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Chairman: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3822) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia) said that the interests of the indigenous inhabitants must be recognized as paramount in any discussion of the Trust Territories; their political aspirations should be encouraged and directed towards the attainment of self-government or independence, as was envisaged in Article 76 b of the United Nations Charter. His delegation had always supported the idea of popular consultation on political reforms to be introduced in a Territory in order to create favourable conditions for the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement and of Article 76 b of the Charter.

2. His delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1207 (XII) relating to target dates for the attainment of self-government by Trust Territories, and was disappointed to note that several Member States responsible for administering Trust Territories had not responded to that resolution. Feeling as it did that development in the political, economic and social fields could be accelerated by the fixing of intermediate target dates, his delegation objected to the arguments used by some of the Administering Authorities to the effect that the determination of such target dates would hinder progress.

3. His delegation supported the recommendations in the Trusteeship Council's report (A/3822) concerning the elimination of racial discrimination in education and in functions of government, as also the Council's suggestions that the participation of the indigenous population in the legislative and executive organs of government and in local government councils should be increased.

4. Written petitions from Trust Territories had become very much more numerous in recent years. No doubt that increase had been stimulated by visiting missions and by the fact that the inhabitants had become aware of their right of petition to the United Nations. It indicated that the peoples of the Territories were aware of the role of the United Nations and it testified to their growing political maturity. Unfortunately the petitions revealed little progress in the

political development of the Territories. Local legislation and its implementation still rested chiefly in the hands of people whose interests were directly opposed to those of the indigenous inhabitants.

5. In Tanganyika, the tripartite electoral system had encountered almost unanimous opposition from the indigenous inhabitants. Such a system merely impeded the growth of nationalism and intensified that of racialism. The experiment should not be encouraged; instead, a new electoral law should be prepared which would be more in accord with the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants. No doubt there would be problems but the Administering Authority should not be deterred from embarking on such a new course. He was aware of the good record of the United Kingdom in African and Asian Territories and he hoped that with goodwill much could be achieved in Tanganyika. Accordingly, he supported the Trusteeship Council's recommendation that electoral qualifications should be reviewed, taking into account the experience gained from the elections and the wishes of the African population. The membership of the proposed constitutional committee should be widely representative of the African majority, and if possible the date of the 1959 elections should be advanced in order to expedite the establishment of that committee. By 1962 there should be greater participation by Africans in the executive and legislative councils.

6. Some Trust Territories were administered in union with other territories which were more advanced politically. The implications of such a policy were that not only would the development of local legislative and executive organs be hampered but the Trust Territory's progress towards achieving the objectives of the Charter would be impeded. Ruanda-Urundi was a case in point. His delegation supported the view expressed by the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-first session that Ruanda and Urundi had a common future and that efforts should be made to strengthen the relationship between them. As the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, had stated in its report on Ruanda-Urundi (T/1346), elections in that Territory should be held on the basis of universal suffrage and the legislative power of the General Council so increased that it would become a truly representative organ. He would urge greater participation by the population in local government councils. The Visiting Mission had also noted an increased desire among the indigenous inhabitants to take part in the administration of their own country; such tendencies should be stimulated and arrangements made for the people to express their wishes, so that self-government could soon be a reality. Unfortunately no steps had been taken in that direction; in his view, that was largely due to the fact that the administration of the Territory was unified with that of the more advanced Belgian Congo.

7. Turning to the Cameroons under British administration, he said that that Territory had recently been divided into two parts. While the Southern Cameroons was apparently progressing, the Northern Cameroons had remained politically static. Equal political power should be accorded to both regions, otherwise tension between the two parts of the Territory would be heightened. His delegation supported the Trusteeship Council's recommendation that the Administering Authority should inform the Council at an early date of the further measures necessary for the attainment of the final objective of trusteeship and in particular concerning the proposed arrangements for consulting the populations of the Territory on their future when Nigeria attained independence. It also supported the Council's recommendation that universal suffrage should be introduced in the Northern Cameroons. His delegation congratulated the peoples of the Nigerian Federation on their successful political evolution and commended the Administering Authority for its realistic approach towards the situation there.

