the Committee great pleasure to know that the new State would soon be joining the United Nations.

37. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) warmly welcomed the Chief Minister of Uganda. He looked forward to the occasion when the new State of Uganda would join the United Nations.

38. His delegation deeply appreciated the work accomplished by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. He associated himself with those delegations which had already thanked the Chairman of that Committee for the able introductory statement he had made at the 1168th meeting, in which he had drawn attention to the salient features of the Committee's report (A/4785). The report reflected a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation. Indeed, a true spirit of peaceful coexistence had been

displayed by all the members except the representative of Portugal, whose non-participation in the Committee's work was to be regretted.

39. At its most recent session the Committee had concentrated its attention on social advancement in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and had relied very much upon information provided by the United Nations Secretariat and the specialized agencies. As stated in part two, paragraph 4, of its report, the Committee had always kept in mind the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In the light of those principles the Committee had found that, although social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories had not changed significantly, the administering Powers had expanded the various public services and facilitated the increasing participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the administration of those services and in the programmes and activities concerned with their welfare. Nevertheless, the proportion of indigenous inhabitants engaged in the administrative machinery was still far too low. Although, in response to the General Assembly's invitation, several Administering Members had attached specially qualified advisers to their delegations in 1961, the United States delegation alone had included an indigenous adviser—from Guam—qualified to speak on economic, social and educational policies. The United States delegation had greatly benefited from that adviser's assistance and there was no reason why other Administering Members should not emulate that example.

40. Far less had been done to encourage the participation of indigenous inhabitants in the process of transforming a subsistence economy into a modern cash economy. Part two, paragraphs 9 to 15, of the report drew special attention to the urgent need for co-ordinating economic, social and educational measures so as to enable the farmers to make a more substantial contribution to the growth of the economy. Since the majority of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were rural peoples, the administering Powers should redouble their efforts to promote knowledge and skills among the farmers, provide improved tools and better quality seeds, prevent soil erosion, conserve water and so forth. The Administering Members were still in the habit of stressing that all those measures were costly, but the International Labour Organisation and other authorities had pointed out that under proper guidance much could be done by the farmers themselves without much capital outlay. The lack of interest in improving the methods of agricultural production had been responsible for an exodus of the adult male population from rural areas to centres of employment, as in the case of Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Social conditions in those so-called centres of employment were appalling, and with rural development schemes lacking in their own rural areas the indigenous inhabitants had developed that sense of frustration which was the root cause of political upheaval and unrest in those densely congested and explosive areas.

41. Paragraphs 16 to 20 dealt with the land problem. It was a sad fact that in many areas of the African Territories there was no more undeveloped land. All the best land was in the hands of Europeans. The number of landless persons had increased and individual holdings had been frequently subdivided into sub-economic units. So acute was the land shortage in the Rhodesias,

Kenya and Nyasaland that unless the Africans were granted complete political independence within a few years a gigantic political revolution, convulsing the whole African continent, might break out. In all parts of the African Territories, where the Europeans had occupied the best agricultural land and had ruthlessly exploited the mineral resources, the efforts made by the administering Powers to solve the problem of land, to raise the standards of indigenous farming and to resettle and rehabilitate the African had been too little and had come too late.

42. The United Kingdom had long expected the world to believe that its much vaunted "multiracialism" would be the panacea which would solve all the economic, social and political problems in its colonial empire. Such political shibboleths, however, should not deceive anyone. He quoted an excerpt from an article in The Economist of 18 February 1961, to the effect that the word "multiracialism" made no sense in countries such as Northern Rhodesia, where there were 230 Africans for every eight white men. The article stated that if "multiracialism" simply meant holding back African advance it would not do; "non-racialism" was a better word because it compelled the Africans to recognize that for some time to come the white people, having the most skills, were going to have the best positions. It also stressed that, although East and Central Africa could benefit tremendously from the Europeans who had made it their homes, it remained African country.

43. The administering Powers, in response to the pressure of world public opinion, had embarked upon projects for improving farming methods in the Caribbean, Asian and Pacific Territories. In those areas the success of the co-operative movement varied according to the response of the people and the energy of the territorial Governments. There were no co-operatives in Brunei and only one in North Borneo. The Committee's efforts to foster the growth of co-operative societies and central co-operative banks in the Territories were to be commended.