8. A petitioner from the Cameroons under French administration whom the Trusteeship Council had heard during its twenty-first session (869th meeting) had asked the Council to consider three points in respect of the political development of that Territory: the problem of the unification of the two Cameroons; the demand of the population of the Cameroons under French administration for sovereignty over their own territory; and the type of unification to be established between the two Cameroons. That statement seemed to be substantiated by the statements of the petitioners whom the Committee had heard at its 775th and 776th meetings.

9. The problem of the unification of the two Cameroons and their subsequent development towards independence still dominated the national feelings of the Cameroonian people. His delegation felt that the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1958, should be instructed to report on those political tendencies. Political conditions in the two Territories appeared to warrant the holding of a plebiscite under the supervision of a commissioner appointed by the General Assembly, in order to ascertain the real wishes of the people with regard to unification or independence. Such a plebiscite should be held simultaneously in both Territories in order not to impede the political evolution of the Cameroons under French administration. His delegation urged that General Assembly resolution 1211 (XII) should be implemented, so that the plebiscite might be held under the most favourable conditions.

10. His delegation welcomed the recent constitutional developments in the Cameroons under French administration and the assurances given by the representative of France at the 774th meeting. He would draw the Committee's attention to the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory on 24 October 1958, which had been quoted by the French representative and in which the Assembly had reaffirmed its attachment to the principle of the unification of the two Cameroons and had urged the taking of steps to ensure that the peoples concerned might in complete freedom express their will on that subject before 1 January 1960.

11. Reports had appeared in the Press about the conference held by Australia and the Netherlands

concerning the future of New Guinea. That conference had reached substantial agreement on a programme of what was called parallel development for both parts of that island. It was disconcerting that the conference seemed to recommend close integration in administration and development. Such an agreement merely constituted a unilateral attempt to replace the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations as a prerequisite for the political evolution of the inhabitants. There was no justification for that action; nowhere in the Charter was it stated that a Government administering a Trust Territory was entitled to set up a joint administration which included a territory that was still in dispute and part of another State. What was more important, such an attempt could only be construed as an effort to perpetuate colonial domination in New Guinea. His delegation had consistently upheld its position that sovereignty over West Irian (Netherlands New Guinea) lay solely with the Republic of Indonesia.

12. With regard to Somaliland under Italian administration, his delegation considered it imperative that the frontier dispute should be solved by 1960; it therefore supported the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-second session that the third member of the arbitration tribunal should soon be appointed and that the parties concerned should do their utmost to establish the terms of reference for the delimitation of the frontier. Although he was glad to note that, in general, responsibility in internal matters had been transferred to the Somali Government, he would urge that responsibility for external affairs and defence should similarly be transferred. His delegation associated itself with the Council's recommendation at its twenty-second session that the Administering Authority should intensify its efforts to train Somalis in all fields of the public service, especially for the diplomatic service.

13. In the case of Western Samoa, his delegation shared the view of the Trusteeship Council that, not later than the end of 1960, upon the appointment of a Prime Minister from among the elected members of the legislature and the withdrawal of the High Commissioner, a system of full cabinet government responsible to the legislature would be in operation. It also supported the Council's recommendation that more energetic action should be taken in the reform of local government so that progress in that field might be well advanced by the time the Territory achieved self-government. The reserved powers should be reduced and a more equitable system of representation based on territorial area and population should be introduced.

14. His delegation was disappointed to note there were few indications of how it was proposed eventually to resettle the people of Nauru. It supported the Council's recommendations on that subject (A/3822, vol. I, p. 94). Participation by Nauruans in the administration and in the phosphate industry should be increased and local government councils should be encouraged to exercise their powers as fully as possible.

15. Although there were unfortunately cases where Administering Authorities still tried to replace the principles of the Charter by their own outmoded views concerning the advancement of dependent peoples, his delegation was glad to note that all Administering Authorities did not hold those views. It was a testimony

to the smooth functioning of the Trusteeship System that several of them were approaching their problems in a constructive manner. The report of the Trusteeship Council revealed that the objectives of the Trusteeship System were being attained in several Trust Territories.

16. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand) observed that in discussing the report of the Trusteeship Council his delegation would naturally wish to concentrate on that section of it which dealt with the affairs of Western Samoa.

17. He drew attention to the memorandum on the future of the Trust Territory of Western Samoa under New Zealand administration (T/1387) which had been submitted by his Government to the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-second session, and he recapitulated the main points in that memorandum.

18. The Trusteeship Council had concurred unanimously in the Administering Authority's suggestion that a separate mission with special terms of reference should be appointed to examine all matters which would have to be taken into account when the question of terminating the Trusteeship Agreement was considered. The United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, 1959, would consist of Mr. Lall of India, who would be Chairman, Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet of France, Mr. Louffi of the United Arab Republic, and Sir Andrew Cohen of the United Kingdom. In resolution 1922 (S-VIII), the Trusteeship Council had directed the Mission to examine, in consultation with the Administering Authority, the extent to which the objectives of trusteeship had been attained by the Trust Territory and the further steps necessary for their attainment, and to submit to the Council a report containing its findings with such observations, conclusions and recommendations as it might wish to make.

19. The Administering Authority would hope to be in a position while the Mission was undertaking the study of Western Samoa, to put forward its own suggestions concerning the lines which future Samoan development might follow if the Territory was to achieve the objectives of the Trusteeship System at the earliest possible date. His Government believed, however, that any realistic planning of future progress could result only from consultation, discussion and agreement between all three interested parties—the United Nations, the Administering Authority and Western Samoa itself. Such co-ordinated planning should be greatly assisted by the work of the Mission.

20. The Administering Authority would continue to keep both the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly fully advised of developments in Western Samoa and to consult them concerning the future progress of the Trust Territory.

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Félix Roland Moumié, representative of the Union des populations du Cameroun, Mr. Ndeh Ntumazah, representative of One Kamerun, and Mr. Michel Dookingue and Mr. Jean Ngounga, representatives of the Union des étudiants camerounais, took places at the Committee table.

21. Mr. MOUMIE (Union des populations du Cameroun) said that, before replying to any questions

that might be put to them, the petitioners wished to make preliminary remarks concerning the statement by the representative of France at the Committee's 774th meeting. Such remarks would serve both to clarify the other statements made by the petitioners and to dispel the misconception, held in some circles, that the granting of independence to a people sufficiently fulfilled the objectives of the Trusteeship System and that there was no need to ensure that the conditions necessary for the enjoyment of that independence existed.

22. It was gratifying that the French delegation had finally recognized that independence and unification were indispensable to the Cameroons. In the introductory part of his statement, however, the French representative had maintained that the present Legislative Assembly was the representative body of the Cameroonian people, whereas it had been amply proved by all the petitioners at the twelfth session of the United Nations General Assembly, as well as by *Le Figaro* of 11 February 1956, that the elections setting up that Legislative Assembly had not been properly conducted. Mr. Gaston Defferre, under whose authority the elections had been organized, had implicitly condemned the elections, since he had stated that for a truly popular consultation to be held an amnesty law would have to be passed beforehand. The amnesty had not been granted, since the French Government feared that the true representatives of the people might come into power; it had, in fact, been postponed at the request of Mr. Defferre, because several Cameroonian legislators had objected that a pre-electoral amnesty would enable them to be challenged by extremist nationalist candidates. Furthermore, by the admission of the French authorities themselves, the Union des populations du Cameroun (UPC) represented no less than 85 per cent of the Cameroonian population.

23. The French representative had then stated that France had always taken care not to do anything that was not in keeping with the wishes of the people. Yet French troops were continuing to kill Cameroonian patriots, the French Government had disbanded popular organizations and had failed to grant the wishes of the people when they had opposed the application of the *loi-cadre* of 23 June 1956 and demanded a pre-election amnesty and independence and territorial unity; lastly, the general desire for a return to normal political life had not been furthered by the murder of Mr. Um Nyobé and the French refusal to consider the proposals made by the UPC.