44. In most Territories environmental sanitation and social development had not kept pace with the growth and migration of population. Some Territorial Governments had allocated funds for rural housing under development plans, but others had ignored that aspect of the problem. The concept of community development had not been fully understood in any of the Non-Self-Governing Territories during the ten-year period. Yet that method of promoting local initiative had an important part to play where new economic forces had disrupted the traditional social order. Women could play an increasingly effective part in such programmes. The report stated that in some cases the expenditure on community development schemes was less than 1 per cent of Territorial budgets. His delegation could not accept the view that, because Governments had to give top priority to higher education and secondary education, community development schemes had to suffer and it endorsed the Committee's recommendation that such programmes should receive adequate financial support. In his delegation's view, community development programmes should be adopted and implemented on a Territorial scale. The initiative should come largely from the people, but Governments should provide training facilities at the district and village level for local leaders, not necessarily for tribal chiefs.

45. In many Territories the problem of over-crowding and sub-standard housing in the towns was acute and was accentuated by the influx of temporary migrant workers. Indigenous inhabitants frequently could not obtain leases of sufficient length to give security. In many peri-urban areas land was held under customary tenure and urban development was thus restricted. His delegation endorsed the recommendation in part two, paragraph 67, of the report that central Governments and municipalities should undertake the construction of houses for sale or for rental.

46. There were encouraging trends in the fields of labour legislation, social security, public health and social welfare in most Territories, but in several Territories much remained to be done with regard to the extension of human rights to indigenous populations. Cheap indigenous labour was used to exploit the natural resources; sub-human conditions prevailed in the mines. Unskilled workers worked alongside of highly skilled non-indigenous workers and technicians imported from other countries. Despite the talk about "multiracial" communities, in the field of labour non-Africans had been unwilling to share their skills with Africans and to accept the principle of equal pay for equal work. Some of the administering Powers were not yet willing to introduce a wage system sufficient to meet the needs of a small family. In most Territories there was a large disparity in wages between indigenous and European employees.

47. To illustrate the economic gap between Europeans and Africans, he quoted from a book by Thomas M. Franck entitled Race and Nationalism,^{2/} which gave typical monthly wage figures for African workers in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The book stated that, according to a 1955 survey carried out in Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, 57 per cent of the African townsmen in the sample received a basic wage of less than £3 per month; 82 per cent received less than £5 10s. and only 3.3 per cent received £10 10s. or more, those in the last category being, significantly, self-employed artisans or traders. In Northern Rhodesia as a whole, 70 per cent of the African workers received less than £5 a month, plus rations. In Nyasaland the statutory minimum wage—the one usually paid—in the towns was 2s. per eight-hour day for male adults, and 1s. 3d. in rural areas. The wages of women and children were 75 per cent and 50 per cent of those amounts. Promotion was reserved for the "civilized" people and the African had virtually no opportunity to better himself. In no Territory was the principle of equal pay for equal work violated more flagrantly than in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Examples in the book showed that in many cases in the Copper Belt an African replacing a European at the same work received one quarter of the wages.

48. While the majority of the Territories permitted, in law and in theory, the organization of trade unions, in practice the legal requirements were so complex that they acted as a deterrent to the formation of trade unions. No progress had been made in collective bargaining and in most Territories there were legal restrictions on political and other activities, such as strikes, of trade unions. Again, the organization of unions on a racial basis, although not recognized by law, was often deliberately encouraged in practice: in the so-called multiracial Territories, such as Northern Rhodesia, European, Asian and African workers were

^{2/} Fordham University Press, New York, 1960.

organized separately. There was also a tendency for the employers to unite in employers' organizations in some Territories.

49. Juvenile delinquency, the incidence of which was comparatively limited in most Territories, had been tackled by completely inadequate measures. The Committee had been unable to analyse the problem because of the lack of vital information. Preventive measures were being taken in some Territories, but many of the Territories lacked reform schools and training institutions for young offenders. There was a great lack of such institutions for girls. Corporal punishment was still being resorted to for male juveniles. He strongly endorsed the Committee's recommendation in part two, paragraph 146 of its report, that corporal punishment should be totally abolished in all Territories and that efforts should be intensified to provide preventive and other corrective methods.

50. The Committee had not fully discussed economic advancement, since the Administering Members had not furnished adequate information. The available information did not indicate that the indigenous inhabitants were encouraged to participate in the general economic life of the Territories. It was clear that the Administering Members did not make full use of the technical assistance programmes provided by the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

51. He suggested that, in view of the late hour, he might break off at that point and continue his statement at the afternoon meeting.

52. The CHAIRMAN agreed.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.