24. In the light of those facts it was easy to see why France wished the United Nations to remain inactive while it transferred its powers to an Assembly of persons who represented no one but themselves, were out of touch with the Cameroonian people and consequently obliged to seek the protection of France.

25. The statement by the Cameroonian Assembly in its resolution of 24 October 1958 to the effect that it was aware that it was expressing the unanimous feeling of the people of all the regions of the Cameroons was therefore quite unfounded. If it were true, it was hard to see why the Assembly should advocate a further consultation of the people in order that they might freely express their will concerning reunification before 1 January 1960. It was also significant that the Assembly insisted on the abrogation of the Trusteeship

Agreement concomitant with the independence of the Cameroons and sought a free and amicable association with France instead of leaving that choice to the freely elected Government of an independent and unified Cameroons.

26. The statement of the French Government as read out by the French representative at the 774th meeting and as quoted in document A/C.4/381 contained a reference to consultation "under United Nations supervision". Experience in the case of Togoland under French administration had shown that the expression "supervision" merely meant "observation". The United Nations did not participate in the impartial organization or the supervision of the elections that was necessary to ensure that they met the aspirations of the people consulted. The part of the French Government's statement to the effect that only the principle of the conditions of the consultation might be decided by the General Assembly, while the specific forms of application should be determined by the Trusteeship Council, was surprising since the Charter clearly laid down that the Trusteeship Council was under the authority of the General Assembly. It was therefore inadmissible that on so serious a question as the future of a Trust Territory the General Assembly should be limited to such an insignificant role.

27. It was further implied that a visiting mission of the Trusteeship Council should, quite unjustifiably, assume the functions of a commission of the General Assembly. It would be recalled that in the case of Togoland the General Assembly had appointed a special commission.

28. The French Government had then concluded that the Trusteeship Agreement should be ended and administrative powers transferred to the present Cameroonian Assembly; that the consultation should concern only the question of reunification; and that the situation in the Cameroons was satisfactory, in spite of statements made to the contrary in the Fourth Committee.

29. There was little in the French statement to show that France had a sincere desire to see the Cameroons reunified and independent. The importance it attributed to an unrepresentative assembly and the powers it imputed to the Trusteeship Council, to the detriment of the United Nations General Assembly; its failure to guarantee a return to normal political life and its haste to end the Trusteeship Agreement—all that rather encouraged the belief that the independence promised would not be a true independence, as in the case of Guinea, but a fictitious independence, like that accorded to Madagascar.

30. The CHAIRMAN invited the members of the Committee to put any questions they wished to the petitioners.

31. Mr. RAO (India) observed that in his statement at the 775th meeting Mr. Ntumazah had said that the resolutions of the General Assembly had encouraged France to "continue her war" in his country. He would like to know what the petitioner had meant by that statement, which appeared to be in contradiction with the recently declared intention of France to grant complete independence to the Cameroons in 1960.

32. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) explained that when the General Assembly had adopted resolution

1207 (XII), concerning the establishment of target dates for the attainment of self-government or independence by Trust Territories, and resolution 1211 (XII), which called for the promulgation of an amnesty law in the Cameroons under French administration, the people of that Territory had believed that a normal political atmosphere would be restored, that the political parties would be allowed to put their case to the people freely and that dates would be fixed for the independence of the Cameroons. Instead they had seen the continuation of political tension and of violent repressive measures by the Administration.

33. Mr. RAO (India), referring to Mr. Ntumazah's statement that supporters of unification were being arrested in the Cameroons under British administration and handed over to the French authorities for execution, asked whether he could give further details.

34. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) said that in March 1958 some ten persons, all members of his party, had been arrested at Bamenda and handed over to the French police, by whom they had been taken to Baham and Bafoussam. They had been executed, some of them in the open market, as an example of what would happen to people who advocated unification and independence of the Cameroons.

35. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) said that in due course he would give the Indian representative full information concerning the point he had raised and would show the absurdity of the allegations made by the petitioner.

36. Mr. RAO (India) asked whether Mr. Ntumazah could substantiate his statement by giving the names of the persons said to have been executed and the places and dates of the executions.

37. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) said that he would give the required information at a later meeting.

38. Mr. RAO (India) said that Mr. Ntumazah's opening statement (775th meeting) gave the impression that he was opposed to the unification of the Cameroons under British administration with Nigeria and would prefer its unification with the Cameroons under French administration. The Cameroons under British administration had been closely associated with Nigeria for some decades and he would like to know Mr. Ntumazah's reasons for opposing the continuation of that association and desiring the unification of the two Cameroons as an independent State.

39. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) replied that, although the Cameroons under British administration had for a long time been administered as part of Nigeria, its people were of a different race, and had different traditions and customs. Before the Cameroons had been divided its inhabitants had lived as one people. The boundary between the two Territories had divided not only tribes but even families.

40. Mr. RAO (India) said that he was not clear when Mr. Ntumazah's reasons for opposing the continuation to be terminated in the two Trust Territories or what procedure he had in mind concerning that termination.

41. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) urged that before the trusteeship was terminated the birthright of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories concerned should be guaranteed by the United Nations. His party desired that there should first be a referendum,

conducted by a commission appointed by the United Nations, on the question of unification. If a majority was in favour of unification an election should be carried out under United Nations supervision to elect a Cameroonian parliament and that parliament alone would have the right to demand the abrogation of the Trusteeship Agreement.

42. The representative of one of the Administering Authorities had spoken of abrogating the Trusteeship Agreement and of transferring power to the present Government in the Trust Territory. Only the United Nations, however, could bring about the abrogation of the Trusteeship Agreement. The statement made by the representative of one of the Administering Authorities gave the impression that when the country had been unified it would be forced into the French Community. It was possible that in the future the people of the Cameroons might wish to be attached either to the French Community or to the Commonwealth of Nations, but that was a question which should be left for the reunified Cameroons to decide.

43. Mr. RAO (India) asked what form Mr. Ntumazah thought that the referendum he had called for should take and whether he was in favour of its being conducted simultaneously in both of the Trust Territories.

44. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) replied to the second question in the affirmative. The issue to be put before the people should take the form of two questions, namely, whether they were in favour of the reunification of the two Territories or against it. If in such circumstances they voted against reunification, he would be the first to acknowledge that the principles of democracy had been applied.

45. Mr. RAO (India), recalling that Mr. Ntumazah had said his people asked only the right to select their own government and to rule themselves in accordance with their own customs and traditions, asked whether the petitioner considered the present Cameroonian Government representative of the people and to what extent Cameroonian customs and traditions were in conformity with democratic practices.

46. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) replied that three of the political leaders who were now in the Government had declared before the Committee at the twelfth session that that Government was not representative, inasmuch as the elections bringing it to power had been conducted in an atmosphere of terror which had prevented the population from expressing its true feelings.

47. In reply to the second question, he said that an independent Cameroons would combine its own traditions with those which it had learned from the West.

48. Mr. RAO (India) asked Mr. Ntumazah what he had meant by the reference in his statement at the 775th meeting to new forms of colonialism.

49. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) replied that he had had in mind *inter alia* the possibility of integration of the Cameroons under British administration with Nigeria, an arrangement under which the Cameroonians would be in a very small minority. In such circumstances they were likely to be economically as well as politically at a disadvantage, for they might find it difficult to obtain the approval of a central Nigerian parliament for the allocation of the

funds which they would need for development. It was also feared that France intended to incorporate the Cameroons under French administration into the new French Community under cover of termination of the Trusteeship Agreement without consulting the population.

50. Mr. RAO (India) asked whether Mr. Ntumazah envisaged that some form of continued United Nations supervision over the Cameroons would be maintained if independence and unification were achieved.

51. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) suggested that the two parts of the Cameroons might be placed under a joint United Nations administration until a Cameroonian parliament had been elected under United Nations supervision.

52. Mr. RAO (India) said that in view of the great importance of present developments concerning the Cameroons he would like to request that a verbatim record of the questions and answers on that topic should be circulated.

53. The CHAIRMAN said that the Secretariat would give the Committee its observations on the Indian proposal at the following meeting.

54. Mr. SULEIMAN (Sudan) said that he would like to hear the opinions of the petitioners on the proposals made by the French Government with regard to the future of the Cameroons under French administration and to know what reply had been received from the French Government to their appeal for negotiation.

55. Mr. MOUMIE (Union des populations du Cameroun) emphasized that his party was not opposed to unification and independence; indeed it was in order to obtain them that it had been established. What it did fear was that the Cameroons would not achieve the right kind of independence.

56. The United Nations had intervened in various parts of the world where there had been disturbances, although the countries concerned were independent States, because one of the principal objectives of the Charter was the maintenance of international peace and security. Similarly the United Nations should fulfil its principles and purposes where the Trust Territories were concerned.

57. It was the view of the UPC that if France was really sincere it would accept the specific proposals he had outlined in his initial statement (775th meeting). His party had as yet had no reply to the offer it had made to General de Gaulle.

58. Mr. BUSNIAK (Czechoslovakia) said that as his Government was one of those that had offered scholarships to students from Trust Territories he would like to know what were the obstacles which Mr. Dookingue had said the Administering Authority put in the way of Cameroonian students wishing to take advantage of such offers. He also asked whether the offers were adequately publicized among students in the Territory.

59. Mr. DOOKINGUE (Union nationale des étudiants camerounais) replied that the Administering Authority, which wished to maintain the influence of French culture in the Territory, had not adequately publicized international scholarship offers and that in some cases they had been taken advantage of by French nationals who were not Cameroonians. When his organization had learned of the offers it had made them known to

as many students as possible, for the scholarships offered by the Administering Authority itself were not sufficient to meet the demand, with the result that students were sometimes unable to continue their studies after completing their secondary education. Yet the Administering Authority had made it clear that it regarded application for such scholarships as a hostile act, thus discouraging others from seeking to obtain them. Cameroonian students in France likewise had difficulty in taking advantage of such offers because the Administering Authority could use its power to withhold their passports if it wished to prevent them from doing so. He therefore urged that steps should be taken to make it possible for Cameroonian students to apply direct to the United Nations for scholarships.

60. Mr. BUSNIAK (Czechoslovakia) asked whether the petitioners had tried to make contact with the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1958, which had recently departed for the Cameroons.

61. Mr. NGOUNGA (Union nationale des étudiants camerounais) replied that his organization had prepared a memorandum for the Visiting Mission and had urged the association of African students in France to do likewise. Moreover, as the French Press did not publish the decisions of the United Nations, his organization had informed the Cameroonian people of the arrival of the Visiting Mission, and of Trusteeship Council resolution 1907 (XXII) directing it to receive petitions. Although he and Mr. Dookingue had been in Paris when the Visiting Mission had passed through, they had not been able to find out where it was staying.

62. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that as the statement read out earlier by Mr. Moumié was closely related to the French representative's statement, he proposed that it should be circulated in extenso to the Committee.

63. He also wished to know whether there was any possibility that the official communiqué concerning the results of the Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London in September 1958 would be circulated.

64. The CHAIRMAN said that if there were no objections the proposal to circulate Mr. Moumié's additional statement in extenso would be accepted.

It was so decided.

65. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) said that in the statement concerning the Cameroons under British administration which he intended to make he would do his best to give the Committee full information on those aspects of the Constitutional Conference having a direct bearing on issues relating to the future of the Trust Territory. His delegation had copies of a Press release issued by the Conference concerning the agreement which had been reached. As it dealt primarily with matters which were not of direct concern to the Trust Territory, he thought it would be inappropriate to circulate it as an official document but he would be glad to make it available on a bilateral basis to interested members of the Committee.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.